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LIVING IN THE OFFICE:
PROFESSIONAL TELEWORK AND ITS CRITICAL
REFLECTION OF THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY

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ABSTRACT

The primary concern of this thesis is to understand why the "public-private dichotomy" has such resilience in contemporary Western society. Feminist reflection on the dichotomy reveals that it serves the patriarchal purposes of misrepresenting, masking and devaluing women's lives. Teleworkers are individuals who work at home; they often opt for this work arrangement because they want to better integrate their public (or work) and private (or nonwork) spheres. Ironically, however, teleworkers reify the dichotomy between public and private in their daily lives. Through in-depth qualitative interviews with female and male teleworkers, I explore the mechanisms which reinforce this. These mechanisms include first, the sexual division of labour in the home and second, the gendered notion of "professionalism." Comparing female and male teleworkers I show how workers at home are physically removed from the office environment but work in a way that largely reproduces the "gendered professionalism" inherent in the organizational culture of this environment. Perceiving the opportunity to telework as a privilege, they have to legitimate this work arrangement by continuing to make sharp distinctions between public "work" and private "nonwork" which in turn reinforces the sexual division of labour in the home. These mechanisms keep the public-private dichotomy in place. I argue, however, that teleworkers interpret the dichotomy in a critical manner; through a "critique from within" they challenge the dichotomy. This challenge originates in their experiences that the best work (which they often call "real work") is carried out in the private sphere of the home. In fact, the office is identified as inappropriate for "real work" precisely because it is public. The dichotomy between public/work and private/nonwork begins to be prized open. I argue that the long term consequences of this critique will depend upon the guided entrenchment of telework within organizations.

RÉSUMÉ

L'intérêt principal de cette thèse repose sur la question de savoir pourquoi la "dichotomie public-privé" jouit d'une telle résistance dans la société occidentale contemporaine. La réflexion féministe sur cette dichotomie révèle qu'elle sert les intérêts patriarcaux, notamment ceux qui représentent mal, masquent et dévaluent la vie des femmes. Les télé-travailleuses et travailleurs sont des individus qui oeuvrent à la maison; souvent on choisit cette option parce qu'on cherche à mieux intégrer les sphères publique (le travail) et privée (le non-travail). Ironiquement, cependant, les télé-travailleuses et travailleurs renforcent la dichotomie entre le public et le privé dans leurs vie quotidienne. Au moyen d'entrevues qualitatives approfondies avec des télé-travailleurs, de sexe féminin et masculin, j'explore les mécanismes qui renforcent cette dichotomie. Ces mécanismes incluent, en premier lieu, la division des tâches domestiques entre les sexes et, en deuxième lieu, l'aspect masculiniste de la notion de "professionalisme". En comparant les télé-travailleurs de sexe féminin et masculin, je démontre comment on reproduit, dans la façon de travailler, cette notion masculiniste de "professionalisme" qui ressort de la structure institutionnelle d'où on s'est pourtant retiré. En percevant l'opportunité qu'on a de travailler à la maison comme étant un privilège, les télé-travailleuses et travailleurs interprètent la dichotomie d'une façon critique; par une "critique de l'intérieur", on lance un défi à cette dichotomie. Ce mouvement est né de leur constatation que le meilleur travail (qu'on nomme souvent le "vrai travail") se réalise dans la sphère privée de la maison. En effet, le bureau est perçu comme étant mal placé pour le "vrai travail", justement parce qu'il est public. La dichotomie entre le travail public et le non-travail privé commence à s'atténuer. Je soutiens qu'à long terme, les conséquences de cette critique dépendront de la mise en place avertie du télé-travail au sein des organisations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Feminist scholarship informs the genesis and evolution of this research. The primary concern of the thesis is to understand why the "public-private dichotomy" has such resilience in contemporary Western society. Feminist theorists approach the public-private dichotomy from a variety of angles; common to their approaches, however, is a recognition that the dichotomy serves specific patriarchal purposes. Through the separate spheres rhetoric, women's lives are misrepresented and women's contributions devalued. Feminist theorists provide powerful theoretical and empirical evidence about the manner in which the dichotomization of social life into "public" and "private" forms the cornerstone from which women's social contributions can be considered inferior to men's, and women's work can be labelled as nonwork. Challenging the rhetoric of the separate spheres, Finch for example argues "that it [the public-private dichotomy] is empirically insupportable; that it is theoretically naive and that, not merely is it not useful as an analytic tool, but it serves actually to obscure certain important features of social life" (1983:4). Much of such feminist reflection is based on studies of the daily activities of women, many of which elude neat categorization into "public" and "private." Feminist theorists see the imposition of the terms "public"

and "private" onto women's lives as a misrepresentation, especially since women themselves do not speak of their activities in these terms.

These feminist arguments occur, however, alongside the contemporary resilience of the public-private dichotomy. As Tancred notes, "the shadow of this division, inherited from the traditional disciplines hangs so heavily over our work that it is difficult to dissolve the "public/private" divide" (1995:14). In writing this thesis about the failure of "public" and "private" to capture women's experiences, I myself have ironically done so in a specially designated "workspace" and during certain times of the day reserved for this "work." In so much of the feminist writing on the public-private divide, it is said that the dichotomy serves patriarchal purposes and that ideally we should not have to dichotomize our lives in this manner. Yet it is interesting to note that people who have a relatively high degree of choice as to how they structure their lives (for example teleworkers) do not move towards this feminist prescription.

The central concern of this thesis is therefore to understand **why people who seem to have the opportunity to "dissolve" the public-private dichotomy do not do so, and what that tells us about the mechanisms through which the resilience of the dichotomy is maintained.**

Despite feminist arguments about the patriarchal nature of the dichotomy, its continued relevance suggests the extent

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of the influence of malestream knowledge on our daily lives. Feminist reflection provides two important strategies for challenging the exclusion of women from malestream knowledge. First is the necessity of beginning with the daily lives of women, and focusing on the contexts within which women live and work. Second is the importance of theory which allows us to take a macroscopic view of the "systematically related barriers" in the oppression of women (Frye, 1993:8). I argue that the combination of these two strategies is vital in a study of the public-private dichotomy. This is because people often do not talk in their daily lives about their "public" and "private" activities; instead they talk about their work, family, home, office, children, friends and colleagues. Beginning with daily activities, "public" and "private" are theoretical impositions with little relevance. Yet, invisible links are made between these activities and "public" and "private;" through these links value is transferred onto certain activities and not onto others.

The specific problem for feminist research is how one can illuminate these "invisible links" while simultaneously starting with the everyday lives of women. Feminist methodologists have attempted to address this issue by developing "standpoint theory;" Dorothy Smith, for example, writes that the role of the sociologist is to manifest the "relations of ruling" (1987:3) inherent in women's daily activities. She calls this a "sociology for women" (1987:46)

and writes that such a methodology must be able to "disclose for women how our own situations are organized and determined by social processes that extend outside the scope of the everyday world" (1987:152). Such a sociology would make explicit the "invisible but active" relations in the everyday world (1992:96; also Harding, 1987, 1991, 1992; Hartsock, 1987; see Chapter 4 for further discussion). There has been much critique of standpoint theory and feminists have raised questions about who can best reveal the problematic inherent in a subject's everyday world, and how this problematic can be accurately represented.

Despite these critiques, however, standpoint theory raises an important issue, with far-reaching consequences - that women's everyday worlds are often structured by powers that are, to a large extent, mystified. The "public-private dichotomy" can be conceptualized as one such "invisible but active" (Smith, 1992:96) relation in the everyday world. The link between public and work/workplace, and private and nonwork/home can be theoretically established; the public is equated with what is valued and what men do, while the private is less valued and linked to women. The task at hand is to understand how the public-private dichotomy maintains its invisibility in the everyday, and simultaneously remains active. The difficulty of this task is to find a way to start and remain grounded in the everyday, while studying what is invisible within it. This difficulty is an indication of the

deeply entrenched engendering of distance between "theory" and "practice" in the history of the social sciences (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1989). It suggests that one must "choose" between empirical research, which can be grounded in the everyday, and theoretical research, which operates at a level of abstraction from the everyday world.

Not wanting to choose between "theory" and "practice" in this thesis, I study the way in which the public-private dichotomy is manifest in the lives of a specific group of people. The lives of teleworkers provide a "site" where the invisible workings of the "public-private dichotomy" can be discerned. The teleworkers selected are individuals who work for companies as salaried employees, but do some or all of their paid work at home. Teleworkers can provide unique insight into the central theoretical concerns of this thesis for three reasons. First, they reveal the multiple manifestations of "public" and "private;" they recreate the spatial division between workspace and home as one between work and nonwork. Second, teleworkers exercise a certain degree of control over the way they work; unlike homeworkers, these are a group of highly paid, autonomous professionals. Third, despite this control they recreate the boundary between "work" and "nonwork." This allows for a study of how and why the resilience of the public-private dichotomy (and its manifestation as the distinction between work and nonwork) is maintained.

Chapter 2 provides an analytical review of the feminist literature on the public-private dichotomy. I argue that two processes contribute to the reification of the dichotomy; first, the meaning of "public" and "private" shifts depending on the context within which the terms are used. For individuals who begin to work at home, for example, the distinction between workplace and home is replaced by one between work and nonwork. Second, the public-private dichotomy is reified through the attribution of value, across contexts, to that which is associated with the "public" rather than the "private." The equivalences between public and value are explored through further analysis into the "work-nonwork" manifestation of the public-private dichotomy. I suggest that looking at the lives of teleworkers can shed light onto the mechanisms which necessitate, despite feminist critiques of the dichotomy, the division of life into work and nonwork (or public and private).

Chapter 3 explores the literature on telework; two contradictory trends are identified in this literature. First, the move towards telework is driven by the desire to allow for a greater integration of individuals' work and family lives. At the same time, however, working at home is said to necessitate a strict division between work and family. The discourse on telework seems to suggest that working at home allows for the possibility of the elimination of the separation between the two spheres, but ironically, it

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simultaneously recognizes the necessity of this separation. While these issues are not addressed in the literature on telework using the terms "public" and "private," I argue that assumptions of the dichotomization of social life into two separate spheres underlie discussions on telework. Exploring how the public-private dichotomy is operative in teleworkers' lives can provide insights which can explain the coexistence of these two seemingly contradictory trends in the literature on telework.

To summarize, teleworking women and men, it would seem, are appropriately placed to actualize the feminist vision of challenging the organization of social life into public and private spheres. They are also appropriately placed to integrate their work and family spheres, as suggested in the literature on telework. Yet, looking at teleworkers' experiences reveals that they continue to organize their lives in terms of a separation between public/work and private/nonwork. This allows for closer examination of the mechanisms which necessitate the continued reification of the rhetoric of the separate spheres. Chapter 4 outlines the methodology followed for this research, and discusses the influence of feminist standpoint theory on the project.

Chapters 5 to 7 provide an analysis of the interviews in light of the central theoretical concern of this thesis. Chapter 5 is a descriptive introduction to the sample of teleworkers interviewed for this study. The demographic and

work characteristics of the sample are compared to those of employed Canadians in general. In addition, the nature of respondents' work and their telework arrangements are outlined. Selected teleworkers are profiled, and their telework histories are reconstructed, in an attempt to provide a contextualized understanding of teleworkers' lives.

Chapter 6 explores the manner in which the associations between work and public, and nonwork and private are reinforced. Two mechanisms are identified, which necessitate the dichotomy between work and nonwork in teleworkers' lives. First is the sexual division of labour, where women, more than men are assumed to be responsible for so-called "nonwork" labour. I argue that activities that are known as "work" are legitimized through their distinction from nonwork. An analysis of teleworkers' gendered division of "nonwork" labour reveals that it is only through the reification of the work-nonwork dichotomy that teleworkers can legitimate their paid work activities and simultaneously continue to meet their nonwork demands. A second, and related, mechanism through which the work-nonwork dichotomy is reified is the gendered notion of "professionalism;" professionalism is defined in contemporary organizational culture as "maleness." "Work" done in a professional manner is assumed to be distanced from "nonwork;" given women's greater responsibility for "nonwork," "professional" work is implicitly assumed to be work done by men. Although teleworkers are physically removed from the

office environment, they work in a way that largely reproduces the gendered professionalism inherent in the organizational culture of this environment.

Building upon this analysis, I argue in Chapter 7 that teleworkers perceive the opportunity to telework as a privilege, and therefore need to legitimize the work arrangement within traditional organizational norms. Although teleworkers reflect and therefore reify the public-private dichotomy, however, they do so in a critical manner. Through a "critique from within" they challenge the dichotomy; this challenge originates in their experiences that the best work (which they call "real work") can be most effectively done in the private sphere of the home. In fact, the office is identified as inappropriate for "real work" precisely because it is public. The dichotomy between public/work and private/nonwork, begins to dissolve; the realization of the radical potential of this critique depends, however, on the continued entrenchment of telework within organizations.

The concluding chapter of the thesis summarizes the ways in which looking at teleworkers' lives adds to our understanding of the public-private dichotomy, and outlines some implications arising from this research for feminist theory and telework policy. I argue that more theoretical reflection is required on the ways in which the public-private dichotomy is manifest in the daily lives of women and men. Only through the revelation of the mechanisms supporting the

assumption that our lives are "naturally" divided into different spheres (rather than analyses of the fact that this division is not, in fact "natural") can feminist theory build upon existing critiques and pose a serious challenge to the public-private dichotomy.

In terms of policy, I argue that telework can pose a radical challenge to the cultures of organizations, but that the realization of this challenge depends on the guided entrenchment of telework within organizations. Once telework becomes a more established and valid work option, teleworkers can exercise influence as organizationally valuable employees, rather than perceiving themselves to be organizationally privileged employees as they do at the present time. Appendix 1 outlines some specific policy directions that can facilitate the guided entrenchment of telework within organizations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RESILIENCE OF THE DICHOTOMY:
SHIFTING DEFINITIONS OF "PUBLIC" AND "PRIVATE"

Eisenstein argues that "the major purpose of patriarchy, besides actualizing its system of power, is mystifying the basis of this power...part of the power of patriarchy is this capacity to mystify itself" (1981:223, 26). This chapter describes the ways in which the public-private dichotomy serves as a tool through which "patriarchy actualizes its power." The mystification of the dichotomy is central to its continued resilience; through this mystification, the dichotomy can be systematically reinforced.

This chapter begins with an analysis of the feminist literature, developed primarily over the past thirty years, on the public/private dichotomy. Feminists have argued that the dichotomy serves several inter-related patriarchal purposes; first, it fails to accurately describe the everyday experiences of women (or men); second, as a result of its failure to describe, it masks women's experiences; and third, it devalues women's contributions. More recently, however, there is a recognition in the feminist literature that the dichotomy has a resilience; it continues to exert a fundamental influence on the way in which we (as women as well as men) organize our lives. While the feminist literature to

date has accumulated a wealth of knowledge on the manner in which the public-private dichotomy functions as a patriarchal tool in contemporary society, relatively few have reflected on the processes through which the dichotomy is reproduced.

Building upon the feminist reflection on the public-private dichotomy, two such processes can be identified. The first, is that "public" and "private" are in fact "empty" concepts, acquiring meaning depending on the context within which they are used. For example, public-private is in one context a distinction between workplace and home; in another context the dichotomy is manifest as a separation between work and nonwork.[1] Through this ability to "shift meaning," the dichotomy is reproduced in a variety of contexts. The second process through which the dichotomy is reproduced is that across contexts the dichotomy encompasses a hierarchy, where what is "public" is accorded greater value than what is "private." This hierarchy is gendered by the fact that women are associated with the private, and men with the public.[2] The work-nonwork manifestation of the public-private dichotomy is explored in some detail, and the manner in which the equivalences are established between the public sphere, men,

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[1]These two examples have been chosen for more detailed exposition because exactly such a shift occurs in the ways in which teleworkers give meaning to the "public-private" dichotomy.

[2]In the case of teleworkers, definitions of public as workplace and private as home are replaced by notions of public as "work" and private as "non-work". Value, however, is transferred intact and "work" acquires an aura of importance.

paid work and value are traced. The final section of this chapter outlines how looking at teleworkers' lives can help us to unravel some of these processes through which the public-private dichotomy is reified.

FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY

The use of the public/private dichotomy has a long history in philosophy, social and political theory.[3] The paradigm is central to classical Greek, Marxist and Liberal theories of social life. Theorists such as Plato, Aristotle, Hegel, Marx, Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke have used the concepts of public and private as pivotal in their analyses of human nature and social formations. Common to these classical approaches, however, is a failure to recognize the differential manifestations of the public-private dichotomy in the lives of women and men.

Feminist theorists writing on the public/private dichotomy, therefore, enter a field littered with assumptions and associations, many of which show little consciousness of

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[3]Although the public-private dichotomy has been the focus for study within each of the social science disciplines, there is surprisingly little <u>interdisciplinary</u> work on the topic. For example, Turkel (1992) writes extensively about the dichotomy from the sociological perspective, drawing from the work of Marx, Durkheim, Parsons etc. Elshtain (1981) focuses on the use of the dichotomy within Political Science, focusing on Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, St Thomas Aquinas etc. Helly and Reverby (1992) discuss the dichotomy within History. I feel that much can be learnt from an interdisciplinary approach to the concepts of public and private.

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the gendered nature of the dichotomy. Feminist analyses of the dichotomy reveal the manner in which "public" and "private" are not merely terms of location or activity; they manifest the implicit equivalence between women and the private and men and the public (Helly and Reverby, 1992:x). Feminist theorists reveal the complex interactions between location, gender and value implied in the "public-private" dichotomy. Its use is identified as a patriarchal strategy to systematically undermine and devalue women's experiences and contributions. As Game and Pringle note, patriarchy operates through "the preservation of splits" such as the public-private dichotomy (1983:140).

The Public-Private Dichotomy: A Failure to Describe Everyday Lives

Feminist theorists stress the inadequacy of the public-private dichotomy to describe the lives of women and men. Helly and Reverby note, for example, that when the actual meaning of "public" and "private" is examined, the "apparent clarity of the distinction dissolves under analysis" (1992:ix,x). Hansen supports this point through her research on the everyday lives of 19th century women and documents the difficulty of slotting aspects of their social lives into the public/private dichotomy. For example, she asks: "Is gossip public because it is "accessible to all" and involv[es]

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potentially an entire community? Or is it private because it is typically transmitted between two individuals, probably in the confines of a home?" (Hansen, 1987:106, 118; also DeVault, 1990:97). In this and other ways, Hansen underlines the inability of "public" and "private" to accurately capture women's experience. She stresses the need to transform the dichotomy, and to integrate the dimension of "the social" which would include behaviors that are hard to characterize as either "public" or "private" (1987:106, see also Bondi, 1992:99). Hansen's argument is reiterated by Peake, who writes that feminist critiques of "bifocal analysis" such as the public-private dichotomy show that these frameworks are "inappropriate and fail to fit the reality of people's everyday lives" (1994: 13).

Further, Game and Pringle note that the experience of the public-private dichotomy may differ according to race and class position; it is "not possible to generalize about women's experience of the public-private split" (1983:139). Collins argues, for example, that "the line separating the Black [slave] community from whites served as a more accurate boundary delineating public from private spheres for African-Americans than that separating Black households from the surrounding Black community" (1990:49). As Rose summarizes, the boundary between the public and the private does not necessarily mean the same thing for women of colour and white women (1993:126); Odendahl, 1984:4).

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Other feminist theorists critique the commonly held view that industrialization in the West led to the separation of the home and workplace and refer to this position as an oversimplification informed by the rhetoric of the public-private dichotomy. Pleck argues that the separation between home and work occurred much more slowly and much less systematically than conventionally assumed (Pleck, 1976:180-183; Lozano, 1989). Cohen documents the manner in which production for the household was distinct from production for the market in pre-industrial Ontario and that industrialization in fact led to a decrease in the confinement of women's labour to the private sphere (1988:157). As Lozano notes, "the walls of the North American home turn out to be much more permeable than the theoretical barrier between public and private spheres allows" (1989:106).

Pierson highlights the purposes which this rhetoric of the separate spheres serves. Concealing the interconnectedness of the public-private dichotomy allows for the masking of the fact, for example, that inadequate childcare provisions have a direct effect on mothers' access to the public sphere (1995:5). Similarly, Glazer characterizes the shift in tasks under capitalism from the paid worker to the unpaid domestic worker as a "work transfer" (1993:xi). While capitalism is commonly thought to have led to the increased commodification of tasks within the home, Glazer's argument is interesting in that it highlights the manner in which women's work is

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devalued through the "decommodification" (Glazer, 1993:6) of many tasks. Glazer argues that the "split between the private and public obscures...women's work in linking together for-profit enterprises and state programs with daily family life" (1993:10).

Another critique of the public-private dichotomy is embodied in the radical feminists' slogan the "personal is political." The slogan suggests that no distinction can or should be drawn between the two spheres (Pateman, 1983: 295; Helly and Reverby, 1992: xi); everything that is private is also public in that it is political. The slogan, in this manner, challenges "not only the apolitical characterization of the private domain, but also any claim that the political nature of the public arena can be constituted without reference to the quality of personal relations" (Siltanen and Stansworth, 1984:196; Collins, 1990:15).

Summing up the feminist debates on the public-private dichotomy since the 1980s, Kobayashi et al. note that the prevalent emphasis is on the "interconnectivity of the two spheres, and the many ways in which the normative ideal of separation is either rejected or unattainable" (1994:xxv).

The Dichotomy as Mask

The public-private dichotomy does not accurately represent women's and men's lives, and feminist theorists

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further demonstrate the patriarchal nature of this misrepresentation. They show the manner in which the social sciences have taken the dichotomy for granted and concentrated on the public, and therefore "to a large extent defined gender out of existence" (Gamarnikow and Purvis, 1983: 6). By ignoring gender, malestream knowledge ignores the lives of women. These theorists stress the need to focus on the "private," and to uncover and celebrate women's distinctive culture in the private. Drawing from the work of Gilligan (1987), Chodorow (1978) and Belenky et al. (1986), several theorists have argued that the private sphere is a source of women's power. As Helly and Reverby note, this approach is useful in allowing feminists to "explore women's lives in the so-called private sphere, validating the difference from male experience" (1992:6). Instead of the conventional assumption that women, in their association with the private sphere are inferior men or incomplete men (for example, in terms of moral development or consciousness) these theorists argue that superior values of attachment and morality are nurtured in the private.[4] Elshtain, for example, argues that the private-familial sphere should be seen to have its own dignity and purpose (1981:335). She stresses the importance of the family and writes that "the feminist concern with a reconstructive

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[4]This position was a central argument in the suffragists struggle. Given women's superior morality, their purity, it was argued, was necessary for world peace (Elshtain, 1981: 232).

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ideal of the private sphere must begin by affirming the essential needs of children for basic, long term ties with specific others" (1981: 331). In this, she focuses on women's domestic influence as a potential source of power, rather than of oppression, and stresses the importance of attaching equal value to women's work in the home and to men's paid work in the public sphere (Hansen, 1987: 115-116)[5].

Other feminist theorists have critiqued the celebration of the private as women's separate space because it fails to challenge the way in which women's lives are devalued through their association with the private sphere. As Imray and Middleton note, the division between public and private is not a division of activities or of geography; rather it is a boundary between what is valued and what is not valued since what men do is valued above what women do (1983:14). The attachment of value is therefore recognized as a political act. It is revealed that the association of women with the private sphere is central to the maintenance of the aura conventionally associated with the public, and the corresponding devaluation of the private.

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[5]Elshtain has been widely critiqued for her characterization of the private family as a sphere with its "own" dignity. Kofman and Peake argue that Elshtain idealizes the nuclear family as a "happy, loving unit, unbesmirched by domestic violence and unemployment" which rigidly fixes the boundary between public and private (1990:320). In a similar vein Siltanen and Stanworth reveal the heterosexual bias in Elshtain's equation of the private with family life (1984: 206).

Aside from depicting women's connection to the domestic sphere as "natural," arguments such as Elshtain's have been critiqued for failing to recognize the diversity of women's experiences and the fact that in many instances, conceptualizing the "household" and the "workplace" as dichotomous is distorting (Tiano, 1984:21). In addition, such arguments reinforce the connections between women-nature-private and men-culture-public (Tseelon, 1991:11). They assume that women have a unique responsibility for bringing humanistic principles of the private world into the public (Siltanen and Stansworth, 1984: 199). Black feminists have also argued that such a celebration of the private is possible only for economically advantaged white women (Helly and Reverby, 1992:14; Kerber, 1988:17). As Collins notes, it assumes the "archetypal white, middle-class nuclear family...black women's experience and those of other women of colour have never fit this model" (1990: 46-47). Pleck similarly argues that the use of the home exclusively as a realm of reproduction characterizes only middle class households where only one breadwinner is needed to sustain the family (1976: 181).

Helly and Reverby argue that the public-private dichotomy serves patriarchal interests through its power to exclude. By conceptualizing the two realms as mutually exclusive, any tie to the private implies a diminished ability to participate in the public. The dichotomy suggests that "because women are

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almost universally associated with domestic activities such as child rearing and homemaking, they are persistently excluded from the more public areas of life such as government and war" (1992:xi). The private sphere is therefore said to shape women's and only women's public participation; women's experience is in this way "sealed" in the private sphere. Women's voices are silenced in that it is assumed that their contributions are seen as those of strictly private persons (Siltanen and Stansworth, 1984: 185,189,191). Politically, therefore, women's voices are silenced because their concerns are interpreted as arising from a private, rather than a public concern. Despite these critiques, however, the theorists who advocate the celebration of the private sphere of women have pointed to the historical masking of women inherent in the public-private dichotomy.

Other feminist theorists demonstrate that no matter what meanings the terms "public" and "private" take on, men continue to be associated with the public (and women with the private). Pateman, for example, identifies the shift from the definition of public as state and private as civil society to the geographical definition of public as that which occurs in society (including in politics) and private as that which occurs within the home: she terms this the forgotten confusion of liberal theory (1983:282-284). She explains the shift by retracing the links between liberalism and patriarchalism. Although in theory, liberalism (based on individualism,

egalitarianism) was antithetical to patriarchalism (based on the hierarchical subordination of some), Pateman shows the manner in which these two ideologies were reconciled through the definition of only men as free and equal individuals. The shift in the meaning of private from "society" to "home" was facilitated by the fact that in liberal theory the "paternal" power of the father over his children was dissociated from "political" power, and only the latter was open to societal (i.e. public) interference (Pateman, 1983:283). As Hansen notes, "in contemporary American culture the home connotes freedom from outside intervention ("a man's home is his castle")" (1987:107). In this manner, the definition of the public/private dichotomy within the world of men (state-society) was replaced by the sexual definition of this dichotomy (society-household) without any recognition that this was a move from one patriarchal definition to another. Pateman identifies this as the "repressed dimension of the social contract" (1988:ix). While social contract theory is usually presented as a story about freedom, where individuals gain rights and protections under a universal rule of law protected by the state, it is seldom recognized that under the social contract, patriarchy (rule of men) replaces paternalism (rule of the father) (Pateman, 1988:1-3).[6]

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[6]Pateman reconstructs the history of this "forgotten confusion" by returning to Hegel, and what she terms his "two dilemmas." Hegel argues that the inability of some individuals to participate as workers in civil society (i.e the problem of unemployment) makes it impossible for all individuals to be,

Critics of the liberal tradition have illuminated many of the contradictions relating to the division between civil society and the state. The possibility of a universal rule of law under conditions of class disparities has been questioned by Marxists, welfare economists, and civil rights activists. Yet the patriarchal dimension of the social contract remains relatively unquestioned. The sweeping and often unsophisticated generalizations made about women by some of the classical theorists only make more obvious this omission. A few examples will demonstrate this: Hobbes claims that men need to hold authority in the family because no child can be expected to obey two individuals, and since men have more "strength," they are the natural choice (Elshtain, 1981: 111). Locke, building his argument upon an attack of paternalism, writes that women are not subordinate to men by nature, but rather as a result of a curse laid upon Eve (Elshtain, 1981:125). Durkheim claims to have proved women's necessary link to the private sphere by showing that despite the fact that suicide rates are highest for married women, they

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in the formal sense, equal citizens. These unemployed individuals, Hegel assumes become social exiles. Women, it is argued, are "natural exiles", lacking the "attributes" to sell their labour power and become citizens. Women are incorporated as citizens as members of the family, which is a sphere in exile from civil society and the state. Pateman argues that Hegel's position is at the root of the public-private confusion; "Hegel's social order contains a double separation of the private and public: the **class** division between civil society and the state, and the **patriarchal** separation between the private family and the public world of civil society/state" (1989:182-183).

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continue to enter into marriage (Turkel, 1992:104). [7]

The sparse attention these "weak arguments" in social and political theory have received is indicative of the masking powers of patriarchal reconstructions. The arbitrary nature of the conceptualization of the public and private as dichotomous spheres with different underlying logics is hinted at when attention is focused on the confusion surrounding the location of "society" in this dichotomy. It can be seen that whatever definition of public and private prevails, the central tendency remains the masking of the private-ness of man and the public-ness of woman.

The Public-Private Dichotomy: The Gendered Assignment of Value.

Feminist theorists argue that the public-private dichotomy serves the purpose of providing a systematic framework within which the devaluation of women's experiences and work can occur. The mechanism through which value is assigned to the public sphere is the focus of considerable feminist analyses. This section discusses feminist critiques of the arbitrary assignment of value to the public sphere of men. A later section of this chapter will provide an example

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[7]Another example can be found in Marx who provides an extensive critique of private property, without a single mention of the fact that women are often seen as a form of private property under male ownership (Clark and Lange, 1979:x).

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of how this assignment occurs by tracing the manner in which in one manifestation of the public-private dichotomy - the distinction between work and nonwork - work is attributed greater value. In light of the contemporary economic conceptualization of value, only that which is labelled as work is considered worthy of a wage.

One of the first feminist theorists to provide an indepth analysis of the effect of the public-private opposition on women's lives was Michelle Rosaldo. Rosaldo defines the private as "those minimal institutions and modes of activity that are organized immediately around one or more mothers and their children." The public, by contrast, consists of "activities, institutions, and forms of association that link, rank, organize or subsume particular mother-child groups" (1974:23). Building on Nancy Chodorow's observations on the differential effects of female mothering on male and female children, Rosaldo argues that men's distance from the private permits them to stand apart from intimate interaction and therefore have control over the formation of their public image. They are therefore seen to have authority, integrity and worth. If a man is involved in the household, Rosaldo argues, then he cannot sustain "an aura of authority and distance." She concludes that "women seem to be oppressed or lacking in value and status to the extent that they are confined to domestic activities, cut off from other women and from the social world of men" (1974:28-41). Rosaldo's

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arguments resonate with liberal feminist accounts of the value of paid work and the necessity for domestic responsibilities of the private sphere to be shared between women and men.[8] As Pierson notes, this position, "mask[s] the hierarchical nature of the relationship between the public and private, presenting them as complementary" (1995:5).

Other feminist theorists critique Rosaldo and argue that her approach retains the traditional definition of the public-private division and depicts the entry into the public sphere as a necessary condition for the liberation of women (Elshtain, 1981: 241-245). Imray and Middleton further note that Rosaldo's definition of the private, or domestic as "activities around mothers and their children" implies that women's activities are immutable and unchanging (1983:13, 16). They stress that "public" and "private" are not opposing activities; what men do is valued above what women do, <u>even if they do the same things</u>. The boundary between public and

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[8]Liberal feminists describe the public-private dichotomy in terms of roles. With the sexual division of labour, men primarily assume the professional roles of worker, wage earner and political agent while women assume the roles of mother, wife and domestic worker. Liberal feminists retain the public-private distinction, but strive to "erase the harmful results the traditional split has had, they argue, for women" (Elshtain, 1981: 241). Critics of the liberal feminist position stress the race and class bias inherent in the assumption that entry into paid work is the key to increasing women's status. In addition, the liberal feminist position assumes that all roles (eg mothering, holding a paid job) can be equated and exchanged; there is no recognition of the fact that a movement of women into public roles, for example, would result in a change in the nature of the private as we now know it (Elshtain, 1981: 243, 248).

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private is in fact a boundary between what is valued and what is not (1983:14; also Fowler, 1984:449).

Marxist feminist theorists, too, focus on the relative value of the private and public spheres, but highlight economic conceptions of this value. They argue that the transition to capitalism led to the movement of productive work from the household to the autonomous workplace, and the "private" became a realm for the servicing of laborers and the reproduction of labor power to satisfy the needs of the "public" capitalist economy (Tiano, 1984:17). As Pateman notes, "it is "forgotten" that the worker, invariably taken to be a man, can appear ready for work and concentrate on his work free from the everyday demands of producing food, washing and cleaning and care of children, only because these tasks are performed unpaid by his wife" (1983: 297; Acker, 1992a:568; Gamarnikow and Purvis, 1983: 4; Pierson, 1995:3). The public-private dichotomy, by obscuring this observation, assumes that work performed in the household is not part of the same work process carried on outside the household, for wages; "the relations of sexual hierarchy are totally mystified through the economic relations of society" (Eisenstein, 1981:24,25)[9] [The Domestic Labour Debate will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter].

Kerber identifies several important contributions that

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[9]In line with this, some Marxist feminists argue for the recognition of women's domestic labor as valuable work which should be paid.

the Marxist interpretation of the public-private dichotomy offers. First, it describes a separation of spheres and moves the focus from the public to the private. In addition, Marxist feminist analyses offer an explanation for the separation of the spheres. They do not attribute this separation either to a cultural accident or to a biological determination. Instead they show the manner in which the separation serves the interests of the dominant class (Kerber, 1988:14-15). Women's domestic labour in the private sphere is conceptualized as central to the reproduction of the labour force as well as to the well being and therefore efficiency of the male worker. The division of public and private is said to be rooted in "corporate power, hierarchical patterns of social organization, centralized control of communication, and manipulation" (Turkel, 1992:2).[10] Through these analyses, feminist theorists reveal the ways in which the public-private dichotomy encompasses a hierarchy which serves to define women's experiences as private; through this labelling women's lives and activities are devalued.

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[10]However, in linking the patriarchal separation of the public and the private firmly to capitalism, Marxist feminists fail to focus on the gendered nature of the separation of the spheres. As Eisenstein argues, precapitalist feudal society was "still structured by the political differentiation between men and women" (1981:24). Although definitions of public and private were different, women were still identified consistently with the private.

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The arguments cited above stress the inadequacy of the public-private dualism to capture the various aspects of the lives and experiences of women and men. In addition, feminists argue that the dichotomy serves the patriarchal interest of perpetuating inequality between the sexes.

Yet, there is a recognition that the public-private dichotomy has a resilience that continues to give it the ability to shape our lives.[11] As Kofman writes, although the "reality of women's and men's lives may not exactly correspond - historically or in the present-day - to polarized categories, the ideological use of the private-public dichotomy continues to structure and mould gender experiences and expectations" (1990: 321). Kerber similarly notes that we "do not yet fully understand why feminists of every generation - the 1830s, the 1880s, the 1960s - have needed to define their enemy in this distinctively geographical way. Why speak of worlds, of spheres, of realms at all?...The metaphor [of the public-private dichotomy] remains resonant because it retains some superficial reality" (1988:39). Pierson traces the roots of the dichotomy through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and she notes that despite women's

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[11]Chapters 6 and 7 provide an indepth review of the arguments on the separation of the public and private spheres, in conjunction with my interview data. These arguments are discussed only briefly here.

numerous attempts to break out of their "confinement to domesticity...socio-economic and political developments... necessitated a redrawing of the boundaries...In this way the doctrine of separate spheres survived into the twentieth century, enshrined in new guises" (1995:3).

Several empirical studies, too, have demonstrated the continued reinforcement of the public-private dichotomy. Richter and Hall research the ways in which individuals cope with the boundaries between professional and private life. While much of the popular media advocates a greater integration of home and work, their respondents express a need for the greater separation of the two domains (Hall and Richter, 1988; Richter, 1990). Similarly Brook and Brook's study of what "work" means to people reveals that most individuals strive to make a distinction between their employment and their other life activities.

Despite the numerous feminist critiques of the public-private dichotomy, individuals seem to continue to need to organize their lives in terms of public and private. I argue that two processes contribute to this reification of the dichotomy; first, the meaning of "public" and "private" changes according to the context within which the terms are used, and second the greater value accorded to the "public" (sphere of men) is transferred to all that is associated with the public sphere. Each of these two processes are discussed below.

THE SHIFTING MEANINGS OF "PUBLIC" AND "PRIVATE": TWO EXAMPLES

Karen Hansen asks: what makes something become labelled as "private" or "public"? (1987:106). A review of the usage of the term public-private reveals several different sets of relationships to which the dichotomy refers. A few examples will demonstrate the varied use of the term: first, public-private is used to denote the separate spheres of work and non-work; this usage is gendered in that women are equated with the private, or family domain, and men with the public, or work. Second, public-private is used to refer to a spatial division between home and workplace. The private space of the home is contrasted with the public space of the office or factory. Third, public-private is used to refer to the societal divisions of state, civil society and household. While the state is always referred to as the "public" domain and the household as the "private" domain, civil society can be either public or private. Fourth, is the symbolic interactionist perspective, where the "public" is the stage and the "private" is the backstage. In all these usages, despite the very different definitions of "public" and "private," the "public" is associated with men, and the "private" with women.[12]

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[12]There may be other usages of the terms in which the gender associations are less clear. For example, public-private is often used to refer to different types of ownership under capitalism - private and public ownership. However, it ironic that when the dichotomy is used to distinguish between

It is the ability to shift meaning according to context that, I believe, explains the resilience of the public-private dichotomy. In the next sections, the historical development of the dichotomy in its workplace-home, and its work-nonwork manifestations will be traced.[13]

Private Home, Public Workplace.

"Space" is often thought of as an objective phenomenon. Harvey, however, argues that space cannot be said to have any objective meaning independent of the material processes through which it is created (1989: 203,204; also Massey and Allen, 1984:3). Space is defined as a "system of "containers" of social power" and "any struggle to reconstitute power relations is a struggle to reorganize their spatial basis" (Harvey, 1989: 237, 238). Harvey reconceptualizes the objectivity of space and shifts focus to the processes through which the contemporary manifestation of spatial organization have become hegemonic. This shift allows for the highlighting

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two forms of power (since ownership is power in capitalist society), the association between private and women is unclear.

[13]These two examples have been chosen because they correspond to later discussions of my interviews with teleworkers. With telework the spatial definition of public-private is disrupted (since workplace and residence are the same), but teleworkers instead give meaning to public-private in terms of the distinction between work and nonwork. Despite the shift in meaning, the public (work) continues to be attributed greater value than the private (nonwork).

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of the question of what purposes the current division between home and workplace serves. Feminist geographers have critiqued malestream geography, not however for its failure to address this question, but rather for its failure to illuminate the gender dimension of the home-workplace separation.

Rose, for example, discusses the manner in which humanistic geography idealizes the home. Humanistic geographers argue that place is a holistic experience, and that people have a dialectic relationship to their environment. They claim that a sense of place is a universal human trait, as is a concept of "home," which gives people a sense of belonging. Harvey similarly argues that the past twenty years can be characterized as a process of "time-space compression." As a result of the speed up of the pace of life, and the growth in telecommunications technology, space has shrunk to a "global village." The home, Harvey writes, is a "private museum to guard against the ravages of time-space compression" (1989: 240,292, also Young 1994).

Feminist geographers critique the gender blindness of this position in its inability to highlight the different experience of "home" for women and men (Rose, 1993: 45-56; Massey, 1991: 49). The definition of the home as a haven free from "public" intervention represents the male experience of the home, and identifies the significance of the home in its distinction from all that is outside the home. The home is not recognized as having value in itself, but rather gets its

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value through the function it serves (as "private") in relation to the "public" sphere. [14] It is through idealizing the private sphere of the home, ironically, that women's experiences are ignored. Humanistic geography fails to reveal both the manner in which the home can be a site of isolation or of work for women, as well as the social relations that underlie women and men's different experiences of the home. Rose highlights the fact that feminist analyses of the home, often "evoke a sense of difficulty." Confinement, rather than self realization is part of women's experience of the home (1989:144; Luxton, 1990:31). [15] This push to associate space with freedom rather than limitation is replicated in time-geography. Central to this approach is the recognition that individuals' daily actions produce and reproduce structures of society. Although such a position locates agency in the ordinary, it reproduces notions of the exhaustive nature of space as being simply everywhere. In this it omits private, domestic space from its analysis and represents only public space. It fails to draw attention to the manner in which domestic responsibility constrains women's free mobility through space (Rose, 1989: 20, 25, 28, 34). Women's sense of

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[14]This forms the basis of the studies in psychology of the home-work relationship.

[15]For example, architectural historians have revealed the manner in which builders have often unnecessarily isolated women through their obsession with single family suburban homes (Wekerle, 1980:191).

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space is often conceptualized in terms of a lack of control (for example not being able to walk alone at night) (Rose, 1989:143, 146).

Marxist feminists have been instrumental in highlighting the problematic and constraining experience of the home space for women. Focusing on the manner in which women's work in the private sphere services men's "productive" work, they identify the home as not dichotomous to the workplace, but rather as a workplace itself; one that is integral to the survival of the public workplace. In failing to highlight the "public" dimension of the home, women's work is rendered invisible and devalued. As MacKenzie argues, "work in the home, the place associated with leisure, is not seen as real work, nor are the home and neighborhood designated as workplaces" (1986:88).

The spatial division between home and workplace, private and public, masks, it can be seen, a great deal. As Imray and Middleton note, "the association of the private sphere with what is done inside the household and the public sphere with what is done outside the household...perpetuates an assumption that it is the activity that characterizes the sphere rather than the actor." Instead, they go on to say, "value accrues to activities by virtue of who performs them and more importantly who controls their social meaning and importance" (1983: 16). This observation re-introduces the question of power into the spatial division of public and private. The association of space with freedom, together with the identification of the

home as the epitome of this free space, plays a vital role in shifting attention away from the patriarchal assumptions underlying the division of life into "home" and "work."

Public Work, Private Nonwork

The rhetoric of home-workplace operates in conjunction with another manifestation of the public-private dichotomy - the distinction between work and nonwork. The association of "work" with the public sphere has a long history in social theory; through this association, "work" is attributed economic as well as social importance. Marx, for example, argues that a workers' private existence *depends on* the sale of their labour for a wage (Turkel, 1992:48). Marx's analysis of the economic dimension of the public sphere is central to contemporary associations between work and the public. The value of activities in the public sphere is expressed in economic terms in terms of wages. Marxist historians have cited the movement of productive activity out of the household with the rise of the factory system as the key to the separation of consumption activity from production, and the immersion of contemporary notions of "work" and "home" (or nonwork). This shift of productive work into a domain outside the household led to the definition of only this domain as a site of work (for which wages are paid) and to the tendency to equate the private solely with consumption, or non-work (for

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which wages are not paid) (Turkel, 1992:48-49).

Another set of theorists have approached the differentiation between work and nonwork by addressing the question of the relative importance of each. Durkheim advocates a division of labour based on occupational grounds, which will ensure "organic solidarity." Society, under organic solidarity, is held together by a hierarchy of differentiated functions and a system of mutually supporting division of labour. This hierarchy is extended to the private sphere, and public order overarches the private (Turkel, 1992: 85, 95). Implicitly, the public is attributed greater importance than the private.

Weber, along a similar vein, locates the epitome of the rational public order in bureaucracy, governed by rules of rationality and providing a universal framework for facilitating the motives and actions of different people (Turkel, 1992:130). Weber argues that through their participation in bureaucratic organizations, individuals accept an allegiance to "impersonal and functional purposes" for a "secure existence" (Turkel, 1992:159, quoting Weber, 1968:959). The stability of private life, Weber suggests, depends on the maintenance of public rationality, which in turn depends on the strict separation between the public sphere and private relations (Turkel, 1992:158, 164). Again, the private sphere is constructed as dependent and relational, with an almost infectious instability, while men's work within

bureaucratic organizations in the public sphere makes this sphere universal, rational and important for the maintenance of the stability of the society as a whole.

Feminist theorists challenge, on one level, the identification of only work as "productive" or "rational." On another level, feminists reveal the arbitrary labelling of only certain activities as "work." Marxist feminists, for example, attempt to define women's work in the household as "real work" and show how much effort it involves, how it is integral to the economy, and how much it would cost if it was purchased in the market (Daniels, 1987:405; DeVault, 1991). [16] While these feminists bring recognition to domestic labour, other feminists critique their inability to reveal the interconnectedness of public and private. Pratt and Hansen argue that early Marxist feminists tend to treat housework and waged work as separate topics in terms of discussions of the domestic division of labour on the one hand, and occupational segregation on the other (1991:59; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1985: 168). The interconnectedness of power relations between men and women in the workplace and in the home are not seen

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[16]Other examples of theorists who focus on the importance of housework include Luxton (1980) who documents the nature of housework done by women in Flin Flon. Rosenberg stresses the often stressful and hazardous nature of this work (1990:57). In the context of the "domestic labour debate", Seccombe theorizes about whether housework produces use value or exchange value (1986:199). Connelly and MacDonald stress the fact that women do unpaid work in the home and form a flexible reserve army of labour for paid work (1986:57). For a summary of these positions towards housework, see Eichler, 1985:625 or Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990:77-82.

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(bowlby, 1986:28). While early Marxist feminist theorists demonstrate the gendered nature of the work-non-work categories, contemporary feminists seek to manifest the gendered nature of the <u>very making</u> of the categories. In this, they analyze the meaning of the term "work" and manifest the manner in which only certain activities are labelled as work depending on the social context. Ronco and Peattie, for example, ask what distinguishes "work" from "hobby," and reveal the "fuzziness" of these categories. They conclude that "the distinction between "work" and "hobby" is thus not inherent in the activity; it lies in the social context in which the activity is carried out" (1983:13-18, also Freidson, 1990:152). The consequence of the "social labelling" of certain activities as "work," however, is that they alone are identified as "public" and they alone are paid.

THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY: A DISTINCTION OF VALUE

The powerful resilience of the public-private dichotomy can be traced to the shifting meanings of the "public" and "private." Examining the manner in which the "public" is identified with the workplace and work, while "private" with the home and non-work reveals the systematic nature of the devaluation of women's lives. On the one hand, "public" and "private" have different meanings. On the other hand, women

are consistently associated with the private, which is, across contexts, devalued.

The following section provides an analysis of the manner in which "work" (which is defined as what men do) acquires value through its association with the public sphere. This value is grounded in an economic reality in which only that which is defined as "work" is paid a wage.

The Value of "Work": The Omission of Women's Work.

Traditional economic analyses of the connections between "work" and "money" (or pay) have systematically excluded the activities of women. These analyses draw complex equivalences first, between the labour used to produce things and their value, and second, between the exchangeability of these products of labour and the money through which the value of the labour used can be expressed. This section focuses on these economic analyses; drawing on the work of Marxist feminists, the points of women's exclusion can be identified.

Adam Smith argues that labour is the only common denominator in commodity production and that "labour alone... is the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be estimated and compared" (Smith in Heilbroner and Molone eds., 1986: 178). Ricardo links this notion of the comparability of commodities to the labour input required for the production of each

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commodity. Since labour can be objectively measured in terms of the number of hours of human labour necessary to produce a commodity, value can be objectively determined (Mair and Miller, 1991: 241). Building upon these approaches, Marx notes that the process of exchange makes all the different types of labour homogeneous; this homogeneous labour which produces commodities is called "abstract labour." Value is measured in terms of abstract labour which in turn is measured in terms of the time necessary to produce a commodity vis à vis another commodity (Bottomore, 1991: 565). In this way, Marx defines value as "not something intrinsic to a single commodity apart from its exchange from another" (Bottomore, 1991:566; also Marshall, 1961:51). Marx constructs "value" as a "social relation" rather than a description of a thing (Rubin, 1972:70). Under capitalism, labour itself becomes a commodity; "abstract labour" is bought and sold (Briskin,1980:148). In capitalist society, the form that value takes is the price of a commodity (Elson, 1979:464; Bottomore, 1991:268). Marx argues that under capitalism, money is the "universal equivalent of value" (Bottomore, 1991:568).[17]

Marxist feminists (particularly participants in the domestic labour debate) reveal the many omissions in this

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[17]Marx argues that only labour has the "unique quality of producing more than its own value" (Robinson and Eatwell, 1973:28). This "surplus value" is appropriated as profit and this is the basis of capitalist exploitation (Mair and Miller, 1991:243; Samuelson and Nordhaus, 1988:776; Bottomore, 1991: 297; Brisken, 1980: 149).

economic analysis of the link between labour and money, and in turn, value. By locating the source of value in commodity exchange, Marx omits all activities that occur in the "private" sphere of the home from consideration. In so far as the product of domestic labour is not produced for exchange, "it cannot participate in the production of value" (Briskin, 1980:156; Bottomore, 1991:569). As Armstrong and Armstrong argue, because domestic labour is "not subject to the law of value, there is no social mechanism to define the necessary tasks, no measure of value..." (1986:219-220; also Waring, 1988). Connelly and Armstrong note that "men are paid mainly on the basis of their power to demand wages not primarily on the basis of some objective definition of the worth of the work they do" (1992:302). These and other feminist theorists highlight the fact that while housework (which occurs in the private rather than public sphere) does not acquire value and is not paid, it is "indispensable labour that converts the wages of the paid worker into the means of subsistence for the entire household and that replenishes the labour power of household members" (Luxton, 1980: 18; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990:13).[18]

Smith, Ricardo and Marx define "work" as labour that is used for commodity production. Later theorists, however, are

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[18]Another important contribution of the Marxist feminists is their analysis of women's integral role in capitalism as a "reserve army of labour" (Brisken, 1980:165; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1990:82-88).

less clear about exactly what constitutes "work."[19] Anthony characterizes "work" as anything that gives people "moral responsibility" and "spiritual significance." He writes that "if life has any meaning, work has meaning because life is work" (1980:419). Sayers similarly comments that "the experience of being without a job is profoundly demoralizing and unfulfilling" (1988: 731). In contrast, Applebaum argues that "work in the modern world is purely instrumental. It is a mere means to gain a living, not an activity of value in itself, not a means of self-expression" (1992:573; also Bell, 1956:36; Morf, 1989:10). Thompson characterizes work as a loss of autonomy, and an experience of being confined by the scheduling and disciplining of others (1967). In psychology, similarly, much attention has been devoted to the boundary around the concept of "work"[20] (for example, Elizur, 1991; Brook and Brook, 1989; Frone et al., 1992; Kirchmeyer, 1993; Harpaz, 1986; Champoux, 1978; Morf 1989: 128-136).[21] As Glazer

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[19]The growth of non-production oriented sectors, such as the service economy, is likely to have contributed to the lack of a clear definition of "work".

[20]There is little reflection, however, on the meaning of the concept of "work" itself.

[21]Various hypotheses are developed about the link between work and home; two common models, for example are the "spillover model" and the "compensation model". The "spillover model" predicts that one's experiences in one sphere extend to the other sphere (a bad day at work will lead to a bad day at home). The "compensation" model, on the other hand predicts that one will compensate in one sphere when something is lacking in the other (after a bad day at work, one compensates by having a good day at home) (Morf, 1989:130).

summarizes, work is "a problematic concept" (1993:33). Common to these approaches, however, is the recognition that in the contemporary social and economic system, "work" has an economic function. As Daniels notes, in modern industrialized society, "the most common understanding of the essential characteristic of work is that it is something for which we get paid" (Daniels, 1987:403; Reinharz, 1985:7; Dunnette, 1973.1).[22]

Tracing the development of the connection between "work" and "value" (in the form of payment) provides an insight into the circularity of the logic through which the links between the public sphere, men, work, and value become hegemonic. Marx's argument that that which is "work" can be exchanged for money (in the public sphere) has developed into the modern understanding that that which is exchanged for money is "work"! Activities are valued (and called "work") because they are paid, and they are paid because they are "work" (and therefore of value).

While present-day definitions of exactly what activities constitute "work" are vague, what is NOT "work" is surprisingly clear. There is a systematic exclusion of housework, emotional work and volunteer activities; women's work has been consistently assumed to occur outside this very

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[22]Daniels further notes that the recognition of an activity as "work" gives it a "moral force and dignity": "To work and earn money is also to gain status as an adult" (1987:404).

large playing field within which debates about the definition of "work" take place. Once certain activities are labelled as nonwork, they, following Marx's logic, can be defined as unproductive and therefore can be unpaid. The only coherent definition of "work" that exists is that it includes what is not nonwork.

The double negative - work is all that is not nonwork - may sound like a tautology, but can in fact be identified as an irony. "Work" gets its meaning from its separation from certain activities and these activities are in turn labelled as nonwork and "stripped" of their value. The aura of importance that surrounds paid work rests upon the maintenance of the boundary between "work" and "nonwork" (or public and private). This points to the necessity for the concept of "work" to be separated from "nonwork" to get its meaning. The double negative - work is what is not nonwork - is indicative, therefore of the fact that rather than a residual category, nonwork is in fact integral to the definition of "work."

Only a few social theorists have begun to uncover insights about the notion of "work" by focusing on the boundary between work and nonwork. Richter and Hall argue that in crossing the physical and psychological boundaries between home and work, one makes planned transitions (the commute) and interposed transitions (where one is physically engaged in one domain but psychologically in the other). In exploring the differences in women's and men's experiences of crossing the

boundary between home and work, Richter and Hall are able to reveal the differences between women and men's activities and differential involvement in so-called "nonwork" responsibilities (Richter, 1990; Hall and Richter, 1988).

Another study on the boundaries between work and nonwork is Ronco and Peattie's research on "Making Work." Attempting to develop dynamic notions of job satisfaction and good work, they begin with the premise that "much of what we see as making work has to do with drawing boundaries" (1983:10). They argue that people construct notions of work by drawing external and internal boundaries. External boundaries are those that separate work from hobbies and other nonwork activities. Internal boundaries are drawn through the structuring and ordering of work ("making work within work") (Ronco and Peattie, 1983:10-12).

CONCLUSION: UNRAVELLING WORK AND ITS AURA

This thesis serves to unravel the aura of "work" by focusing on the boundary between work and nonwork. The central theoretical interest is on why the work-nonwork dichotomy (a manifestation of the public-private dichotomy) continues to have such resilience in contemporary society despite the many feminist critiques of the dichotomy. These critiques demonstrate the inability of the separate spheres rhetoric to accurately describe the lives of women and men. In addition,

feminist theorists reveal that the use of the public-private dichotomy leads to the masking of women's contributions and facilitates the gendered assignment of value to the public sphere. On one level, therefore, the public-private dichotomy fails to provide a framework within which women's lives can be understood. On another level, feminist reflection reveals that "public" and "private" are labels through which patriarchal distinctions between that which is valued and that which is not can be reinforced.

I argue that it is precisely the co-existence of these two levels of meaning embodied in the public-private dichotomy that facilitate its continued resilience. Public and private are descriptive labels which refer to physical location (for example, workplace and home) or type of activity (for example, work and nonwork). At the same time, these descriptive labels embody patriarchal ideals; the dichotomy is a tool through which patriarchy can "mystify itself" (Eisenstein, 1981:233).

This chapter has attempted to trace the shifting meanings of the public-private dichotomy and simultaneously highlight the constancy with which the dichotomy serves to devalue women's lives. Building upon feminist analyses of why and how the dichotomy is patriarchal, this thesis attempts to shift focus onto questions about how the dichotomy continues to be reinforced. I argue that insights into these questions about the shifting meanings of the public-private dichotomy and the mechanisms through which it is reified can be gathered by

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looking at the everyday lives of teleworkers. By working at home, these individuals dissolve and simultaneously reinforce the public-private boundary on a daily basis. The experiences of teleworkers allow for a deconstruction of how the links between "work" and "public," and "nonwork" and "private" get established. In addition, these experiences facilitate an understanding of what it is about the very nature of "work" that makes it imperative that it be kept apart from nonwork. Tracing the meaning that the term "work" acquires, it is possible to identify how its contemporary manifestation as that which is not nonwork is maintained and to reveal the mechanisms which support, or even enforce, the division of life into public and private spheres.

CHAPTER 3

BALANCING THE SEPARATION:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON TELEWORK

The rhetoric of the public-private dichotomy carries over into the contemporary discourse on telework. This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the phenomenon of telework and a review of recent attempts to assess the number of teleworkers around the world. I then explore the ways in which telework is said to benefit both employers and employees. The primary focus of this chapter is on the commonly cited assumption that telework allows employees to achieve a better "balance" between their public and private lives.

A close examination of the literature reveals the existence of two contradictory images of telework. First, telework is said to give employees the flexibility to integrate their work and nonwork responsibilities. Seductive images of women and men working at their computers at home while being fully integrated into their family's lives are often found in the popular media. The second image of telework is that it requires individuals to develop strategies to create barriers between their work and nonwork lives in order to avoid role stress and to ensure professionalism in their paid work activities. These two seemingly opposing images of the telework phenomenon co-exist, not only in the literature, but also in actual teleworkers' lives (as demonstrated in my

own interviews). Later chapters of this thesis will explore how and why attempts to dissolve the public-private dichotomy paradoxically require its continued resilience. The present chapter focuses on how, in the literature on telework, the public private dichotomy is dissolved but also simultaneously reified.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO TELEWORK

Telework is a work arrangement whereby an employee works at a location away from her or his conventional office. Aside from this basic premise, there is little consensus in the literature on the meaning of "telework." Teleworkers usually work at home, but sometimes can work in neighborhood offices set up by their companies (for examples see Muir and Robertson, 1993; Korte, 1988; Empirica, 1986; Tippin, 1994). They can be workers on salary, hired on the same terms as their office-working counterparts, although sometimes the term is used to include pieceworkers or self-employed entrepreneurs (Liedner, 1988; Weijers et al., 1992; Christensen, 1992c; Steinle, 1988; Huws, 1988; Allen, 1985; Oldfield, 1987). Some teleworkers work away from their offices for less than one day a week (often doing overtime work) while others do so on a full-time basis (Press and Bamberger, 1993; Kraut, 1989;

Olson, 1989; Orser and Foster, 1992; Duxbury et al., 1992).[23]

Teleworkers are defined in this thesis as salaried employees who work at home for all or part of the regular work week. Olson identifies four conditions under which individuals work at home. First, under conditions of "exploitation," workers at home tend to be poorly paid pieceworkers with no other work alternatives. Second, under conditions of "autonomy," those who work at home tend to be self-employed entrepreneurs. Third, under conditions of "tradeoff" teleworkers tend to be professionals with nonwork constraints whose skills are in demand. They have a genuine choice about where to work, and choose to work at home because this arrangement has the fewest disadvantages. Fourth, under conditions of "privilege" teleworkers tend to be professionals who are valued highly by their companies and can dictate their own working conditions (Olson, 1987: 139-140). Although the first three of these conditions are easily distinguishable from one another, individuals often work at home simultaneously under the conditions of "privilege" and of "tradeoff," since only privileged employees are given the option to make the tradeoff between working at the central

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[23]Part of the reason for the very nebulous definition of the term could be its novelty; coined only in the early 70s, "telework" is still in the process of being defined. In the U.S., "telework" is often referred to as "telecommuting" which is a term coined by Jack Nilles. He conceptualized the work arrangement as the substitution of the "computer for the commute" (quoted in Christensen and Staines, 1990:453; also Huws et al, 1990:xiii).

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worksite and working at home. Given the theoretical interest of this thesis in why people with a certain degree of control over their work schedules choose to reinforce the public-private dichotomy, only those teleworking under conditions of "tradeoff" or "privilege" were included in the present sample (the sample definition for the present study is discussed in detail in Chapter 4).

It is extremely difficult to assess the number of such workers that currently exist. This is because of the unresolved debates about who constitutes a "teleworker," and because of the fact that telework often remains an unreported arrangement made between an individual and her or his supervisor (Kraut, 1989:22; Boris, 1994: 329; Pratt, 1987; Huws, 1988:62; Richter and Meshulam, 1993:194; Crossen, 1990).

Given the lack of consensus in the literature on the meaning of telework, attempts to count the number of teleworkers render vastly different results. American estimates range from three hundred thousand to nearly six million teleworkers! For example, Link Resources' 1991 National Work at Home Survey revealed that 5.5 million telecommuters (defined as company employees) work at home. Of these, sixteen percent (or 880,000) work thirty-five hours or more per week at home (Robertson, undated:6).[24] Gray et al.,

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[24]All data from the Link Resources survey are quoted from secondary sources. I contacted Link Resources (in New York) in February 1995 to ask for a copy of their report, and was told that the report cost $3,000. In addition, the Link representative said that the names of all organizations or

on the other hand, estimate that 240,000 to 300,000 people telework in the U.S. (1994:273). Other U.S. studies include the U.S. Bureau of Census data, which shows that 2 million wage and salary workers work at home (this includes occasional overtime work) (Demming, 1994:15).[25]

European estimates are similarly varied. A 1995 survey conducted by Empirica as part of a project on "Telework Development and Trends" revealed that Europe has 1.25 million teleworkers.[26] This figure includes those who work in neighborhood satellite offices as well as those who work at home (Telework International, 1995:7). Qvortrup's study, on the other hand revealed that only 12,000 European workers telework (1992:89). Other estimates suggest that there are 60,000 teleworkers in the U.K. alone (Grey et al., 1994:273).

In Canada, the 1991 Census found that 1.1 million members of the employed labour force in Canada work at home. This constitutes eight percent of the workforce and includes farm workers, self-employed entrepreneurs, pieceworkers and teleworkers (Statistics Canada, The Daily, 1993:16). The Statistics Canada Survey of Work Arrangements (1991) attempted

libraries that had purchased the report were confidential.

[25]For other U.S. estimates see Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta, 1992:1; Christensen, 1992a; Richter, 1993: 194; Presser and Bamberger, 1993:817; Filipczak, 1992:54; Braus, 1993; Forester, 1993: 228; Filipowski, 1992; Horvath, 1986).

[26]The survey was conducted in the five largest countries in the European Union - U.K., Germany, France, Italy and Spain.

to measure the number of wage and salary workers at home (self employed and farm workers were excluded). It revealed that 600,000 employees work some or all of their scheduled hours at home. This represents six percent of the total number of paid workers in Canada. It should be noted, however, that this estimate includes overtime work at home (that is, individuals who work a full work week and do additional work at home) (Siroonian, 1993:50). Another study, the 1991 Gallup poll revealed that twenty-three percent (or 2 million) of the Canadian working population work at home. Out of these, three percent (or 260,000) are salaried employees who spend part or all of their workday at home rather than at a traditional office (Orser and Foster, 1992: 70).[27]

The vast differences in estimates of the number of teleworkers reflect the difficulties in counting these workers. These difficulties stem from the inability of large scale data collection agencies (such as the U.S. Bureau of Census or Statistics Canada) to accurately delineate and measure the various dimensions of the phenomenon. A 1994 conference - "Towards the Virtual Organization: Implications for Social and Organizational Change," held in Toronto - identified the need to collect accurate large scale data on telework as a much-needed future research direction.

The most accurate reports on numbers of teleworkers tend

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[27]I found no studies on teleworkers (not pieceworkers) in the developing world.

to be small scale case studies of particular organizations (for example Christensen, 1990a; Kinsman, 1987; Farrah and Dager, 1993; Goodrich, 1990; Huws et al., 1990:77; Schepp, 1990:112; McGee, 1988; Doswell, 1992; Bailey and Foley, 1990; Misutka, 1992; Huws, 1984:16-21), although these reports do not allow for a computation of national or international estimates of the numbers of teleworkers. The general growth in the popularity of the work arrangement, however, can be discerned in the growing numbers of organizations introducing telework as a work option.[28] In Canada, the Federal Government, several banks, computer and telecommunications companies have all introduced telework as a formal policy over the past five years. Aside from various Federal government departments, private companies such as IBM, Bell Canada, Bank of Montreal, Shell Canada, Bell National Research (BNR), BC Systems Corporation and Westcoast Energy now each have significant numbers of teleworking employees.[29]

THE PUSH TOWARDS TELEWORK - COMMONLY CITED BENEFITS

Telework is often identified as a coming together of the needs of employees and employers, with significant advantages

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[28]Another sign of the general growth in telework is the number of articles being written about it. Between January and July 1995 alone, a total of 77 new articles on telework were listed in Sociofile and ABI Inform (CD Rom Databases).

[29]Even internally, however, these organizations are unable to "count" the number of their employees teleworking since there is no central record of employees who telework.

for both the individual and the organization.[30] Amongst the advantages commonly cited are:

Advantages for Individuals:

*   flexible work schedules

*   ability to work at peak productivity times

*   ability to balance work and family demands

*   greater work productivity

*   reduced commuting time and costs

*   savings on food, clothing etc

Advantages for Organizations:

*   increased employee productivity

*   potential office space savings

*   favourable image of employer with "work-family initiative"

*   improved retention and recruitment of employees

*   increased access to underutilized pool of workers who would otherwise not be in the labour force

*   decline in absenteeism

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[30]Several disadvantages are also cited in the literature. The central disadvantage for employees is said to be the lack of face-to-face interaction with their colleagues, which can impact their work relationships as well as lead to social isolation. For organizations, the problem of how workers at home can be supervised is often raised. Most writers cited discuss both the advantages and disadvantages of telework. For reviews of the disadvantages of telework see especially Olson, 1989; Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta, 1991; Johnson et al, 1993; Susser, 1988; Weijers at al, 1992.

(Gordon, 1988:115-119; Olson, 1989:218; Treasury Board, 1992;
13-14; Christensen, 1992b: 137-139; Kroll, 1984:18-19;
Goodrich, 1990:33-34; Weijers et al., 1992:1053; Kraut, 1987:
126-127; Vittorio and Wirth, 1990: 531-533; Hotch, 1993;
Kelly, 1988; Worklife Report, 1992; Farmanfarmaian, 1989;
Maynard, 1994; Cosgrove; 1992; Kelly; 1985).

Of particular interest in light of the topic of this
thesis is the assumption that telework helps individuals to
balance their work and family demands by reducing work-family
conflict. Duxbury et al. argue that individuals experience
work-family conflict as a result of either role overload or
role interference. Role overload occurs when individuals' dual
responsibilities for work and family are too great for them to
be able to fulfil the demands of both roles. Role interference
occurs when individuals are required to be at two different
locations at the same time, performing two different roles
simultaneously (Duxbury et al., 1993:11; Stone and Lero,
1994:33).[31] High work-family conflict has been found to lead
to high work stress and turnover, and to low job satisfaction
(Duxbury, 1995). The introduction of "work-family initiatives"

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[31]Duxbury argues that work-family conflict is really often
work-parenting conflict. Women more often than men experience
both role overload and role interference. Role overload is
caused by the lack of appropriate childcare, excessive work
demands, increasing eldercare needs and the sexual division of
labour in the home. Role interference is caused by the
continued reproduction of the "separate spheres" rhetoric
where work demands are assumed to have priority over family
demands, and the traditional family is assumed to be the norm
(Duxbury et al, 1993; Duxbury 1995).

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are therefore said to help organizations to gain higher employee commitment, and in some cases retain trained employees who would otherwise leave the labour force. These initiatives give employees greater work-time and work-location flexibility (Duxbury, 1993:14). Examples include work arrangements such as flexitime (where employees work at times other than regular work hours), compressed work weeks (where employees work four 10 hour days instead of five 8 hour days), part time work and telework.

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the manner in which the literature on telework cites the ability to achieve a greater merger of work and family as one of the greatest advantages of telework. Paradoxically, however, as will be discussed later in the chapter, the literature simultaneously underlines the paramount importance of the maintenance of the work-family division.

DISSOLVING THE DICHOTOMY: BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY

The popular visual image of the teleworker is a somewhat exaggerated, but nevertheless extremely powerful one. Workers at home are often depicted in the popular press as having achieved a complete integration of their paid work and nonwork lives. The Toronto Star (May 19th 1994), for example, ran a story about individuals working at home. Accompanying the story was a photograph of a woman, smiling broadly, with a

young child on her lap and a computer in the background.
Similarly, The Globe and Mail's June 1994 section on "Report
on Home Office" had an article written by a woman who stressed
the difficulties she faced in having to continually juggle
paid work and childcare. She ends the article, however, by
saying, "if I time it just right, I'll be there as [my son]
opens his eyes and reaches up to me, eager for a hug. With his
warm, happy face pressed against mine, there's no better place
to earn a living, no better way of living, than where I am
right now." The picture accompanying the article is a surreal
image of a woman with four arms; in each hand she holds a
telephone, a keyboard, a frying pan and an infant. The woman
smiles serenely[32]. In 1992, the National Film Board of Canada
made a film on flexible work arrangements (A Balancing Act).
The film profiled two teleworkers - one man who claims that
with the time telework has given him with his children he
would not change his situation, even for a promotion, and one
woman who worked around her child's sleeping times and was
similarly positive about the experience of working at home.
(see Appendix 2 for these photographs, and a few more
examples).

While these images are by and large unrepresentative of
the realities of teleworking, they do, I argue, get their
impetus from the manner in which telework is represented in

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[32]This overly positive experience of working at home has
been challenged by a few letters to the editor.

the literature. There are two ways in which telework is said
to dissolve the boundary between work and nonwork. First,
telework is presented as a saviour of the family, allowing for
the renewed recognition and importance of the traditional
family (and women's role within it). Accompanying this
argument is the idealizing of preindustrial work; the family
economies of the eighteenth century are said to have allowed
for the integration of the various spheres of life. Second,
telework is identified as part of organizational work-family
initiatives which aim to redress earlier assumptions of the
separateness of work from all nonwork dimensions of life.
These initiatives are said to be necessary in light of the
changing demographic profile of the working population.

Idealizing the Work-Family Merger

In 1980, Toffler wrote about the coming of a third era of
production. The first had been the agricultural revolution
which was characterized by the family economy. The second was
the industrial revolution in which home and workplace were
physically separated. The "third wave" would be the coming of
a system that would transport the urban office to the home
thus enabling a return to a family-centered form of production
(Toffler, 1980: 210; Ramsower, 1985:1; Oldfield, 1987:42).
Toffler terms this the "electronic cottage" and writes that
this form of production "raises once more on a mass scale the

possibility of husbands and wives, and even children, working together as a unit...[people] would find their marriages saved and their relationships much enriched" (1990: 219, 233). Idealizing pre-nineteenth century craftsmen and farmers lives' Penn, similarly, notes that telework "may stop the degenerative spiral" of deskilling and alienation in contemporary work (1995:12). Mahfood argues that farmers have the lowest rates of divorce because it is an occupation that allows families to "remain in close proximity to each other." This proximity of home and work location is said to foster stability (1992:22). Other theorists stress that the split between workplace and home is a relatively recent phenomenon of the nineteenth century, and is in no way the natural way to work (Korte, 1988:193; Clutterbuck and Hill, 1981:87).

As discussed in the previous chapter, feminist theorists have critiqued this image of preindustrial work, stressing the fact that it was a system largely supported by a sexual division of labour. Feminists discount the suggestion that the home has ever been a place of "nonwork" and challenge the assumption of the natural connection between women and the home. Toffler's "third wave," and other images of the merging of "work" and "home" are seen to be directed at women as the perfect solution to the stresses of the dual responsibilities of work and home (Christensen, 1987:1; Gonick, 1987:72; Gurstein, 1990:17) As Huws notes, those embodying the family rhetoric today lament the passing of the time when women would

stay at home and care for their children (1991:25). Telework is presented as a "compromise" which allows women to participate fully in both spheres. However, as Leidner argues, "these supporters of home work take for granted that women are supposed to be responsible for family and work responsibilities in a way that men are not" (1988:73; also Lazano, 1989:99). It is precisely this assumption, however, that underlies the idealization of the traditional family form, which working at home is said to revitalize.

For the individual, therefore, working at home is said to allow for a return to the more "natural" way of living, where home and work dissolve into one. From the organizational perspective, being able to provide for this possibility (through telework), increases the labour pool from which the employer can potentially hire.[33] Changes in the demographic constitution of the workforce, it is argued, require the introduction of flexible work options such as telework. There is a greater percentage of women in the workforce than ever before and this percentage continues to rise. This is in conjunction with the aging of the population and the rise in single parent households (Alvi, 1992; Orser and Foster, 1992:119; Future Work, 1991:10; Cross and Raizman, 1986:33).

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[33]Telework is also sometimes put forth as a way for organizations to draw on the pool of handicapped workers (for example, Woelders, 1990; Mahfood, 1992:14; Schepp, 1990:196; Wagel, 1988:17). Oldfield has critiqued this position and argues that it allows employers to renege on commitments and expensive renovations required to make workplaces inclusive (1994).

While telework is packaged as an option for both male and female workers, it is really women who are seen to benefit most. Ford and Butts argue, for example, that telework is "particularly advantageous for new mothers [who]...are unable to leave the home but need or want to stay in the workforce" (1991:20; see also Kraut, 1989: 29; Kraut, 1987:411). Schepp's "Telecommuting Handbook" profiles a woman, Jan, who works at home while caring for two preschool children. Jan has specially built indoor and outdoor gyms to keep her children occupied during the day. She starts each morning by leaving toys and pre-arranged snacks out for her children. The children are taught to play independently which they do since they have an interesting home environment. Schepp concludes the profile on Jan by writing that "not everyone can work this way but Jan's story shows that it is possible if the commitment to do so is strong enough" (1990:20). In this way, it is suggested that when women work at home they can effectively do paid work as well as childcare, provided they have the right amount of "commitment." In an attempt to discern the prevalence of this image, Risman and Tomaskovic-Delvey surveyed forty seven popular articles on telecommuting written between 1979 and 1985. They found that over half the articles suggested that women with small children were most likely candidates to work at home (1989:73). Teleworkers' reasons for working at home are often guided by this rhetoric. Huws, for example, interviewed clerical workers at home and

reports that for most, working at home was thought to have "considerable advantages, particularly flexibility and the opportunity to combine work with childcare" (1984:8). Similarly, findings from the Statistics Canada 1991 Survey of Work Arrangements reveals that one third of all women who work at home report childcare as their main reason for doing so (Stone and Lero, 1994:72).

Christensen argues that these images of telework are indicative of the "double bind" that mothers often experience. On the one hand, studies demonstrate that employed married women are emotionally better off than homemakers. At the same time, women "are criticized for leaving their young children in the care of others and face critical shortages in trying to find adequate child care services" (Christensen, 1985:56). In such a situation, Christensen notes, "working at home appears to be an ideal solution to [women's] dilemma" (1985:56).

In bringing together the work and family spheres, telework is said to serve the purpose of allowing individuals to do paid work while simultaneously fulfilling their family responsibilities. By identifying the integration of work and home as particularly appropriate for women, the sexual division of labour upon which the work-family divide is constructed remains intact.

Formalizing the Connection between Work and Family

The rhetoric of the integration of the spheres is strengthened through the introduction of formal work-family initiatives in organizations. These include programs such as telework, flexitime, job sharing, compressed work weeks and part-time work (Alvi, 1992; Zedeck and Moiser, 1990: 245; Lee, 1992:1). Work-Family initiatives challenge the traditional assumptions that "family conflicts [are] bona fide liabilities" (that family concerns "distract" workers) and that employees' after work lives should not be of any interest to the employer (Kugelmass, 1995:42; Olson, 1985:129). As Nollen argues, the "consequences of work-family conflict are stress and impaired performance at work and at home" (1989:26).

Work-family initiatives are responses to reports that employees experience conflict between their work and family lives. The Conference Board of Canada, for example, recently conducted a survey of four hundred corporations and found that sixty percent of employees expressed difficulty in balancing their work and family demands (Alvi, 1992).[34] Similarly, the 1988 Canadian National Childcare Study revealed that nearly ninety percent of parents who worked for pay outside the home

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[34]Duxbury et al.'s study reveals that this is a problem for both female and male employees. In their study, 46% of men and 60% of women experienced role overload and stress because of their conflictual work-family responsibilities (1995).

while assuming primary responsibility for arranging child care experienced "some tension on a day to day basis from juggling work and family responsibilities" (Lero et al., 1994:12). This work-family tension is largely attributed to role overload where the "cumulative time demands arising from a person's multiple roles prevent the person from carrying out the roles adequately," and to role interference where "job obligations and familial obligations create demands for incompatible use of the *same* time slot." (Stone and Lero, 1994: 33; Lero et al., 1994:44).

In the context of the widespread prevalence of work-family conflict, Korte's study of teleworkers shows that many start to work at home because it gives them the flexibility to meet their family demands (1991:168; see also Christensen, 1992b; 26;Bishop, 1984:13; Mahfood, 1992:28; Huws et al., 1990:58-59). Accordingly, Qvortrup argues that "the need for flexibility seems to be the dominant reason for telework" (1992: 98; also Hutchinson and Brewster, 1994:x). As Huws et al. note, "in weighing up the pros and cons, the greatest human benefit is undoubtedly the flexibility telework offers, which makes it much easier to integrate work and domestic life" (1990:69).

These studies have influenced the development of company policies on telework; organizations introduce telework in an attempt to help their employees to balance their work and

family lives.[35] The policy objective of the Treasury Board's "Telework Pilot Program in the Public Sector," for example, is "to allow employees to work at alternative locations thereby achieving a better balance between their work and personal lives" (1992:3; also Nollen, 1989:27).

Very little has been written, however, on exactly how telework translates into the reduction of work-family conflict in the day to day lives of workers. There is a general consensus that telework cannot be effectively used as a substitute for childcare; even organizational policies stress that "telework should not be viewed as a substitute for child or elder care" (Treasury Board, 1992: 19; also Christensen, 1987: 23; Gordon, 1988: 119; Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta, 1991: 27; Goodrich: 1990:35; CFWWCH, 1992; Christensen, 1992b:4; Olson, 1987:146). Descriptions of actual strategies for integrating work and family are at best vague; some authors suggest that the decrease in commute time may give people more time for their families (Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta, 1991:28). The commute time can also, however, be used for work rather than family activities, leading to workaholism (see next section). Others write that telework may allow individuals to provide occasional care for older children or emergency care for sick children (Kugelmass, 1995: 48; Schepp, 1990:13), or that telework may allow individuals

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[35]This is not the only organizational advantage, as discussed earlier.

to adjust their work times to fit around a family schedule (Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta, 1991:28).[36] Schepp writes that telework benefits children in that "your lifestyle shows them that you are a family that's committed to home and to each other. This is bound to be an advantage to any kid who is growing up in our times of disintegrating family structures and value systems" (1990:18). These sketchy and intangible suggestions of how telework reduces work-family conflict are accompanied by a few studies of teleworking employees. Olson's study, for example, reveals that most teleworkers report increased satisfaction with childcare (since they provide part of the care themselves), even though they do experience the increased stress of juggling work and family responsibilities (1987:146-147; Olson, 1989).

Part of the reason for this schism between the professed and the actual ability of telework to allow individuals to reduce their work-family conflict can be located in the fact that while telework can alleviate some of the conflict arising from role interference (having to be in two places at the same time), it can do little to decrease role overload (having too much to do). Accordingly, Christensen critiques the assumption that telework is a complete solution to peoples' competing responsibilities and argues that "the idea that it is a

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[36]Each of these strategies is, however, reported to increase role conflict, and to erode the professionalism associated with paid work, as discussed in the next section.

relatively simple solution to complex work-family problems is a cruel illusion, implying that a woman will be able to resolve these problems by simply changing the place where she works" (1988:6).

Given the tenuous link between telework (through the integration of the work and nonwork spheres), and the alleviation of "work-family" conflict, it is indeed ironic that so much of the literature on telework, academic as well as popular, is guided by the rhetoric of the integration of work and family. The previous chapter focused on how the feminist literature on the public-private stresses the necessity to dissolve the dichotomy, but is unable to deconstruct the mechanism which leads to its continued resilience. Similarly, the literature on telework is driven by the recognition that the present-day separation of life into "work" and "family" causes individuals to experience the two as conflictual. While the interest in telework is driven by its potential to integrate work and nonwork, however, the work arrangement ironically serves to reify the two spheres.

SEPARATING WORK AND FAMILY: REIFYING THE DICHOTOMY

With telework's growing popularity, several conversational and action-oriented "how to" manuals have been developed; these explain how a teleworker can effectively work at home. Commonly cited in these manuals is the need for

teleworkers to develop skills to keep their work and nonwork spheres separate. In a recently developed "European Guide to Teleworking," for example, the guidelines for teleworkers include:

> 1. create a barrier between home and work - a "ritual or psychological switch that puts us in another gear and mode of action."
>
> 2. make it clear that the work room is a "no-go" area for family, friends and neighbours, and that the teleworker is not available during work times.
>
> 3. take a complete break at lunch time.
>
> 4. find childcare or eldercare you trust.
>
> (European Foundation, 1995: 60-63; for other examples see Atkinson, 1985; Alvi and McIntyre, 1993; Filipczak, 1992; Edwards and Edwards, 1985:58-62).

Qualitative research on teleworkers (such as the present study) reveals that workers at home themselves stress the importance of the creation of a division between work and nonwork. For example, Tessier and Lapointe, who interviewed clerical teleworkers, report that "virtually all participants had to adjust their work schedules to make a clear distinction between work and home life" (1994:15).[37] Edwards and Edwards' manual on working from home has a section (with diagrams) on

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[37]Later chapters explore why this division is seen to be important.

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different ways of constructing barriers between the home and the home office (1985: 80-98). Similarly, Gurstein proposes an architectural design for the ideal teleworker home. Through interviews with teleworkers, she finds that most prefer a workspace that is either a separate room within the home or a structure attached to the home but with a separate entrance (1990:175-185).

Recent research commissioned by the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation produce similar results. Interviews with teleworkers reveal that they want "housing designs which would allow them to combine work and family activities under the same roof" (Gurstein et al., 1995: 1). Ironically, respondents say that houses should ideally be designed with a separate room for work with visual and acoustical privacy from the rest of the house (Gurstein et al., 1995: 8). Gurstein et al. report that several teleworkers in their sample have "modified their dwellings to make them suitable for work." (1995:6). This modification involves the "erection of walls and doors" (1995:6).

The literature cites several reasons for the teleworker to maintain a division between her or his work and nonwork life. Amongst these is that the division prevents "role stress," workaholism and the erosion of the professionalism of paid work. Each of these reasons will be considered in turn.

Maintaining the Dichotomy: Preventing Role Stress.

Several theorists note that while company work-family initiatives may ease conflict between employees' family and occupational roles, they may also increase the permeability of these roles and therefore increase stress (Shamir and Soloman,1985: 460; also Zedeck and Moiser, 1990: 247; Martino and Wirth, 1990: 542; PSAC Union Update, 1993:18; Crossen, 1990; Olson, 1987: 146; Pitt-Catsouphes and Morchetta: 1991:28; Gurstein, 1990:102; Foegen, 1993:320). Richter and Meshulam, for example, argue that rather than current policies guided by the rhetoric of the integration of work and family, organizations should help employees to make work and family as distinct as possible. They note that "the overlap between work and home locations places the individual in a situation that demands constant choosing between conflicting demands" (1993:196). By working at home, individuals give contrasting messages to their employers and to their families. To their employers they stress that telework maximizes productivity by providing an ideal place for work. To their families, individuals signal that they are more available for family-life demands. These conflicting messages lead to an increase in work-family conflict (1993: 195; Hall and Richter, 1988; Hall, 1990). Studies such as these construct a very different image of the teleworker than the common media portrayals discussed in the previous section. They suggest that working

at home often leads to a stressful juggling of work and family schedules (Olson and Primps, 1984:109).

Maintaining the Dichotomy: Avoiding Workaholism

Studies on individuals who work at home often show that they spend a greater percentage of their time on paid work activities. Olson and Primps find, for example, that the lack of separation between work and nonwork domains together with current work pressures may "aggravate tendencies towards workaholism for those employees who are highly motivated in their jobs" (1984:107). The Public Service Alliance of Canada's study of telework similarly reveals that the time and flexibility gained through telework benefit work rather than the family (Johnson et al., 1993:51; also Gonick, 1982: 87; Cote-O'Hara, 1993:106).

Much of the research on telework shows that teleworkers' increase in productivity can often be attributed to their longer work hours. Duxbury, for example, finds that public service employees with access to technology at home worked an average of 2.5 hours per day more (PSAC, 1993:17). Olson's survey of 5,000 readers of computer-related magazines reveals that thirty-two percent of workers at home cite the fact that they tend to work too much as a disadvantage of telework (1989:224; also Tessier and Lapointe, 1994: i; Gurstein, 1990: 21). These studies suggest that the integration of work and

nonwork spheres does not allow employees to balance their work and family demands; such an integration in fact allows paid work demands to further impinge on the family domain.

Maintaining the Dichotomy: Ensuring Professionalism

Atkinson writes that the "hallmark of a professional home worker is a *separate* and *private* office of your own" (1985:94). Teleworkers often face problems with their families and neighbours who do not think that workers at home are employed (Atkinson, 1985: 94; Gurstein, 1995:5). Atkinson suggests that teleworkers need to present a professional image; sometimes this may require an "artificial image booster" such as a tape recording of background office noise or a wardrobe of three piece suits (1985: 92-95). One such device, a cassette, has in fact been developed by a New York entrepreneur, Bill Freund. The Globe and Mail reports that he is "targeting a niche market - people who work at home or for tiny companies but want to sound on the phone like they're working someplace really busy." Freund got the idea to make the tape because working at home made him feel like a "business amateur" (June 14th 1994). Few studies trace the link between the separation of work and nonwork, and the professionalism of paid work. As later chapters of this thesis reveal, however, this link is vital in the continued resilience of the public-private dichotomy.

CONCLUSION

The driving force behind telework, for both the individual and the organization, is that the physical separation between work and nonwork which epitomizes the modern office system creates conflict and stress. Compartmentalizing our lives into "work" which is done in the office and "nonwork" which occurs at home not only misrepresents the way in which people, especially women, organize their day to day lives, but such compartmentalization also facilitates the devaluation of all that is assumed to be nonwork. Telework poses a fundamental challenge to this "separate spheres" rhetoric; without the physical distance between the two, it is assumed that people can do paid work while remaining integrated into their home lives. Much of the stress of balancing work and family is caused by the unnatural imposition of a barrier between the two spheres. Telework seems to provide the ideal opportunity for people to eliminate the cause of this stress.

Within this framework of the integration of public and private spheres, however, is a recognition of the important functions the dichotomy serves. It is an uncanny juxtaposition of two opposing trends in the literature. It would seem that people telework so that work and nonwork need not be artificially separated, yet, once in the home, telework requires individuals to recreate precisely the same artificial

separation that caused them to be dissatisfied with the central office in the first place!

This thesis aims to uncover the interrelated mechanisms which give rise to this ironic duality, which can be found in the feminist literature on the public-private dichotomy, in the literature on telework, and in actual teleworkers' lives. Through indepth interviews with teleworkers, I explore how attempts to dissolve the public-private dichotomy do not allow individuals to integrate work and nonwork, but rather require them to carefully balance the separation between the two. The next chapter outlines the methodology followed for this research.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The central concern of this thesis is to understand why individuals continue to organize their lives through various manifestations of the public-private dichotomy. While this is a theoretical rather than an empirical concern, it originates in, and has relevance to, the everyday lives of women and men. I started out with a general interest in investigating the public-private dichotomy. Salaried teleworkers provide an ideal group for such an investigation; not only do they negotiate their public and private lives daily (since their "private" home and "public" workplace are located in the same space), but they are also well-paid workers with a high degree of control and autonomy. As a result they often choose to organize their lives in a particular manner, and their choices are indicative of the social environment within which they live. Through open-ended interviews with teleworkers, the research interest in the public-private dichotomy was refined and focused onto questions about how the dichotomy manifests itself and why it continues to have such resilience. Gender differences in the manifestations of the public-private dichotomy were traced throughout the study. Guided by feminist methodology, this study attempts to forge the link between the everyday lives of individuals and the broader social norms which often organize their everyday lives in particular ways.

The first section of this chapter focuses on the debates amongst feminist methodologists from which this study draws. The second section provides a detailed description of the study itself, including the procedures followed for data collection and analysis. A qualitative approach was chosen for this study since such a methodology allows for the key theoretical "problems" to emerge from the data. The lives of teleworkers provide an appropriate "site" to examine the workings of the public-private dichotomy; teleworkers reveal the multiple manifestations of "public" and "private" and transform the division between workspace and home into a division between work and nonwork. Their lives provide an entry into a closer examination of the mechanisms which ensure the continued resilience of the dichotomy. McGracken summarizes that qualitative research "does not survey the terrain, it mines it" (1988:17). This chapter is a description of the methods used to "mine" the terrain of telework and its critical reflection of the public-private dichotomy.

THE INFLUENCE OF FEMINIST METHODOLOGY: BUILDING THEORY FROM THE EVERYDAY

One of the central tenets of feminist methodology is the focus on women's everyday experience as a starting point of research. This focus has arisen out of the critiques of mainstream social science which focuses on the "public,

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official, visible, dramatic role players only" (Millman & Kanter, 1987:31). As a result, women's everyday experiences are often omitted from analyses. Given that teleworkers, both women and men, work outside the so called "public" sphere of the workplace, their experiences, too, are likely to be excluded from this mainstream focus.

The use of feminist methodology allows for a constant interplay between the individual everyday lives of teleworkers and the emerging theoretical framework which explains their collective experiences. Maynard notes that although there is considerable debate about exactly what constitutes a feminist methodology, there are several recurring themes in the literature, one of which is the focus on women's experiences (1994:21). As Grant writes, "what counts as knowledge must be grounded in experience." At the same time, however, "women's raw experience cannot by itself be called knowledge...[these experiences] also need to be ordered" (1993:100-101, italics in original). This "ordering work" has received some attention in the feminist literature; while both everyday experiences and theoretical knowledge are seen as important, the linking of the two is recognized as a difficult and complicated task. This is because feminist theorists know, as DeVault says, that "labelling is political" and that researchers need to pay attention to the consequences of "naming experience" (1990:107). Maynard notes that the "very act of speaking about experience is to culturally and discursively constitute it"

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(1994:23).

This section focuses on some of the feminist arguments on how this "ordering" work should be done. Feminist standpoint theorists, in particular, provide important insights on how the links can be made between the everyday worlds of women and men and the theoretical frameworks which explain how these everyday worlds are ordered. The manner in which these arguments, as well as their critiques, inform the present study is considered at the end of the following section.

Interpreting Experience: "Seeing" the Problematic in the Everyday

Standpoint theorists argue that the lives of marginalized groups provide an appropriate starting point for research. Harding notes that "thinking from the perspective of women's lives makes strange what had appeared familiar" (1991:150, also 124-127). She observes that "one's social situation enables and sets limits on what one can know" (Harding, 1992a:443); dominant groups in stratified societies have often failed to "interrogate their advantaged social situation" (1992a:442) and are therefore limited in their understandings of the social world within which they live. In contrast, the activities of marginalized people who are "strangers to the social order" (1991:124) provide insight into the "problems to be explained" (1992a:443).

Smith[38], similarly, argues that it is necessary to look to the women who stand outside the dominant social structure to develop a "sociology for women" (1987a:152). She calls the contemporary structure of power the "relations of ruling" which are practices, institutions and texts that involve "a continual transcription of the local and particular actualities of our lives into abstract and generalized forms" (1987a:3). In these forms of generalized knowledge the voice of women has been excluded and repressed (1987a: 16-18). In order to restore this voice, Smith argues, it is necessary to look to those who stand outside the "relations of ruling" and to the events that happen in their "everyday worlds" (1987a:46).[39]

Collins challenges this argument that oppressed groups provide the greatest insight, arguing that such a position "basically duplicates the positivist belief in one "true" interpretation of reality" (1990:234). Instead, she envisions a multitude of standpoints, each with its "preferred stance

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[38]Although Smith's method has become known as "standpoint theory", she herself writes, "if I could think of a term other than standpoint, I'd gladly shift, especially now that I've been caged in Harding's (1987) creation of the category of "standpoint theorists" and subjected to the violence of misrepresentation, replicated many times in journals and reviews, by those who speak of Hartsock and Smith, but have only read Harding's version of us" (1992:91). Given this, the discussion of Smith that follows is based on her work rather than on Harding's analysis of her theories.

[39]In the same manner, Hartsock writes that the sexual division of labour makes social relations visible to women in a way that they are not to men (1987:157).

from which to view the matrix of domination" (1990:234). Because each group recognizes its own standpoint as an "unfinished truth" (1990:236), "each group becomes better able to consider other groups' standpoints without relinquishing the uniqueness of its own standpoint" (1990:236).

Common to the approaches discussed above is the contention that women's experience provides a starting point for knowledge. However, these theorists also note that experience is shaped by forces which go beyond the scope of the everyday world (Smith, 1987a:91); these are the "invisible but active" relations in the everyday world (Smith, 1992:96). These relations can be discerned in the "line of fault" (1987a:52) between women's experience and the forms in which this experience is socially expressed.

Accordingly, Harding distinguishes a feminist perspective from a feminist standpoint, and identifies the latter as "an achievement" (1991:127). She writes that it is "not the experience or the speech that provides the grounds for feminist claims; it is rather the subsequent articulated observations of and theory about the rest of nature and social relations [which]...look at the world from the perspective of women's lives" (1991:124). In a similar vein, Hartsock argues that the "vision available to the oppressed group must be struggled for and represents an achievement which requires... science to see beneath the surface of the social relations in which we are all forced to participate" (1987: 159, 175).

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This "seeing" is at the crux of the standpoint method; there is much debate on how we can best transform women's experiences into women's standpoints, and more fundamentally who the "we" (that is, who the agents of this transformation) actually are. Collins points to the fact that Black women's Afro-centric consciousness often remains "unarticulated and not fully developed into a self-defined standpoint" (1990:27). Given that self-defined standpoints lead to resistance, "dominant groups have a vested interest in suppressing such thought" (1990:25). As a result, "groups unequal in power are correspondingly unequal in their ability to make their standpoint known to themselves and others" (1990:26). In such a situation, Collins writes that Black women intellectuals are central to Black feminist thought; they "ask the right questions and investigate all dimensions of a black women's standpoint with and for African American women" (1990:30). Black women intellectuals "continue to draw on the tradition of using everyday actions and experience...rearticulating a Black women's standpoint [they refashion] the concrete and [reveal] the more universal dimensions of Black women's everyday lives" (1990: 29, 207).

Collins argues that black women intellectuals' own experiences as African American women, in conjunction with their specialized knowledge as intellectuals, allows them to take "the core themes of a Black women's standpoint and [infuse] them with new meaning" (1990:31). Beyond this,

however, Collins does not establish exactly how black women intellectuals can illuminate the diverse standpoints of African American women.

In a similar vein, Smith identifies that it is the role of the feminist sociologist to explicate the nature of the forces implicit in the inner organization of the everyday world. Smith writes that such a methodology would "be able to disclose for women how our own situations are organized and determined by social processes that extend outside the scope of the everyday world" (1987a:152). While expressing confidence that, with a degree of goodwill, such a method can be learned, Smith is simultaneously aware of the fact that for a sociologist this means challenging many of the methods of thinking that we have been taught (1987a:109).

Harding attempts to develop a more rigorous guideline for the interpretation of experience through her concept of "strong objectivity." "Strong objectivity" involves a recognition that knowledge is always socially situated (Harding, 1992a:442). By using this recognition as a resource, Harding argues that it is possible to "get a critical, objective perspective on the "spontaneous consciousness" created by thought that begins in one's dominant social location" (1991:287). This "objective" perspective is achieved through a reciprocal reflexivity where the objects of inquiry are "conceptualized as gazing back in all their cultural particularity and that the researcher, through theory and

methods, stands behind them, gazing back at his [sic] own socially situated research project in all its cultural particularity" (1991: 163).

While Harding makes an interesting argument about the possibility of strong objectivity in the standpoint method, her techniques for interpreting experience leave many questions unanswered. She suggests that to achieve "strong objectivity" we should, first, take responsibility for our identities and social locations (1991: 289); second, listen carefully "with fairness, honesty, and detachment" (1992b:583; also DeVault, 1990:101) and "educate oneself" about peoples' histories (1992a:458); and third, reflect on the social mechanisms and our own roles in their maintenance "through which power relations are made to appear obviously natural and necessary" (1992b:584; 1991: 293). Like Smith, however, Harding assumes that with a degree of goodwill, the researcher will be able to "generate" feminist knowledge (1992a:455)[40].

Several critiques of the standpoint method revolve around the difficulties involved in interpreting peoples' everyday experiences. Grant writes that while standpoint theorists like

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[40]Harding, unlike Smith, argues that this method can be learned by men as well as women. Harding writes that being a woman cannot be thought of as sufficient to generate feminist knowledge (1991:286). Strong objectivity can allow thinkers who are not members of marginal groups to generate accounts starting from the lives of members of these marginal groups (1992b:584). Smith, on the other hand, writes that "women are native speakers of [the situation of women] and in explicating it or its implications and realizing them conceptually, they have the relation to it of knowing it before it has been said" (1987b:95).

Smith "continue[s] to assert that knowledge is based upon experience...this still begs the question as to how it is we are to interpret...what we experience" (1993:106; also Maynard, 1994:23). Longino similarly writes that standpoint theory "gives few directions as to how, say, a white working class Scottish woman might act on the recommendation to start thought from the life of a Myanmar peasant woman" (1993:211). As Stanley asks, how could any researcher specify a standpoint of women who have standpoints they could not share? (1990:36).

Through these critiques, some important questions about standpoint theory are raised. Grant argues that the standpoint theorists do not provide a "sieve through which [we can] winnow out the insignificant from the significant" (1993:105) experiences, and decide "which aspects of women's lives count as epistemologically important" (1993:100). Standpoint theorists stress that women's marginal status makes their lives an appropriate starting point for research. Grant questions how we can determine "what it is about women as women that has been ignored and neglected" (1993:102). This also raises the problem of whether there is a "line" clearly distinguishing the marginal from the non marginal groups, and relatedly, whether women "within" the margins "cease to have a standpoint" (Connell, 1992:83). Additionally, given Harding's argument that the experiences of less powerful groups provide more insight into the "hidden aspects of social relations" (1991:127), does this imply that the experiences of

the least powerful groups provide the most insight? (Collins, 1990: 207). Indeed, my own study reveals that this cannot be so. It is precisely because teleworkers are not as marginalized as pieceworkers at home (and therefore can choose to organize their lives in a particular way) that their experiences provide important insights into the public-private dichotomy.

Grant argues that these critiques point to an epistemological difficulty with the standpoint method. She writes that "feminism cannot simultaneously be the lens through which experiences are interpreted and also find its grounding in these experiences" (1993:101). Harding, like Smith, argues that "all female feminists have identities that are contradictory" (1991:275) and it is this contradiction that can form the basis of feminist knowledge. In a similar vein, Collins refers to the "situated, subjugated standpoint" of African American women (1990:236). Grant, however, reveals that "before consciousness raising...women do not yet act together as a feminist subject" (1993:103). The possibility of achieving a standpoint presupposes feminist knowledge. Accordingly, Grant argues that "since we claim to interpret from a feminist perspective, it has become essential to understand what feminist means" (1993:125). Her critique is invaluable in conceptualizing "knowledge as connected to political interests" (1993:118).

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Standpoint theories and their critiques problematize the link between the activities of people in their daily lives, and what these activities are interpreted to mean. Maynard writes that "feminism has an obligation to go beyond citing experience in order to make connections which may not be visible from the purely experiential level alone" (1994:23-24). The present study has been conducted with the recognition that while the interpretation of experience is problematic, it is at the same time vital. The project is an attempt to forge the link between everyday experiences of teleworkers and that which is not "visible from the purely experiential level alone" (Maynard, 1994: 23-24). This link is made in the context of a continual awareness of the fact that a framework, guided by feminism, is being used to interpret the everyday.

Telework is a form of work which falls outside the "generalized norms" of society by virtue of the fact that it is conducted in the private sphere which is conventionally associated with nonwork. This has consequences not only for women; male teleworkers' lives can also be given voice through the use of a feminist methodology. By looking at the everyday lives of teleworkers, the social norms about "work" can be discerned. In addition, the invisible workings of the public-private dichotomy can be revealed. These "interpretations" which arise out of the everyday lives of teleworkers attempt to fulfil the obligations of feminism to make connections between the everyday and generalized norms. They also,

however, carry with them the problems associated with the making of connections guided by a politics (feminism) that is as yet evolving.

STUDY DESIGN

The empirical lives of teleworking employees form the backbone of this study. This section discusses the data collection, interview structure and procedures for analysis that were followed. Feminist methodology guides the conceptualization and execution of this research. Attention is focused on giving voice to the everyday experiences of teleworkers, while an attempt is made to simultaneously discern the "invisible" forces shaping everyday experience.

Data Collection

Sampling in qualitative research is usually driven by the desire to illuminate the questions under study and uncover their multiple realities (Kuzel, 1992:33). Accordingly, purposeful rather than random sampling is used so that "information-rich" cases can be selected and studied in depth (Patton, 1990:169). Teleworkers are examples of such "information-rich" cases, since they recreate and manage the public-private boundary daily. Fifty teleworkers were included in the sample, thirty women and twenty men. Studying multiple

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cases made it possible to "see processes and outcomes across many cases, to understand how they are qualified by local conditions, and thus to develop more sophisticated descriptions and more powerful explanations" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 172).

Two strategies were used to generate the sample of teleworkers. First, "criteria sampling" was used, where it was decided that individuals who met certain predetermined criteria would be included in the sample (Patton,1990:176; Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28). The use of criteria sampling served to ensure that similar manifestations of the phenomenon are being compared.[41] In addition, a sample with certain criteria enabled the theoretical concerns of this thesis to be better developed.

There are numerous dimensions along which teleworkers differ. These include:

1. Contractual arrangements: Teleworkers can be pieceworkers, self-employed entrepreneurs, or salaried employees (with pay and benefits).

2. Nature of employment: Teleworkers can work in jobs that are traditionally location flexible (such as sales people

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[41]Several studies include both pieceworkers and professional teleworkers in their samples. The vast differences in resources between these two groups of individuals makes it difficult to discern any generalizable results. In addition, the formation of policy about one group on the basis of studies of the other can be detrimental to both groups.

or academics) or in jobs that are traditionally based in a central worksite.

3. Site of work: Teleworkers can work at home, or at a neighbourhood "satellite" office set up by their company.

4. Nature of At-Home Work: Teleworkers can work at home in lieu of office-based work or can do overtime work at home in addition to a regular work day at the central worksite.

5. Extent of Technology use: Teleworkers can be workers who use equipment varying from the latest computer technology and video conferencing facilities, to simply a telephone to communicate with their central worksites.

Only individuals who were salaried employees of companies were included in the sample for the present study. This criteria ensured a homogeneity in the employment conditions of the respondents. Given that these individuals moved from working in the office to working at home without any corresponding change in their job functions or employment contracts, the experiences they recount relate to the change in their location, rather than type of work. Teleworkers' experiences therefore provide insight into the ways in which the public-private dichotomy is re-created when paid work is done within the sphere of the home. In addition, the sample for the present study was limited to individuals who were in occupations that were traditionally office-based; this allowed

respondents to compare their experience of working at home and working in a central office (for example, academics or real estate agents were excluded since these occupations are traditionally location flexible and the work is commonly home-based). The fact that teleworkers worked in occupations where most of their colleagues continued to be office-based also allowed them to reflect on the effects on their work of their physical remoteness from the central worksite. Teleworkers doing overtime work at home were also excluded from the sample; only those who worked at home in lieu of office-based work were interviewed. Since these teleworkers worked at home during traditional work hours, they structured their lives to accommodate their paid work activities within their homes on a regular basis. Also, given the theoretical interest in the public-private boundary, only teleworkers who worked at home were included in the sample; those working in satellite offices were excluded. Other criteria, such as the use of particular technologies, were not relevant to the theoretical questions and were therefore not used as criteria to limit the sample.[42]

To generate the names of individuals who met these criteria, a "snowball sampling" method was used. Patton writes that "by asking a number of people who else to talk with the

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[42]Other differences within the sample include the number of days per week individual teleworkers work at home, their job tasks and their reasons for teleworking. These will be discussed further in the next chapter.

snowball gets bigger and bigger as you accumulate new information-rich cases" (1990:176). Snowball sampling is appropriate in a study of an emerging phenomenon such as telework given that companies themselves do not keep centralized records on which of their employees work at home. As a result, no record of the total "population" of teleworkers exists. In such a situation where random sampling is impossible, the snowball provides a "grassroots" method of sample generation. In order to initiate the snowball, I contacted individuals working in companies that I knew had teleworking programs, as well as distributed flyers to friends and colleagues about my search for teleworkers (Appendix 3). In addition, I placed advertisements in newspapers and magazines (Appendix 4) although there were very few responses to these advertisements.

A total of thirty-one women and twenty men were interviewed (one woman was excluded from the sample since during the interview it was found that she was paid on an hourly basis rather than a fixed salary; she therefore did not meet the criteria for inclusion). All interviews were conducted in English. Most of the teleworkers in the study (forty-two percent) lived in the Toronto area, thirty-six percent lived in the Ottawa area and twenty-two percent lived in the Montreal area. One third of the sample worked for the federal government and the rest worked for private companies. Only thirty percent of the sample consisted of unionized

employees. Individuals from eighteen different companies were interviewed, and no more than seven were interviewed from the same company (see Chapter 5 for descriptions of job functions and demographic traits). The geographical diversity of the sample as well as the numerous organizations represented ensured a heterogeneity in the sample while retaining the homogeneity of the employment contract of the teleworker. While most studies on telework in Canada have been conducted on a case-study basis, the present study highlights teleworking experiences that cut across the various local contexts. I continued to interview teleworkers to the point when no new ideas were brought up in interviews (Patton, 1990:176; Kuzel, 1992:40). Although a sample of fifty is rather large for a qualitative study of this nature, a sufficient number of both women and men was needed in order to facilitate gender comparisons.

Interview Structure

Individuals were contacted and asked to participate in an interview about their teleworking experiences. Interviews were conducted between June 1993 and June 1994. All interviews were voluntary and respondents were ensured confidentiality. On average, the interviews lasted about 80 minutes. I met forty-two percent of the respondents in their central offices,

thirty-two percent in restaurants and twenty-six percent in their homes. I met more women in their homes than men. All interviews were conducted in an enclosed space with no-one else present. For three interviews, however, at the request of the respondents, a company representative doing research on telework was present. Since this individual was not a supervisor of the teleworkers being interviewed (she was a teleworker herself) her presence is not likely to have affected their responses.[43]

An "interview guide approach" was used where the general topics and issues to be covered were determined in advance, but the exact wording and sequence of the questions were decided in the course of the interview (Patton, 1990:288). This method can be distinguished from a "standardized open-ended interview" where the exact wording and sequence of questions is determined in advance. Although an open ended format is followed in this method, all respondents are asked the same basic questions in the same order. The main advantage of the "standardized open-ended interview" is that it makes it

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[43]Although these were planned to be confidential interviews, the person who had put me in touch with these three respondents asked to be allowed to sit in on the interviews at the last moment (they were all conducted on the same day). I voiced some objection, but the respondents themselves were willing to have this person present. As it turned out, this situation led to interesting discussions on the concept of "trust" in the respondents' organizational settings. The respondents said that the fact that they were willing to have another person present at the interview was indicative of the open-ness with which telework was discussed at their company.

easier to compare answers to questions across interviews (Patton, 1990:288).

However, given the knowledge that the categories available in mainstream disciplines often do not correspond to categories that are meaningful in everyday lives, the "interview guide approach" was chosen for the present study instead. This method allowed me to "create space for the respondents to provide accounts rooted in the realities of their lives" (DeVault, 1990:98). While the interviews remained conversational and situational through the use of this method, it should be noted that comparisons among respondents were sometimes difficult and interviews had to be coded in depth as data about a particular issue was located in a different place in each interview (as discussed in the next section on data analysis) (Patton, 1990: 288). Appendix 5a shows the interview guide used for the first seven interviews. After this point, the theoretical questions were focused further and a revised guide was developed (Appendix 5b). A short demographic questionnaire was administered after each interview (Appendix 5c for the seven pilot interviews and 5d for all other interviews). All interviews were tape recorded, transcribed verbatim and checked for errors in transcription.

Data Analysis

Qualitative analysis involves a process of "reciprocal clarification" whereby the key analytical framework and the empirical data are clarified in a reciprocal manner (Ragin, 1994:88). In order to facilitate such a process whereby the theoretical interests in this thesis were fundamentally grounded in the everyday lives of teleworkers, the first seven interviews were coded in great depth. Using the "open coding method" whereby each discrete incident, idea or event was given a "name" or a "conceptual label" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:63; Miles and Huberman, 1994:58), several hundred initial codes were generated per interview. From these lists, a process of inductive clustering was used where codes that were like each other were put together (Miles and Huberman, 1994:248). Six categories were developed within which the initial codes could be classified - nature of work, work culture, work-nonwork boundary, physical and social infrastructure for telework, conditions for telework and miscellaneous codes. A "code list" was developed and the remainder of the interviews were coded line-by-line using this list. Multiple codes were attached to the same segment of text, if it had relevance to more than one subject.

Appendix 6 shows the final code list, which consisted of 90 codes classified into six categories. During the analysis this code list was continually revised, with new codes being

added and others eliminated (Miles and Huberman, 1994:61). For example, the initial code list had a code called "new skills acquired with telework." However, after coding about half the interviews I realized that this code was relatively "empty;" teleworkers spoke more in terms of "changes in methods of work" (an existing code) rather than in terms of acquiring new skills. This code was therefore eliminated and the few quotes within it were re-coded (a process greatly facilitated by the software package used, as will be discussed shortly). Similarly, a new code called "perception of telework as nonwork" was added to the initial code list.

A general principle used to guide the coding of the data was that codes were often attached to the text segments that surrounded the actual quote or idea of relevance. This was to ensure that when these text segments were "carved out of their context" they still retained meaning and connection to the interview as a whole (Tesch, 1990:95,117). After the coding of the data was complete, a computer software package was used to assist in searching for commonalities through the data.

Computer-Aided Data Analysis

There is considerable debate on the effects of the use of a computer software package on qualitative research. Given that qualitative data are often voluminous and difficult to handle, the computer can be a useful organizational tool. At

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the same time, however, it is recognized that the use of the computer may alter qualitative research in unforseen ways (Fielding and Lee, 1991:3-9; Davies, 1991; Richards and Richards, 1991a; Richards and Richards, 1991b; Tesch, 1990; Bassett et al., 1995).

I both chose and used the computer for the present study with a keen awareness of these debates. Having never used an analysis package before I was wary of being somewhat overwhelmed by its features and "losing control" over the data. In order to avoid such a situation I chose the package by first defining my needs, and then looking for the most basic and user friendly program which would meet those needs.

Given the inductive nature of the project I did not expect the computer to be of any use in the actual coding or analysis of the data. Having a large volume of data, however, I did require the program for the more mechanical tasks of altering code assignments and conducting thematic searches across interviews. I decided to use a program called "The Ethnograph" (version 4) which was primarily designed for these functions, and was menu-driven and easy to learn.

After the interviews were coded on paper, the codes were entered into the computer (allowing for double-checking of codes). "Face sheet" variables were attached to each interview; for example, each respondent was identified as "male" or "female" so that searches could be conducted for

female respondents separately from male respondents.[44] Printouts were then obtained for text segments classified under each code across all fifty interviews. These searches were organized in terms of gender with text segments from interviews with the women being listed separately from those with the men.

Analysis of Searches

Miles and Huberman identify two approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. First is a "variable-oriented approach" whereby themes that cut across cases (or interviews) are identified and compared. Second is a "case-oriented approach" which focuses on the specific, historical, grounded patterns in the cases. Often a mixture of these two approaches is used in qualitative research (1994:174, 175). Patton similarly argues that a "trade-off" has to be made between "breadth" and "depth" in any qualitative study (1990:162). In the present study decisions had to be continually made about whether to adopt a "case-oriented approach" or a "variable-oriented approach." The former would result in a highly contextualized analysis of each of the respondents' lives, but would also limit the comparability of the interviews; analysis would essentially remain particularistic (Miles and Huberman,

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[44]Other face sheet variables included age, marital status, number of children, age of youngest child, and eldercare responsibility.

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1994: 174). The "variable-oriented approach" would reveal overarching commonalities in the interviews that cut across the diverse characteristics of each individual teleworker (Kuzel, 1992:41). Such an approach would allow for the data to be viewed through the "lens" of a variable such as gender, and differences in responses along gender lines could be discerned (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 173). At the same time, however, the detail of the exact context of each respondent's life would be less visible.

These two approaches to the analysis of qualitative data can be characterized as two ends of a continuum. There is a need for continuously "reconciling the individual case's uniqueness with the need for the more general understanding of the generic processes that occur across cases" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:173, quoting Silverman, 1988). The attempt to reconcile the uniqueness of each interview with the generic processes that occur across interviews runs through the present thesis. However, trade-offs between these two approaches had to be made throughout. I decided to write Chapter 5 leaning towards a "case-oriented" approach, where an attempt was made to capture the diversity amongst the respondents and the uniqueness of each case. Differences amongst teleworkers in terms of demographics and telework arrangements are highlighted. In line with this approach, case histories of a few respondents are presented. As a result the focus of Chapter 5 is more descriptive than analytical. In

Chapters 6 and 7, on the other hand, the primary purpose is to relate the data to the theoretical ideas. These chapters lean towards a "variable oriented" approach, where gender is used as the central organizing variable throughout. This allows for the analysis of certain "recurring regularities in the data" (Patton, 1990:403) despite the numerous differences between individuals in terms of the demographic traits and telework arrangements.

Two methods were used to discern theoretically significant patterns in the data. First was the inductive search for "indigenous" and "sensitizing" concepts and second was "counting" to assess the frequencies of certain experiences. Searching for indigenous concepts involved looking for "categories developed and articulated by the people studied to organize the presentation of particular themes" (Patton, 1990:390). For example, a few teleworkers actually used the term "real work" which became the theoretical lens through which their common approaches to work could be understood (see Chapter 7). Developing "sensitizing" concepts involved looking for experiences that the people studied talked about, but did not have "labels" to describe (Patton, 1990:390). The notion of "legitimizing work" is one such sensitizing concept; although teleworkers did not speak in terms of legitimizing their paid work, much of what they said could be understood within the framework of this concept (Chapter 6).

The second method used to analyze the data was "counting" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:252). Although there is some debate as to whether qualitative findings should be "counted," this method can be useful when it is used in conjunction with inductive analysis (such as methods described in the previous paragraph). Through "counting" it is possible to discern experiences that occur a number of times across specific cases, as well as discern experiences that occur in a specific way (Miles and Huberman, 1994:253).[45] For example, Chapter 6 analyses why women and men feel the need to separate their nonwork and work lives. Counting female and male respondents it was discovered that thirty-five percent of men and seventy-three percent of the women mentioned that they separated work and nonwork to protect their family lives from their work lives. In addition, of these teleworkers, most of the women spoke in terms of their paid work "invading" their family lives, while the men spoke in terms of their paid work being an "imposition" on their family lives. This example demonstrates the "qualitative counting" that was used to discover trends in the data.

Each of the across-case code searches was analyzed using the two methods discussed above. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 report on the findings from this analysis. In these chapters, the analysis was written up using the quotes which best

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[45]Counting the frequencies of certain experiences within codes is far more "qualitative" than keyword counts.

demonstrate the point under discussion. Chapters 6 and 7 also use the feminist literature to develop the theoretical arguments. The data for Appendix 1, which discusses some of the policy implications of teleworkers' experiences, was also obtained through the same method of analysis. As an informal method of ensuring that the analysis was representative, the number of respondents who were quoted in the thesis was counted; it was found that each of the fifty teleworkers interviewed was quoted at least once.

Supplementary Data Analysis

Aside from the interviews, which form the main data set used for this thesis, two other forms of analysis were conducted. First, SPSS was used to analyze the demographic questionnaires administered after each interview. Means, medians and modes were calculated. Second, data from a variety of Statistics Canada surveys was used to compare the demographics of the teleworkers interviewed to Canadian averages. The information from this supplementary data analysis was compiled into tables, which are presented in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION: INTERPRETING THE EVERYDAY

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, a

central preoccupation during the analysis of the data for this thesis has been the awareness of the difficulties associated with the "interpretation" of everyday experiences. This interpretation involves the linking of these experiences to the structures which shape, but are not immediately visible within, the everyday. The main concern in this thesis is to understand how the public-private dichotomy is manifest in the everyday lives of teleworkers, and how its rhetoric shapes their experiences. Over the past thirty years, there has been a wealth of feminist literature on the public-private dichotomy. Also, a separate, but equally extensive literature has developed on the notions of "work" and "nonwork." The analysis in the following chapters aims to make the interpretive links between these two literatures, using teleworkers' descriptions of their lives as a starting point.

An example will demonstrate this point. I argue in Chapter 6 that one reason teleworkers like to separate their work and nonwork is so that they can reinforce the public-ness of "work," and therefore legitimize it within traditional organizational norms. I draw first from the work of Game and Pringle (1983), who note that women find it easier to manage work and home responsibilities when there is a sharp division between these two spheres. I then show how this observation is reflected in teleworkers' lives. I use the analyses of Richter (1990), Finch (1983) and Sheppard (1992), who each discuss the concepts and experiences of work and nonwork, to ground my

exploration of the reasons teleworkers mention that makes it easier for them to manage their responsibilities when there is a sharp division between work and home. Then I turn to the work of Acker (1992a) who notes that a "job" is assumed to be public, and separate from the private sphere. Teleworkers need to separate their work and nonwork, it can then be seen, largely because they must ensure that "work" retains its character as public. Building upon this analysis, the purposes served by this link between work and public can be explored. The interpretive links between teleworkers' experiences and the public-private can therefore be established by linking feminist reflection on the dichotomy, and feminist reflection on work. In this way, although teleworkers seldom use the actual terms "public" and "private," the manner in which the dichotomy continues to manifest itself in their everyday lives can be explored.

The strategy I have adopted to keep in view the interpretive links I have made throughout the analyses is the extensive use of quotes. Quotes serve the function of allowing readers to "assess the plausibility of the interpretations" rendered (Stewart, 1990:268) and "make their own determination of whether the concept[s] chosen [are] helpful in making sense of the data" (Patton, 1990: 392). The use of quotes also "provide[s] a vicarious experience for those reading or listening to them" (Sandelowski, 1994: 480). The extensive use of quotes in the following chapters therefore ensures that the

theoretical analyses remains grounded in the everyday experiences of teleworkers.

CHAPTER 5

TELEWORKER PROFILES:

HOMOGENEITY AND DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SAMPLE

This chapter serves as a descriptive introduction to the
sample of teleworkers interviewed for this study. In the first
section, the demographic and work characteristics of the
sample are discussed. These are compared to the
characteristics of Canadian workers in general in an attempt
to develop "images" of the female and male teleworker. The
next section of the chapter focuses on the types of work that
teleworkers do; gender differences in this work are explored.
The telework arrangements of the respondents are also
discussed. Throughout the chapter, selected respondents are
profiled, and their telework histories reconstructed. These
profiles facilitate a contextualized understanding of
teleworkers' lives. As discussed in the previous chapter,
teleworkers interviewed for this study are a homogeneous group
in that they are all employed by companies (as opposed to
being self employed), and all receive monthly wages and
benefits (as opposed to being pieceworkers). Beyond this,
there are other similarities and differences amongst the
teleworkers interviewed[46]; variations in demographic traits,

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[46]As discussed in the previous chapter, teleworkers in
this sample were chosen on the basis of certain pre-determined
criteria. Within these criteria, however, attempts were made
to keep the sample as varied and heterogeneous as possible so
that the prevalence of certain experiences (such as the

the nature of work, and the telework arrangements are the focus of this chapter.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRAITS

A total of thirty women and twenty men were interviewed in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal for the present study.[47] Table 1 shows the characteristics of the sample:

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE OF TELEWORKERS:

	TOTAL [N=50]	WOMEN [N=30]	MEN [N=20]
CITY OF RESIDENCE:			
Ottawa	36%	40%	30%
Toronto	42%	43%	40%
Montreal	22%	17%	30%
MEAN AGE:	40 yrs	39 yrs	43 yrs
MEAN YEARS IN LABOUR FORCE:	19.9 yrs	18.7 yrs	21.7 yrs
MEAN YEARS IN CURRENT JOB:	6.6 yrs	5.6 yrs	8 yrs
TYPE OF EMPLOYER:			
Government	32%	40%	20%
Private	68%	60%	80%

Two-thirds of the respondents interviewed work for private companies and the rest for the federal government. A higher proportion of the women than the men in the sample work for

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continued importance of the distinction between public and private) could be discerned across particular telework arrangements.

[47]A questionnaire was administered after each interview to obtain some demographic information on the respondent. SPSS was used to analyze the questionnaires.

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the federal government.[48] Individuals from eighteen different organizations were interviewed, and no more than seven respondents were drawn from the same company. The respondents are on average forty years of age. The age of the women in the study ranges from twenty-six years to fifty-seven years; about two thirds are younger than the mean age of women in the sample (thirty-nine years). The men in the study are between thirty-one years and fifty-nine years' old; about half are younger than forty-three (the mean age for the men). The following table shows the age distribution of teleworkers in the study:

TABLE 2:   AGE OF TELEWORKERS

AGE GROUP (years)	WOMEN (N=30)	MEN (N=20)
25-34	27%	10%
35-44	53%	40%
45-54	17%	45%
55-64	3%	5%
TOTAL	100%	100%

This table shows that while there is considerable variation in the ages of the respondents interviewed, the men are in

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[48]This would explain the higher rate of unionization of female teleworkers in the sample, as will be discussed shortly.

general older than the women.[49] It should be noted that this difference in age is likely to have some impact on the gender differences in the paid work characteristics of the sample which are discussed throughout this chapter.

Respondents have been in the labour force on average for nearly twenty years.[50] They therefore have a significant amount of experience working in a conventional office environment, which informs the comparisons they make between working at home and working in the office (see Chapter 7 for further discussion of these comparisons). Respondents are in management occupations, business, finance and administration occupations, sales and service occupations and occupations in the natural or applied sciences (as per Employment and Immigration Canada's National Occupational Classification, 1993).[51] The teleworkers interviewed have been in their present job functions for an average of about six and a half years. This suggests that these teleworkers are not entry-level employees; having performed the same job function for several years they are likely to have developed some expertise and experience in their work. Twenty percent of the teleworkers interviewed are francophone. Only six percent of

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[49]Of the women in the sample, eighty percent are between 25 and 44 years old. Eighty five percent of the men in the sample are between 35 and 54 years old.

[50]Ninety-two percent of the sample of teleworkers have been in the labour force for ten or more years.

[51]See later section on the nature of teleworkers' paid work for further discussion of their occupations.

the sample are visible minorities which underscores the fundamental differences between this group of workers and "homeworkers" (pieceworkers) amongst whom immigrant women with few other employment options are typically overrepresented (Johnson and Johnson, 1990). The following profiles provide illustrations of teleworkers' demographic traits:

ROSANNE[52]

Rosanne works as a technology specialist for a large private company. She is thirty-two years old, and has been in the labour force for thirteen years. Her current job function, which she has been performing for the past seven years, involves coordinating projects, developing strategy, designing plans, liaising with vendors, and providing day-to-day support. She works at home one day a week; although she would like to telework more often, her job requires her to be at meetings for most of the work week. Part of her work, however, can be done at home, since some of her interactions occur "by phone anyway" and other job tasks require individual work. Rosanne puts aside particular kinds of work to be done on her telework day. She says that at home, she has more control over her interruptions, which is important for certain work because "if you make one little mistake it becomes a major catastrophe." She says that although only a minor portion of

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[52]The names used are not the real names of the respondents.

her job is supposed to be the provision of day to day support, when she is at the central office she often spends most of her time fulfilling this function. At home, she doesn't have "the bustle of activity...causing interruptions and distractions." This allows her to do certain types of work better at home; she says, "working at home, the productivity level is way up there...you can definitely fit more than eight hours' work in that one day at home."

Rosanne refers to the days she works at home as her "sanity days," which allow her to work "at a pace [she] sets for [her]self" and in an environment which she can "manage... totally." She says, "if I had a big job that needed to get out...if I stayed at home it would get done within a specific time frame. Whereas...[at the central office] you have to take into account all the possible interruptions...you will always disappoint yourself. So working at home I don't disappoint myself." Before Rosanne started working at home, she often did overtime work on weekends; now that she works at home during the work week she says that she often has "more hours back on the weekend" to spend with her husband and young child (#37).

LEON

Leon is a forty year old senior manager with a Masters' degree. He is employed by a private company, and works at home for four days of the week, stressing that the home is a "more normal, natural environment" to work and that teleworking is

a more "natural way of working." He says that it makes no sense for people to "drive through some great grey misty void to arrive into a canyon with other people who have also left themselves behind...[and to] reverse the whole process at the end of the day." Leon's job involves managing a group of people, and doing administrative and performance reviews. He has been in the labour force for seventeen years, and his present job function for three years; his previous job, however, involved very similar work. Eighteen months ago, most of Leon's work group decided to work from their homes because much of their work was done on the phone and working at the central office "made no sense." Working at home, Leon saves the twenty-five minute commute to and from work, as well as getting more work done. He believes that in the office environment, with "those dreadful ad hoc meetings," a lot of time is "horribly wasted."

When Leon works at home, he begins his workday at 6:30 am, going to his desk in the den. He stops to have breakfast with his two young children and his wife, who is, at the moment, a full-time homemaker and caregiver. Leon's children get an opportunity to "know more about what [he does] for a living." Leon also appreciates the fact that he can be available at home for deliveries or repairpeople during the day (#11).

Comparisons with all Employed Canadians

Teleworkers interviewed for the present study can be compared to the Canadian working people in general on several dimensions. It should be noted, however, that such comparisons are limited by one significant factor.[53] Data on all employed Canadians are based on surveys which include women and men who are between fifteen and sixty-five years of age. While the age of teleworkers in the present study ranges from twenty-six to fifty-nine years, nearly half are in the thirty-five to forty-four years' age group.[54] None are below twenty-six years of age and only four percent are over fifty-five. The fact that most teleworkers in the present study are in their thirties and forties affects the results of comparisons between them and employed Canadians in general. For example, the age of teleworkers can explain, in part, their higher than average levels of income, marriage and eldercare responsibility.

Despite this limitation, I argue that making comparisons between teleworkers in the present study and employed Canadians in general is vital. The central purpose of such comparisons is to contextualize the lives of the individuals

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[53]Another limitation is the fact that data have been collected from surveys conducted over a period of several years. Interviews for the present study were conducted between June 1993 and June 1994; data on all employed Canadians which coincide exactly with this time period are not available.

[54]As shown in Table 2. See discussion in the previous section for comments on the gender differences in teleworkers' ages.

interviewed, rather than to make generalizations about the teleworking population as a whole.[55] By comparing teleworkers to all employed Canadians, images of the types of individuals interviewed for this study can be developed, and their social and economic position vis-à-vis the rest of the labour force can be understood. This social and economic position informs the concerns and priorities which teleworkers highlight. It should be noted, however, that findings from the comparisons made in the following section need to be confirmed through future large-scale quantitative data gathering before they can be said to characterize the teleworking population as a whole. Table 3 compares the characteristics of female and male teleworkers with those of employed Canadians in general.

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[55]As mentioned in Chapter 4, given that there is no definable "population" of teleworkers, the individuals interviewed for the present study cannot be said to be a representative sample.

TABLE 3: TELEWORKERS COMPARED TO ALL EMPLOYED CANADIANS[56]

	TELEWORKING WOMEN [N=30]	ALL EMPLOYED WOMEN	TELEWORKING MEN [N=20]	ALL EMPLOYED MEN
HIGHEST EDUCATION ATTAINED: -High School -University	46% 50% [a]	23% 11% [b]	25% 75%	20% 14% [b]
MEAN INDIVIDUAL INCOME:	$50,185	$28,350 [c] $34,765 [d]	$72,666	$39,468 [c] $51,680 [d]
MEAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME:	$97,717	$53,131 [e]	$100,000 [f]	$53,131 [e]
PERCENT DUAL EARNER FAMILIES:	96% [g]	60% [h]	50%	60% [h]
PERCENT PART-TIME:	23% [j]	26% [k]	5% [j]	10% [k]
PERCENT UNION MEMBERS:	37%	31% [m]	20%	39% [m]
MARITAL STATUS: -Single -Married/Common-Law -Separated/Divorced -Widowed	3% 90% 3% 3%	29% 66% 5% 0.04% [n]	5% 90% 5% 0%	26% 64% 8% 0.02% [n]
PERCENT WITH CHILDREN:	63%	63% [o]	65%	53% [p]
PERCENT PROVIDING ELDERCARE:	13%	10% [q]	5%	4% [q]
AVERAGE COMMUTING TIME (one way):	43 minutes	24 minutes [r]	47 minutes	24 minutes [r]

[56] Index for Table 3. These data are from a variety of surveys conducted by Statistics Canada between 1991 and 1995 - aggregate data from a single source do not exist.

a: Four percent are missing values.

b: Women in the Labour Force 1994, p.40

c: Women in the Labour Force, 1994, p.32. These are full-time, full year workers.

d: Women in Canada 3rd Ed., 1995, p.96. These are the average earnings of male and female Managerial/Administrative workers (full-time) only (based on the Standard Occupational Classification, 1980).

e: Canada Yearbook, 1994, p.211. Based on 1991 Census. Separate figures for women and men were not given. For one-earner families, this average is $40,322; for two earner families it is $60, 794 (Women in the Labour Force, 1994, p.54).

f: This figure is based on 43 responses; the first seven respondents were pilot interviews and were not asked this question.

g: Of the teleworkers interviewed, 87% were in dual earner families. Since the first seven respondents were not asked this question (see Appendix 5), this figure is based on 43 responses (26 women and 17 men).

h: Women in Canada 3rd edition, 1995, p.88. No separate figure is calculated for women and men, although it can be expected that many more employed women than men are in dual-earner families.

j: Part-time workers are defined as those who work less than five regular days per week. More than half of these teleworkers work four days a week.

k: Women in the Labour Force 1994, p.18. Part time workers are defined as those who work less than 30 hours per week.

m: Women in the Labour Force 1994, p.59.

n: Computed from: The Labour Force 1995, p.B-13.

o: Women in Canada 3rd edition, 1995, p.72.

p: Canada's Men: A Profile of their 1988 Labour Market Experience, 1992, p.45 (this figure excludes single men with children).

q: CACSW, 110 Canadian Statistics on Work and Family, 1994, p.20. Based on Conference Board of Canada study. The figures provided represent the percentage of primary care givers of each sex.

r: Perspectives, Summer 1994, p.17. Based on General Social Survey (1992). No separate figures available for women and men.

Table 3 shows that female teleworkers in this study are highly educated and highly paid women compared to employed Canadian women in general. This can be attributed in part to the fact that they are mostly managerial/administrative workers or workers in the natural sciences, which are the two highest paid occupational groups in Canada (Market Research Handbook, 1995:193).[57] Even compared to this group of Canadian workers, however, teleworkers' salaries are higher.[58] The salaries of teleworking women within the sample range from $21,000 to $77,000; however, only one woman earns less than the average salary for Canadian employed managerial/ administrative women workers in general ($34,765)[59]. It can be seen that there is a significant difference between the average incomes of female and male "managerial/administrative"

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[57]Managerial/Administrative workers and workers in the Natural Sciences comprise approximately fourteen percent of Canadian employed women in general (Women in Canada, 1995:76; Women in the Labour Force, 1994:20). The occupational distribution of teleworkers will be discussed further later in this chapter.

[58]This is despite the fact that a few teleworking women in the sample work only part-time, as will be discussed shortly.

[59]Only thirteen percent of women in Managerial/ Administrative occupations in Canada earn more than $50,000, (Earnings of Men and Women, 1993:34), which is the mean salary of teleworking women. The average income for Canadian women in the Natural Sciences is $34,896 (Women in Canada, 3rd Edition, 1995:96). Only seven percent of women in these occupations earn more than $50,000 (Earnings of Men and Women, 1993:34). These data provide further evidence of the comparatively high incomes of teleworking women.

workers in Canada. This difference is reflected in teleworkers' incomes; the women in the sample earn considerably less, on average, than the men.

Teleworking women also have higher household incomes than employed women in general. A much higher proportion of married female teleworkers than employed women are in dual earner families and seventeen percent of these women earn more than their spouses[60]. A fifth of the women in the sample work part-time.[61] Teleworking women are, on average, more likely to be unionized than employed Canadian women in general.[62]

Many more teleworking women than employed women in general are married.[63] Like employed Canadian women in general, two-thirds of teleworking women have children, and a

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[60]This can be compared to fourteen percent of Canadian women in general in dual earner families who earn more than their spouses (Women in Canada, 1995, p.88), thus supporting the argument of the higher earning power of women in the study.

[61]However it should be noted that "part-time" workers are defined here as those who work less than five regular work days. Only three of the women in the present study work less than thirty hours per week (which is the Statistics Canada definition of part-time work). It can be expected that the part-time workers in the study reduce the average income of the sample as a whole. This average, however, still remains higher than the figure for average employed women, suggesting that teleworkers' salaries were significantly higher that those of employed Canadian women in general.

[62]As mentioned, this can be attributed in part to the fact that two-thirds of the women in the sample work for the government (most federal government employees are unionized).

[63]However, this is likely to be due, at least in part, to the age of the sample of teleworkers, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

little over one-tenth have eldercare responsibilities. On average, the female teleworkers in the sample have younger children than the male respondents in the sample[64]. The high proportion of married women and women with children in the sample is not surprising given that one of the reasons teleworkers mention for wanting to work at home is so that they can better balance their work and family responsibilities.

Teleworking women spend, on average, twice as long commuting to their central workplaces as employed Canadians in general. Accordingly teleworkers often cite the fact that they avoid the commute to and from their workplaces as one of the advantages of working at home. The following profile provides an example of a female teleworker:

LISA

Lisa is a thirty-eight year old government employee. She is married, with one child, and earns nearly fifty thousand dollars a year. Lisa is highly educated, with a bachelor's degree as well as a specialized professional qualification. Her spouse is also employed; their household income is one

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[64]The average age of the first (or oldest) child is 9.7 years for the sample as a whole. For women, however, the average age of the first child is 7 years and for men it is 13.6 years. Similarly, the mean age of the second child for the sample as a whole is 8.1 years while the mean age of the second child of women in the sample is 5 years and that for men in the sample is 10 years. This is undoubtably a function of age since, as discussed earlier, the men in the sample are older than the women.

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hundred thousand dollars. Lisa is a full-time, nomadic teleworker; her work involves meetings at various locations and she spends about one-third of each week working out of her home office. Once a week she also stops in at the central office to collect her mail, hand in time-sheets (on time spent on different projects), drop off or pick up files, and speak to her supervisor and colleagues. Her main job functions include auditing, research and report writing; her work is organized into projects, each of which needs to be completed within a four month timeframe.

Lisa has a room in her house where she keeps a laptop computer, printer (both provided by the employer) and all her files. She says that she structures her workday at home in exactly the same way as she did when she worked at the central office - "I start at 8:15...at noon [I stop] to have lunch, and then go back to work around 12:30 or 1:00 and finish at 5:00." Lisa notes that she needs to structure her day in this manner; if she does not meet her work deadlines during the day she does not "have any other time to do [the work]." She also likes the fact that she does not have to commute to and from work (forty-five minutes each way), which enables her to pick up her young child from the babysitter earlier in the evening. Working at home also gives Lisa more control over her work interruptions which allows her to work more effectively. Lisa says that she does not miss the fact that she does not have her colleagues to talk to; she says that she prefers to "save

energy for [her daughter]." She says, "once a week when you come to hand in a time sheet you can gab with other people." (#19)

Teleworking Men

Table 3 shows that teleworking men are highly educated and command high incomes compared to Canadian employed men in general[65]. The men in the sample have higher levels of education and individual income than teleworking women. Teleworking men, like teleworking women, also have higher household incomes than those of employed Canadians in general. Half the married men in the sample are in dual earner families. In addition, very few work part-time and they have lower than average rates of unionization.[66] Pierson notes that "men's ability to command more pay in the public sector translates into unequal relations between husband and wife in the private sphere" (1995:4). Teleworkers' division of

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[65]The incomes of teleworking men in the sample range from $44,000 to $100,000. Even the lower income men in the sample, therefore, earn more than the average Canadian employed man. Only two men in the sample earn less that the average for all managerial/administrative employees in Canada ($51,680). About 25% of men in Managerial/Administrative occupations in Canada earn more than $60,000, while 17% of men in Natural/Applied Science occupations earn more than $60,000. (Data on the percent of men earning more than $70,000, which is the mean income of teleworking men is not available) (Earnings of Men and Women, 1993: 34).

[66]This is likely to be due to the high percentage of the men in the sample working in the private sector.

household labour is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Teleworking men are more likely than employed Canadian men in general to be married, and to have children.[67] They are as likely as employed Canadian men in general to be providing eldercare, but less likely to be doing so than teleworking women. Like teleworking women, the men commute about twice as far to their central workplaces compared to employed Canadians in general. The following is a profile of a teleworking man:

DAN

Dan's work involves report writing, document analysis, strategic planning and lobbying. For much his time, he works independently, or on the telephone. Dan holds a Bachelor of Arts degree and earns seventy thousand dollars a year. He works at home for two days every week, in his den which has been converted into a "formal work area." He has two children, one is in high school, and the other in elementary school. He is married; his wife also works full-time[68] and they share the housework and childcare responsibilities. When he works at home, Dan does not have to wake up as early in the mornings, and can see his children off to school, and says that "there's

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[67]This is can be explained, in part, by the age of male teleworkers. As discussed earlier, most male teleworkers in this study are between 35 and 54 years of age.

[68]This interview was done early in the project and the respondent was asked to complete the pilot questionnaire, which at that point did not ask for total household income.

a certain amount of satisfaction in that." On telework days, Dan also provides after school care to his elementary school-age son, but he says, "he doesn't need a lot of taking care of...there's no direct hands-on childcare that's required, it's just somebody being there in case of emergency."

Dan says that his work sometimes "necessitates sitting down [and] writing...something. [When] it's against a deadline, it's easier to do it away from the office. You don't have...as many people bothering you." Dan is careful, however, not to extend his workday when he works at home; he says, "I don't like working any more than seven and a half hours a day unless I absolutely have to...the end of the day comes and I've worked steadily all the way through [it]...[I] fold things up [and] put them away." With the technological capability to connect to central office electronically, Dan can work on any of his projects at home. He says "I can do anything...whatever comes up in the course of the day...the only thing that's different is instead of meeting face-to-face with somebody...I pick up the phone."

Dan also likes to work at home to avoid the commute (which takes one hour each way) to the central office. He likes the fact that he can work in the scenic surrounding of his home, which is in the country. He says, "if I want to go fishing at noon, all I have to do is take my fishing rod and go across the road and go fishing...for lunch...if I want to mow the lawn at lunch, I mow the lawn."(#04)

Teleworking couples, in general, are more likely than other Canadian workers to be in marriages in which domestic responsibilities are perceived to be shared. About half the married men in the sample say they assume equal responsibility for domestic work with their spouses, and one third of the married women interviewed say they have spouses who share equally in the domestic work (that is, forty percent of all married respondents). With the remaining married respondents, women assume primary responsibility for domestic work.[69] According to the 1990 General Social Survey, only ten percent of married couples in Canada share responsibility for housework equally[70] (Pierson and Cohen, 1995:13; Women in Canada, 1995: 70).

As shown in the table below teleworking women and men manage different types of domestic activities while they are doing their paid work:

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[69]Three women in the sample provide childcare or eldercare while they are working (all work part-time); all other respondents (both women and men) with children use daycare facilities or have domestic helpers.

[70]Housework in the GSS is defined as meal preparation, cleanup, cleaning and laundry. This survey did not ask about childcare, although Pierson argues that since all couples surveyed had children it is likely that "children in the household increase the amount of housework" (1995:57).

TABLE 4: MOST COMMONLY CITED DOMESTIC WORK INTERSPERSING PAID WORK:

WOMEN	MEN
1.laundry	1.laundry
2.childcare	2.cooking/food preparation
3.cleaning	3.cleaning
4.cooking/food preparation	4.groceries
5.groceries	5.shovelling

The table above shows that while male and female teleworkers do similar domestic tasks, women remain responsible for integrating children's needs into their paid work schedules. Sheppard argues that "gender differences in...the degree and type of involvement in family tasks suggests that the nature of the boundaries and linkages between paid work and family are also experienced differently by women and men" (1988:1). While both women and men claim that telework enhances their ability to balance their work and family demands by giving them flexibility and control over their schedules, there are qualitative differences between female and male teleworkers' experiences of the boundary between their work and family lives. Given that childcare remains the primary responsibility for all the mothers, and domestic work for a high proportion of the women, it is assumed that work and family boundaries are "permeable" for women, and "separated" for men (Sheppard, 1988:165). Accordingly, one man can say,

I have the opportunity at 8:30 to come out and greet my children after they've had their breakfast and to take them to school...kiss my daughter, kiss my son, say, "have a great day at school"...I mean I spend all of 15 minutes apart from my work life to really get some value out of my family life...I have the opportunity to spend those little...slices of my life...even though I am divorcing what I do inside that little office from the family. (#36)

Women on the other hand talk of being much more involved in their children's lives when working at home. One woman says about her school age children:

they're not latchkey kids...you have more control on the amount of TV they watch...you can encourage them to get better at things, like they all...take music lessons... you can say at 7:30 in the morning - "Practice!." Where you couldn't if you weren't here...You can coordinate everything...you can make sure the little girl's hair is combed properly before she leaves...you can work around parent/teacher interviews...(#07)

These variations also give rise to different attitudes concerning women's and men's balance between their work and family lives. Sheppard finds in her study of professionals and managers that men often spoke of strategies they had developed to balance work and family by restricting their involvement in work during time reserved for their families. Some men expressed regret at having "missed out" on their childrens' growing up due to their over-involvement in their careers (Sheppard, 1988:6). Similarly telework allowed men to share "slices of their lives" with their families. Sheppard notes that women on the other hand characterized the boundary

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between work and family as much more precarious (Sheppard, 1988: 6). As one teleworking woman says,

> you can't slip five minutes this way or that because it can throw everybody off...you have commitments...I have a commitment with my babysitter to pick up [my child]. There are many [evenings in the office] when I am running out the door and people are walking with me because they have to talk to me. [On telework days] I can pick up my daughter earlier...but if something were to happen and I was on the phone for business and it went till 4:15 or 4:20, I could still meet my commitment of picking [my child] up at 4:45. (#33)

Many teleworking women appreciate the flexibility and control over their work that they gain by working at home.[71] This allows them to better balance their work and their family responsibilities. One woman says,

> it's MY balancing act, I'm still working and getting all the "feel good" stuff about it - I have a job, I have a position -I've got all these things and yet I don't have any of the stress of feeling I'm not doing a good enough job as a parent. (#14)

The domestic work responsibilities of female and male teleworkers are explored further through the following profiles:

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[71]This is also however accompanied by some "role stress" - being at home women are often being continually pulled between their work and their family responsibilities. This is why they feel it necessary to maintain a separation between their work and nonwork lives, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

DARLENE

Darlene works two or three days of her work-week at home. She is an accountant, and her work involves reviewing documents, bookkeeping and report writing. She does much of her work independently, using a computer. With two young children, Darlene believes that "if you're going to make the conscious decision to have children...then you should be... spending some time with them." Given her long commute between work and home (ninety minutes each way), she says that before she started working at home, "I didn't have enough hours in the day...it was a real problem...kids are my priority and I wasn't spending enough time with them." On the days that she works at home, Darlene is able to have breakfast with her children, as well as drop them off at their caregivers later in the morning and pick them up earlier in the evening. She says, "it's really the little things...having breakfast with your kids instead of shoving a bowl of Cheerios in front of them and saying, here, you have five minutes to eat...it's just little things like that - it really does make a big difference." If her children are participating in a concert, or are ill, she can adjust her work schedule to accommodate their needs. She says working at home "gives me so much more flexibility." On the days she works at home, Darlene makes a "nice home cooked meal" while on other days she and her husband come home and "[rush] around trying to get the kids fed before they start screaming." Also, on her work-at-home

days, "the laundry [just] sort of happens."

Although Darlene says she started to work at home primarily to spend more time with her children, she also enjoys the fact that "there are no interruptions...I can put my music on and I find that a much nicer atmosphere to work in. I can look out at my garden." She finds that she works more effectively at home, getting "a lot more done," and often working through her lunch hour. She says, "I don't feel guilty if four o'clock comes along and I say, I think I'll go pick my kids up...I've worked through my lunch, I've put in my required amount of time." Darlene works on her dining room table. She says that it would be nice to have room for a separate space, but she's "almost glad" to be working in the dining room. She says, that that way "when I'm finished I pack it [the files] all up and put it away...I don't think about it again." (#40).

DAVID

David is a forty-four year old teleworker. He is a senior marketing representative and works full-time at home, except when he is in meetings with his customers. David's job involves preparing and making presentations, writing proposals, and coordinating projects. He says, "except for the face to face customer calls, all the rest [can be done] from home." David tries to structure his week so that he can make all his customer calls on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays,

and then do follow up work at home on Thursdays and Fridays. On the days David has scheduled meetings with customers, he works in his home office in the mornings and then leaves for his meetings, which allows him to "avoid the traffic."

On most Thursdays and Fridays, David works at home all day. On these days, David can wake up later in the mornings. He says, "I [am] probably on the terminal from 9:00 until 4:30 and I accomplish more in that time than I do at the office in about two days...I [have] less interruptions, less walking around. It's very much more concentrated." David has set up his home office in the basement of his house; his employer has equipped him with a desk, a filing cabinet, a computer, a fax machine, a printer and two phone lines. David often answers calls or works overtime in the evenings, he says, "not because I have a terminal at home, [but] because the work requires it."

By working at home, David sees his two school-age children more. He says, "the kids get home about 4:00. The first thing they do is they tell me how [their] day went." David comments that his wife, who does part-time paid work, was happy when he started to work at home because she "didn't have to do everything by herself...she would know that from about 6:00pm to about 8:30pm I would be helping her...that relieved her." Also, on Fridays, David says that his wife "prepares washes...I've got four or five washes to do during the day...when I hear the machine stop, and I'm not on a

customer phone call, I will drop everything and take [the laundry] out of the washer and ship it to the dryer." According to David this is not an interruption because "laundry doesn't take much concentration."

David stresses that he also enjoys the control he has over his home work environment. He says, "I can get the radio to play so depending on the type of work [I'm doing], I have classical music or pop music...when it's a proposal, I [have] pop music...when I have to think a little more, I probably have classical." (#50)

NATURE OF PAID WORK

The individuals interviewed for this study can also be compared on the basis of the nature of their paid work activities. The following table shows the occupations[72] of the teleworkers in this study:

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[72]Teleworkers' job titles were classified into different occupational groups based on the 1993 Employment and Immigration Canada's National Occupational Classification. It should be noted that most Statistics Canada surveys to date (including the Labour Force Surveys and the Census) use the 1980 Standard Occupational Classification, which groups managerial and administrative workers into one category (and has a separate category for clerical workers). I used the 1993 Classification here because it distinguishes between "Managerial" and "Business, Finance, Administrative" jobs, which is useful in understanding gender differences in teleworkers' occupations.

TABLE 5: OCCUPATIONS OF TELEWORKERS[73]

	Management	Business, Finance, and Administration	Natural and Applied Sciences	Sales and Service
% OF WOMEN	17%	63%	17%	3%
% OF MEN	40%	20%	25%	15%
EXAMPLES OF JOB TITLES:	-Business Manager -Project Manager -Associate Director -Senior Manager	-Auditor -Editor -Program Officer -Researcher	-Computer Programmer -Systems Analyst	-Marketing Representative -Sales Representative -Sales Trainee

It can be seen that a majority of the teleworking women in the present study are clustered in Business, Finance and Administrative occupations, while the majority of men are in Management or Natural/Applied Science occupations. In addition to their job titles, teleworkers' day-to-day activities provide further insight into the nature of their paid work. Examples of job tasks mentioned by the respondents when they were asked to describe the work they do include writing, reviewing, planning, researching, editing, programming and contacting customers.

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[73]Based on the 1993 National Occupational Classification (Employment and Immigration Canada). Management occupations consist of both senior and middle management jobs. Business, Finance and Administration occupations consist of "professional", "skilled" and "clerical" jobs. No teleworkers in the present study holds a clerical job. Natural and applied science occupations include computer specialists. Sales and service occupations include "skilled", "intermediate" and "elementary" jobs. Teleworkers in the present study are clustered in the skilled sales and service jobs.

Teleworkers who do not work at home full-time[74] identify certain tasks best done at home, and others best done in the central office. The most popular home-based task, amongst both the women and the men, is writing. After writing, women and men both cite phone calls (phone meetings as well as customer contact) as tasks they reserve for their days at home. Men also cite programming, while women commonly mention reading and analysis. When asked why these tasks are best done at home, teleworkers mention a variety of reasons, all of which are linked to the fact that the office environment is not conducive to tasks which require uninterrupted, quiet time, great concentration, long spans of attention, and focused thinking.[75]

Teleworkers also identify some tasks that they reserve for the days on which that they go to the central office. Both women and men mention that they often go to their central offices for meetings. Although many respondents say that most meetings can be held over the phone, certain meetings, it is recognized, require face to face contact. These include group meetings (for example, monthly staff meetings), meetings where there is a crucial decision to be made, meetings with colleagues who do not feel comfortable resolving issues over the phone, meetings which involve sharing of documents

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[74]See next section on telework arrangements for the number of full-time teleworkers in this study.

[75]This point is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7.

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(graphics etc) and certain meetings on sensitive issues where body language is important. Two other tasks which are commonly identified as office-based are tasks which require administrative services, and tasks linked to computer facilities not available in the home.[76] As discussed further in Chapter 7, by distinguishing between work tasks best done at home and those best done in the central office, teleworkers comment on the similarities and differences between the public and the private work environments. The following profile provides an illustration of the ways in which teleworkers organize their work tasks:

BEVERLEY

Beverley is a part-time employee, working four days a week.[77] Each week she works at home on one of her four working days. Her job involves liaising with other departments, consolidating information, and editing and proofreading

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[76]In terms of technology, teleworkers most commonly use the telephone (with voice mail) and the computer when they do paid work at home. Eighty percent of male teleworkers have access to their company's network from home, while only a third of female teleworkers have such access. Some teleworkers also have fax machines and cordless/cellular phones in their home offices. Teleworkers mention that their ability to telework effectively depends on the technology they have available to them. It is interesting to note, however, that teleworkers do not say that they need better or different types of equipment than they have in their central offices, but merely equipment with the same capabilities available to their office-working counterparts. None of the participants in the study have videoconferencing facilities.

[77]As mentioned earlier, part time employees are defined in this study as those who work less than five regular work days.

documents - she calls her group an "information clearing house." At the beginning of each week, Beverley starts a "pile" of work for her telework day. This work includes proofreading, for which "you need to be very focused...you need to stay on the same wave length and not be interrupted." Also, Beverley prepares presentations, completes spread sheets and writes business memos at home. She can do these tasks more effectively at home because, as she says, "I stick to the one thing and I get it done before I move on to something else. Here [at the central office] I have [something] on the screen and then a phone call will come in and I'll be off to something else." Beverley also says, "I only bring certain things home. So I have to work on them...if there is something I don't like to do I'll put it in my take home file and there's a much higher probability of it getting done." A large proportion of Beverley's work is done via electronic mail; she does this work at the central office since she is not electronically connected to the company's network from home.

When Beverley works at home she avoids her long commute to and from work (one and a half hours each way). As a result, she spends more time with her children. On her telework day, Beverley has a nanny who looks after her pre-school child in the house. Beverley works in her large bedroom, which has a desk in the corner. She says that during the day, her children are "downstairs...and they're not allowed [to come] upstairs." During the day, Beverley comes downstairs to eat lunch, and

takes short breaks with her children. In the evening, she packs all her files away into her briefcase.

TELEWORK ARRANGEMENTS

In addition to demographic and work factors, similarities and differences in the telework arrangements of the respondents can also be considered. Of particular significance is the nature of the telework contract (whether it is formal or informal) and the number of days per week respondents work at home. Table 6 shows the telework arrangements of the individuals in the present study:

TABLE 6: TELEWORK ARRANGEMENTS

	TOTAL (N=50)	WOMEN (N=30)	MEN (N=20)
DAYS AT HOME PER WEEK:			
4-5 (Total Full Time) Full Time Nomadic	56% [26%]	50% [10%]	65% [50%]
2-3 (Total Alternating) Alternating Nomadic	24% [6%]	27% [3%]	20% [10%]
Less than 2 (Ad Hoc)	20%	23%	15%
PERCENT WITH FORMAL TELEWORK ARRANGEMENT[78]	84%	83%	85%
MONTHS FORMALLY TELEWORKING	16	16	16
MONTHS INFORMALLY TELEWORKING	87	62	117

Teleworkers in the present sample differ from one another in terms of the number of days they work at home. Gray et al. identify four types of teleworkers. "Full time" teleworkers are workers who may make regular visits to their central offices but do not spend the equivalent of more than one day per week at their central worksite. "Alternating" teleworkers spend two or three days per week working at home.[79] "Ad Hoc" teleworkers spend a day every now and then (but not more often than once per week) working at home. "Nomadic teleworkers" are

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[78]This is when a written contract exists, sometimes this is between the supervisor and the teleworker, and at other times it is a formal company document.

[79]Grey et al use the term "part-time" teleworkers. These workers are called "alternating" teleworkers in the present study to avoid confusion between them and part-time workers.

those whose jobs involve customer contact or travelling (1993:3).

More than half of the sample for the present study are full-time teleworkers; a majority of the men amongst the full-time teleworkers are nomadic.[80] The remainder of the teleworkers in the sample are either alternating or ad hoc. Most respondents have had formal telework arrangements for about sixteen months, although many of them reported teleworking on an informal basis for years before their formal agreements (often on an ad hoc basis).

It is rare for teleworkers in this study not to have worked in the office in the recent past - either on a weekly basis or in their pre-teleworking careers. They are therefore able to compare their experiences of working at home with those of working in a central office.[81] Many of the teleworkers in this study continue to maintain strong links to their organizations; eighty percent of the sample have office space in their central worksites, and another sixteen percent have access to shared workspace[82]. As discussed in later

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[80]These nomadic teleworkers may not work at home everyday (since part of their jobs require customer contact), but they do work _out of_ their homes; their homes are their primary workspace.

[81]Part of the experiences of teleworking for many workers can, however, be attributed to the fact that they are still adjusting to the change in location of their paid work. Further study of the long-term effects of telework is required.

[82]The remaining 4% do not have office space in their central offices.

chapters, while these employees work at home, they remain a part of the organizational culture of their companies.

CONCLUSION: HOMOGENEITY AND DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SAMPLE

This chapter has served to demonstrate the similarities and differences within the sample of teleworkers interviewed for this study. Within the context of their own particular teleworking situations, each of these respondents contributes to the theoretical understanding of the public-private dichotomy, which is the central concern of this thesis. Despite variations in the sample, many teleworkers organize their lives in similar ways, and this provides insights into the mechanisms which reproduce the hegemonic ways of working, across individual contexts. Using these teleworkers' experiences as a starting point, the next two chapters attempt to explore further the mechanisms which reify the public-private dichotomy.

PROTECTING THE SPHERES: LEGITIMIZING WORK

Rebecca has a special routine for the day she works at home. She says, "I keep my briefcase upstairs, so I walk downstairs with my briefcase, my husband says, oh, you're going to work now, and I say yes. I go in the dining room and I close the door. And...now I'm at work." Rebecca takes files out of her briefcase and brings her reference materials up from the filing cabinet in the basement. She says, "part of the ritual is I get all this stuff out." (#28)

Every morning, Fred has breakfast with his wife and three preschool children. After breakfast, he goes upstairs to the spare bedroom, designated as his home office. At the foot of the stairs, he kisses his children "goodbye," and they say, "Have a nice day, Dad." (#51)

Jacky has a separate room in her house which she uses as her home office. The room she says is completely set aside for an office; it's not used for anything else. Jacky's home office also has her name plate on the door. She says, "it's not a guest room, it's my office. [The] name plate...reinforces that for me." (#42)

When Mark walks into his home office everyday, he places a "do not disturb" sign on the door handle and then locks the door behind him. If Mark's wife, who works at home, wants to contact him, she leaves him voice mail. He says, "I'm gone to work...I'm in my office in the basement but I'm at work, so she treats it that way." (#36)

Crystal believes that it is important to maintain a sense of professionalism when working from home. She answers her home office phone with a formal greeting and the name of the company. She says, "we're professionals, we act professional." Dress is an important part of this professionalism. Sometimes, Crystal says, "I'll have the top half of me dressed in business, and the bottom half I'll still have my moccasins." (#43)

These teleworkers have each developed rituals of going to

work which replace the traditional commute to the workplace. Hall and Richter note that the commute often plays an important psychological function, giving people the "chance to get into work in the morning, and unwind in the afternoon" (1988:220). Teleworkers develop strategies for "getting into work" and "unwinding" without leaving their homes.

As discussed in Chapter 2, feminist theorists argue that the public-private dichotomy misrepresents women's and men's lives, serving patriarchy by devaluing women's work. Suzanne Mackenzie argues that for people who work at home, "both the household and the neighborhood become workplace as well as living space, simultaneously public and private space. In fact the division into public and private becomes an increasingly meaningless one" (1986:92).[83] The rituals cited above indicate however that for these teleworkers, the public-private dichotomy is far from meaningless. Rather than the traditional spatial definitions in terms of workplace-home, "public" and "private" take on new meanings in terms of "work" and "non-work," and the dichotomy acquires renewed relevance. This shift in meaning points to the resilience of the public-private dichotomy. In this chapter, I discuss the manner in which the public-private dichotomy manifests itself as a distinction between "work" and "nonwork." Teleworkers strive continually to keep separate their work and nonwork space and

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[83]Mackenzie's study is not limited to teleworkers - she includes pieceworkers and self employed entrepreneurs.

schedules. Once this separation is established, they exercise some degree of "flexibility" and occasionally intersperse their work and nonwork schedules or activities.

The manner in which teleworkers maintain a division between their work and nonwork lives, I argue, provides an opportunity for examining the purpose such a distinction serves for the concept of "work" itself. This argument draws from a parallel study by Game and Pringle. They study the distinctions between "men's work" and "women's work" and note that the actual definitions of "men's work" and "women's work" shift continually; what remains static is that there is a distinction between the two. Focusing on this paradox allows Game and Pringle to reveal that "gender is not just about difference, but about power" and that power relations are maintained by the "creations of distinctions between the male and female spheres" (1983:16). Similarly, the present study of telework shows that the distinction between work and nonwork is intrinsic to maintaining the aura around "work." This chapter focuses on the ways in which gender differences in the experience of this distinction reveal the sexual division of labour through which "work" acquires the value associated with the public sphere. The construction of the spheres of work and nonwork as under perpetual threat from one another reinforces the publicness of work and the privateness of nonwork. This division, in turn, is crucial to legitimizing and attaching value to "work."

Gurstein et al. note that "the concept of privacy is of critical importance for planning work spaces in the home... [p]rivacy can be achieved...through physical barriers, spatial organization, time scheduling and codes of behavior" (1995: 12). Hall and Richter distinguish between the physical and the psychological separation between home and work. The physical separation is the territorial boundary between home and place of work. Psychological separation occurs when individuals are mentally preoccupied with the domain within which they are physically located. According to Hall and Richter people have a preference for a psychological separation between work and home that parallels the physical separation of the two, because when individuals are concerned with one domain while being physically situated in the other this gives rise to stress and role conflict. For people who work at home, Hall and Richter argue there is a need for the greater separation of the two domains, rather than their integration (1990:143-144; 1988:218).

Creating boundaries between work and nonwork, is indeed considered vital by teleworkers. Physical boundaries are created in terms of space and schedules, and these allow teleworkers to maintain a corresponding psychological boundary between work and nonwork. With a separate work space and schedule, as one teleworker put it, "I really think in my mind

I'm going to work" (#18).

Although home and workplace are one for teleworkers, most have a separate room in their homes which is used exclusively for their paid work activity. Those who do not have a separate "home office" have a designated area in a common room (such as in a den or basement) in which they work. Less than one tenth of the sample, all women, work on their dining room tables, and even in these cases the area is considered out of bounds for other family members during work hours. As one man who set up his home office in his refinished workshop says,

> I've got a totally enclosed, self contained office environment...with a door that closes. (#23)

This physical separation allows him to maintain a psychological separation between home and work. He says,

> that's the only way you can maintain a mental balance between the two. You have to be able to separate them. (#23)

Similarly one woman says,

> It's a sense of hey, when I'm at work, I'm at work, when I'm at home, I want to be at home...so I always have that space that's my work space...when I'm in there, I'm in there. And I think having that division, it's up here [pointing to head] as much as it's a physical door. (#06)

Aside from setting up a separate work space, teleworkers

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also maintain the psychological separation between work and nonwork by following a regular work schedule. Women say,

> I like to put in basically my seven and a half hours and then say my day is done. I want to shut the door and walk away. (#07)

> I always start my work day the same as when I'm here... I'm usually at work [in my home office] between 8:00 and 8:30 and I usually finish work around 4:30. (#46)

Male teleworkers also feel the need to follow a regular work schedule. As one man says,

> I tend to work...8:00 to 12:00 and then 1:00 to 4:00...I'm very conscientious about...how I work...like if this is work time, this is what I'm going to do. (#47)

While teleworkers separate their work from their nonwork in these ways, they also see themselves as having a "flexibility" to meet nonwork demands if they arise during work times. Later sections of this chapter further explore the construction of the boundary between work and nonwork; the remainder of this section focuses on the manner in which this boundary is occasionally crossed. As Hall and Richter argue, "once the boundaries between work and home are clear, it is possible to cross them at specific times and for specific purposes" (1988: 220). Accordingly, teleworkers sometimes intersperse housework or childcare with their paid work

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activities.[84] That is, they do certain domestic tasks when they take "breaks" from their paid work (such as cleaning, groceries); they stop working early (often after having started early or having worked intensely) so that they can do some domestic work (like cooking, childcare); or they simultaneously do paid work and domestic work (laundry, caring for older children). Teleworking women intersperse their paid work activities with "nonwork" activities more often than the men do. In fact, one of the reasons people like to telework is so that they can better balance their work and family demands (see chapter 5). Below are some examples of the ways in which women and men intersperse their work and nonwork activities:

> when I need a break...I might go out and water the garden at the back...I may go down and put a load of washing in the laundry or I might go and do my mother's hair up, she's partially paralysed, I might get her something, so the breaks that I take are things I have to do anyways, they take less time and they help me combine my work and family life. (Woman,#05)

> sometimes at noon time I'll prepare myself something really quickly, and perhaps use the fifteen or twenty minutes to wash the floor...so that I'm able to sort of have a little bit of a balance between my work responsibility and the average stuff that everybody's got to do at home. (Man, #01)

These "breaks" actually help teleworkers to do their paid

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[84]Both female and male teleworkers also sometimes intersperse "leisure" activities with their paid work. Examples include jogging, watching TV, listening to the radio or talking on the phone to friends during the work day.

work more effectively:

> if I'm feeling like I'm getting too focused on my work
> and I need to stop thinking about it I'll just go around
> [and] water the plants, just to kind of get my mind off
> work for a bit so that I can go back up there and be
> fresh. (Woman, #18)

> [if I'm] working on something and nothing is coming
> in...I'll just take the dog and go for a walk for fifteen
> minutes. (Man, #49)

While on one level, in interspersing work and nonwork activities teleworkers seem to challenge the division of their lives into "public" and "private" spheres, intrinsic to this interspersing is the reinforcement of the division, and the labelling of all activities including domestic work and childcare as nonwork. As one woman says,

> work is work and when work is finished, it's finished.
> (#29)

In this manner, the distinction between "work" and "nonwork" is maintained rather than challenged, and consequently, as discussed in later sections of this chapter, the definition of nonwork as essentially "private" is reinforced.

While work and nonwork activities are combined in this manner, this interspersing occurs in the context of teleworkers' continual attempts to separate their work and nonwork schedules and space, as discussed in the beginning of

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this section. One woman explains,

> I have to keep it [work and nonwork] separate because
> it's so intertwined. In other words, now I'm wearing my
> beeper, if my beeper rings I'm going to go to the phone
> and see what it is. But also...from time to time...at
> five I just take off the beeper and don't listen to it...
> you have to integrate both and keep them separate at the
> same time. (#16)

Although both women and men maintain a separation between their work and nonwork lives, they do so for different reasons, indicative of their different levels of involvement in the spheres of work and non work. As Game and Pringle note, "although women experience a split between the public and private, their experience qualitatively differs from men's" (1983:135). These gender differences will be explored in greater depth in the following section; the recognition of these differences sheds light on the gendered nature of the concept of "work" inherent in its separation from nonwork.

PROTECTING THE SPHERES: THE THREAT OF NONWORK

Teleworkers' rigid separation between work and nonwork raises the important question of what purpose such a separation of spheres serves. Teleworkers frequently refer to the need to separate the spheres in order to protect them from one another. In this section, I demonstrate that the need to protect work from nonwork serves to define "work" as a

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productive and "public" activity done like any other paid work by the "abstract worker" and "the abstract worker transformed into a concrete worker turns out to be a man whose work is his life and whose wife takes care of everything else" (Acker, 1992b:257). Work is based upon a sexual division of labour where women more than men are responsible for housework and childcare. In addition, the need to protect nonwork from work serves to maintain the notion of the home as a place of nonwork, that is, as the "private" domain. This reconstruction of the public-private boundary points to the fact that the concept of "work," when conducted in the "private" domain is under constant threat of being labelled as nonwork, and maintaining a rigid separation between work and nonwork allows teleworkers to counter the threat nonwork poses to the "publicness" of work.

Protecting Work from Nonwork: Keeping Work Public

Gender differences in the separation between work and nonwork illuminate the manner in which the sexual division of labour is integral to the definition of "work" as "public." Game and Pringle argue that the separation between work and personal life in capitalist society is one that really only fits male experience. For women, the home is not a place of nonwork, but rather another workplace. However, to be successful within the male world of bureaucratic organization

women are likely to make a distinct separation between public and private, parallel to the way men do. This is because women have to reconcile the tension between their work identities and their location in the sexual division of labour as domestic workers, wives and mothers. Making a sharper distinction between these two identities often makes each easier to handle (Game and Pringle, 1983:135-139). Despite the fact that several of the female teleworkers in the sample had spouses who undertook a significant part of the responsibility for domestic work, qualitative differences between women and men's experience of the separation between work and nonwork exist.

For example, male and female teleworkers derive different utility from the spatial separation between workplace and home. Men maintain the separation to obtain some privacy and uninterrupted work times. One man with a separate office says that even if his wife is home,

> I'm sort of isolated from where she is and...there isn't
> a lot of draw into what's going on around the house...I
> work at home because...it works out well because there
> are no interruptions. (#39)

The main reason mentioned by teleworking women for spatially divorcing work space from nonwork space is to prevent the stress associated with simultaneously juggling work and family responsibilities. As one woman says,

being down here [in the home office] with the doors
closed, you're not staring at any mess or any laundry.
(#07)

Richter argues that women's boundaries between home and work
tend to be psychologically more permeable than men's, they
tend to be more concerned with home issues at work than men
(1990:158; also Wharton, 1994:194). Given this, the physical
barrier between home and work is seen as extremely important.
As one woman with a full-time nanny to look after her pre-
school child says,

I found that it was important for me to go into my office
and close the door, if you're sensitive to what's going
on in the house, and you can't help be sensitive, you've
got a little kid in the house. (#02)

Another woman says,

There have been times [that] the kitchen has been a mess
and...I'll clean the kitchen. But it's a bad habit. (#08)

Both male and female teleworkers felt that without a
separation between work and nonwork, their work productivity
would fall. While women and men seem to mention somewhat
similar reasons for separating their work and family domains,
the language which they use differs qualitatively. For men,
the family is a "temptation," for women, a "responsibility;"
the distinction between a temptation and a responsibility lies

in the location of control. Men have to exercise self control[85] in managing their option to do family-related activities. Women, on the other hand, also have to negotiate their responsibility in the home with their paid work obligations. Women say,

> I'm more disciplined at home than I am here...I'll start work around eight o'clock...my babysitter leaves [at] about five thirty. (#22)

> I try very hard not to work outside of the hours I'm supposed to...I've put in my hours, I've done a good job...And it's time to go back to being a parent again. (#45)

For men, the family is a temptation they have to avoid being drawn into[86]:

> [With telework] the productivity increase...is just unbelievable...because you can concentrate fully on what you're doing...one thing you realize very quickly is that you have to be disciplined...If you start using your day to do other things too much [it] could be a problem – drive the kids to school...prepare lunch, be there when they come back...first thing you know you're trying to be [a] housewife and working at the same time. You can't do both, but the temptation is there. (#49)

Accordingly, Richter notes that women's home and work

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[85]Women, too, stress this self control, as demonstrated in the previous two quotes.

[86]In this manner, doing domestic work is often perceived as an alternative to doing paid work, as will be discussed shortly.

boundaries tend generally to be more rigid than men's. For example, while men staying late at work are influenced by their own decision to stay late, women are driven by their children's needs. If women do have to work longer hours, they are responsible for making alternative childcare arrangements. Richter argues that women's more rigid home-work boundaries are indicative of the fact that they assume primary responsibility for their families, and at the same time are "expected to support their husbands and enable them to have boundary flexibility" (1990:156). Accordingly while teleworkers mentioned many reasons for following regular work schedules, such as the need for customer contact during set working hours and the desire not to work when family and friends were available for other activities, teleworking women with children often mentioned that following such schedules was <u>necessary</u> for them to accommodate their family responsibilities. As one woman says,

> I don't really have the opportunity to juggle my hours at all because of the commitment to the children. So I'm very regimented in my schedule...I know I have to finish at 4:30 to get them [from day care]. (#08)

Women working at home, it is clear, are affected in different ways than the men by the merging of the place of paid work with the place of housework and childcare. Sheppard argues that "women are required to adjust their involvement in paid work to meet responsibilities at home...while men are expected

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to use family time to continue to meet their work responsibilities" (1992:153). Finch notes that while it may seem that men who have control over their work times and do home-based work would be most likely to do domestic work, this situation can sometimes "create a more rigid sexual division of labour, not less" (1983:28-9; 68). In her study of clergymens' wives, Finch finds that most clergymens' wives do not ask their husbands to do domestic work, since they feel that this takes their husbands away from their work; "the situation is structured so that any performance of domestic tasks appears to be an alternative to work" (1983:29). Teleworking men[87], similarly often feel that they have to avoid being drawn into activities around the home. As one man says,

> sometimes if [my wife's] stuck with something...like she might be washing a window and she can't get to the screen...she'll come and say, "oh, will you help me with this." I find you have to watch that because...if you're not careful to discipline yourself you can end up truly goofing off. (#44)

Men clearly perceive domestic work as an alternative to paid work. As another man says,

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[87]For teleworking women, domestic work is not conceptualized as an alternative to paid work. Rather it is often deferred to be done after paid work hours, as demonstrated by respondents 02,07 and 22 quoted earlier in this section.

the only time that I feel awkward is if for example I know that my wife is doing chores which maybe I should be helping her with. For example, lets say she's painting, well basically my feeling sort of tells me that I should be helping her doing that, but I'm working, and sometimes it hurts to say I'm working here and she's painting. But then on the other hand I have to program myself and say if I was at [the office] I wouldn't even know she was painting. (#03)

These examples show that the need to protect work from nonwork serves the dual function of keeping apart productive, paid activities from non-paid ones, and consequently of labelling only certain activities as "work."[88] The presentation of paid work and domestic work as alternatives reinforces the "separate spheres," rhetoric where "work" and so called "nonwork" are viewed as mutually exclusive domains. As one woman notes,

You have to keep...in mind that you're working. You're not just home. (#37)

Acker refers to this as the "implicit demands" (1992b:255) of the concept of a job. She notes that "hidden within the concept of a job are assumptions about separations between public and private spheres." It is assumed that "work" is separate from the rest of life and that it has first claim on the worker, and that reproduction and caring for children are

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[88]As will be discussed shortly, teleworkers need to protect work from nonwork because nonwork poses a threat to the legitimacy of paid work activity done in the home.

"outside job and organizational boundaries" (1992: 255-257).
In keeping out all that is "private," the concept of "work"
retains its character as "public."

Protecting Nonwork from Work: Keeping Nonwork Private

Just as the protection of work from nonwork serves to
reinforce the "publicness" of work, the separation of nonwork
from work serves to reinforce the "privateness" of nonwork. As
Game and Pringle note, for women, survival at work often
involves "not confronting their double shift...not bringing
work home and not taking up home time with work time in any
way" (1983: 139). Accordingly, female teleworkers more often
than the men say that they separate work from nonwork to
protect their family lives from their work lives.

Hall and Richter's research reaffirms the gender
differences in the experiences of the public-private boundary.
They find that for both women and men home boundaries tend to
be more permeable than work boundaries. For women, however,
these boundaries are cognitively more permeable (they think
about their paid work when they are home) while for men they
are behaviourally more permeable (they bring more of their
paid work home) (1988: 216; also Pleck, 1985:62).[89] In keeping

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[89]Given that teleworking women more than men assume
primary responsibility for domestic work and childcare, men
more often than women have the option of doing overtime paid
work.

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with this, more teleworking women strive to maintain the separation between their work and non work activities in order to prevent being constantly preoccupied (psychologically) with their paid work, while men more often do so in order to prevent doing overtime work. As one woman says,

> if there's something bugging me at work I find it's really hard...when your office is in your home you're always thinking about it...because it's permeated all my life...so I just close the door and don't even get near it. (#16)

Male teleworkers, in contrast, more often mention wanting to separate work from nonwork to stop themselves from actually doing more work. As one man says,

> I come in at night and say, "Well, I'm going to work on my own personal banking." Because everything's here [related to paid work]...I [end] up making some phone calls...I power on and [see that I have] a note, well, I'll just print it or I'll respond. Next thing you know, two hours have gone by...if you come back [into the home office] you end up doing some sorting, some rearranging, and before you know it you're reading this and you're reading that. I find it's like a magnet, it's got a much bigger attraction because it's there...it's almost like a vine growing on the house...you have to make a conscious decision to cut it out of your windows. (#44)

Women and men not only protect their nonwork from work in different ways but also do so for different reasons. Several men say their paid work can be an imposition onto their families, while women perceive their paid work as an intrusion into their private lives. One man says,

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I felt guilty imposing at lunch. I used to make my own
brown bag and bring it to the office. But I felt really
awful [when my wife] would make lunch for the kids and
me. I loved eating with the kids and [my wife] but I
really felt badly that [my wife] had to go through the
effort to make lunch. (#11)

Women, on the other hand, spoke of work as "invading" their

nonwork lives. One woman[90] says,

I was feeling very keenly a sense of intrusion into my
house. I had my...family around me and my work was a
bothersome knock at the door...couriers showing up, a
telephone line ringing, a fax machine going in the middle
of the night...[I thought] that this was not...a pristine
environment, that I had sullied it. (#02)

Finch argues that when work is based in the home, the home

becomes part of the public domain. Women often experience this

as an intrusion and this "underline[s] the strength of the

ideology that the home should constitute a completely private

domain" (1983:58). As one woman says about her home,

That's my private place. If I want to invite the unit
that I work with up for a social event,..my house is
open...It's for social, it's not for work. (#48)

The definition of the home as a "private" place is reinforced

by the organizational concern for the effects on teleworker's

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[90]This woman eventually stopped working at home both
because she did not like her paid work invading her family
life, and because her colleagues expressed a preference for
her to be at the central office.

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families. One woman who asked for her home fax number to be put on her business card explains that her organization told her,

> we can't do that. We want to keep your home life private. (#43)

In this manner, the need to protect nonwork from work reinforces the privateness of nonwork, just as the need to protect work from nonwork reinforces the publicness of work. This, rather than the separation of workplace and home organizes teleworkers lives. The inscription of the public-private dichotomy as a distinction between work and nonwork signals the powerful resilience of the dichotomy. It also suggests that nonwork poses a "threat" to work, challenging its public character, and the aura of importance it derives from this status.

LEGITIMIZING WORK: MANAGING THE THREAT OF NONWORK.

Without a clearly defined notion of nonwork, "work" would lose its meaning. Ronco and Peattie study the process of "making work" and argue that "much of what we see as making work has to do with drawing boundaries." By drawing internal boundaries people "make work within work;" they organize their work day, create schedules and prioritize tasks. By drawing external boundaries people make work distinct from nonwork and

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differentiate between "work" and "hobby" (1983:10-11). Ronco and Peattie's approach suggests that "nonwork," rather than being a residual category of "work," is in fact integral to the meaning and definition of the latter. Work is all that is not nonwork. As Ronco and Peattie note, ""Working" is contrasted with "fooling around," "being unemployed," "[doing a] hobby," "being a housewife." We need such distinctions and use them to place people socially and determine what they are entitled to, and to decide how seriously to assess what they are doing" (1983: 12). These distinctions between work and nonwork therefore not only serve to give "work" its meaning, but also serve to confer social and economic value onto it.

Teleworkers are acutely aware of the threat their "nonwork" poses to their "work," a threat that is heightened by the fact that they do their paid work within the domain of nonwork. Without a clear separation between work and nonwork, the legitimacy and value of "work" is called into question. One man says,

> you don't want people at the office to think you have screaming kids...it's just not professional...[if] somebody important phoned up and heard the tinkling of glasses and the hooling and hollering in the background, [this] might not set the professional environment you wanted him to think you [had]. Well the same thing applies if your kid is yelling and running around. (#11)

Women similarly feel the need to guard their work from their nonwork to maintain the "professionalism" of work. One woman

says,

> if you're working at home for the day and you've given
> somebody that phone number and you say, "hello" then
> they're not sure they're at the right place. You [have to
> give] a business impression. You don't want our customers
> and our associates to think that [the company] can't
> afford to have you work in an office. (#37)

Teleworkers, it can be seen, work at home but continue to

operate within an organizational culture which comprises, as

Acker notes, "practices and relations, encoded in arrangements

and rules...supported by assumptions that work is separate

from the rest of life" (1992b:255). Accordingly, Kraut and

Grambsch note than home-based work "does not appear to be real

work" (1987: 424). Insofar as most of the "rest of life"

activities are women's responsibility, the notion of

professionalism in contemporary organizational culture is

gendered. It is interesting to note that almost all

respondents mentioned that colleagues, friends and family

often perceived telework as nonwork. As one woman says,

> I can assure you nobody really thinks you work at
> home...they basically think I've got every Friday off
> because I'm just out of sight, out of mind...it's hard
> for them to believe that you get up and put on your jeans
> and you go and you turn on your machine and you're at
> work again. (#06)

Another man says,

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> Neighbours still don't understand that you're working at
> home; they think you've either been fired or you're
> screwing around. (#11)

A teleworking woman similarly says,

> There were occasions when [a friend] would call me and
> she would be on the phone for two hours. It was a
> problem. (#12)

Women mention the additional pressure of being thought of as
more available for childcare, eldercare and housework while
they are at home. One woman who looks after her children while
she is working says that she has to reinforce to her husband
that she's

> not a mum at home. I work from home, which means while
> the baby is sleeping, while other people are doing their
> housework, I am working. (#14)

It seems <u>necessary</u> for women to devalue their nonwork
activities in order to give legitimacy to their work. The
woman quoted above goes on to say,

> the society we grew up in...says because I'm not at work
> I couldn't have done a good job...the process of going to
> work legitimizes...the process of going to your basement
> is not as legitimate. So there are times when I feel, did
> I earn my keep this week? (#14)

Men face an alternative pressure; that of being perceived as

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doing women's work. As Huws et al. note, going out to work is seen in contemporary society as a "masculine activity" (1990:68). For a man it "reinforces [the] separateness of his public world of work from his private domestic sphere" (1990:68). Working at home confuses the boundaries between these two spheres; it is a "feminizing experience" (1990:68). As one man says,

> For a male it's a horrendous taboo that you're breaking. I mean you're going to become a house husband. (#01)

Given the constant threat teleworkers face to being perceived as "shirking off" (#51), "having a day off" (#05), "goofing off" (#17), "doing nothing" (#01), "getting away with something" (#18), "screwing around" (#11), "doing squat" (#44), "watching soaps" (#47), "being in weekend mode" (#22), "being on vacation" (#37) and "cheating" (#42),[91] it is not surprising that they feel the need to distinguish their work from their nonwork in order to defend it. One woman says,

> some people have a real problem phoning me at home...
> [they'll] say, "I'm really sorry to keep bothering you at
> home" and I have to keep reinforcing to them that I'm
> working and it's acceptable for you to call me...I think
> sometimes people think that I just have my son at home
> all day and I'm not really working. (#41)

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[91]This perception of telework as nonwork is reflected in images of homeworkers in the popular media. See Appendix 7 for some examples of these images.

CONCLUSION

Glucksmann identifies the public-private dichotomy as "two end poles of a closed circuit." Operating together, they reproduce the definition of domestic work as nonwork and the allocation of women to this work (1990: 210). This chapter has discussed the ways in which teleworkers reinforce the public-private dichotomy, which manifests itself as a division between work and nonwork. While working at home, teleworkers stress the publicness of "work" and the privateness of "nonwork." A closer examination of the mechanisms through which the links between public-work and private-nonwork are maintained reveals that the dichotomy rests first, upon the sexual division of so called "nonwork" labour. Second the dichotomy is based on a gendered notion of "professionalism;" one of the aspects of professionalism within contemporary organizational culture is the lack of nonwork concerns. Given the sexual division of labour, this notion of professionalism is strongly gendered insofar as it is much easier for men than for women to maintain.

The resilience of the rhetoric of the separate spheres lies in the fact that women and men need to define nonwork as different, private and less important in order to legitimize the "work" they do. In doing this, however, teleworkers unmask the arbitrariness and political nature of the definition of "work" and its inclusion of certain activities only. In

addition, they reveal that just as there is a hierarchy between work and nonwork, "work" itself has an internal hierarchy, and distinctions can be made between work and good work. Doing the best work, (which they term "real work") teleworkers reveal an irony inherent in the concept of "work" itself; "real work" is in fact more "private" than "public." The best "work" is done out of the office environment, away from colleagues' chit-chat and out of the work culture which values visibility over performance. This constitutes a challenge to the public-private dichotomy, which will be considered in the next chapter.

"REAL WORK": QUIET CHALLENGES TO THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY

As discussed in the previous chapter, teleworkers reinforce the boundary between their work and nonwork activities <u>so that</u> their paid work can be viewed as legitimate, despite the fact that it is done in the private sphere of the home. As they divide between work and nonwork, teleworkers also make explicit what activities they consider to be "work," as well as what activities they exclude from this definition of work and subsequently label as "nonwork." As argued earlier in the thesis, the distinction between work and nonwork is one of value; social and economic importance is attributed to activities that are labelled as work. As DeVault notes, "work" is "an honorific label; it refers to activities that those with public, politically powerful voices take seriously as socially necessary" (1991:238). Teleworkers reproduce the aura of importance around the concept "work;" they develop extremely efficient ways of working and refer to what they do as "real work."[92]

This chapter begins with a discussion of the methods teleworkers use to do their paid work, all of which serve to increase the amount of "real work" they do. Teleworkers plan

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[92]This exact term - "real work" - was used by a few of the respondents. I have adopted this label as it accurately captures teleworkers' characterization of their work.

their work to a great degree, exercising control over their interruptions and schedules. They do task rather than time driven activities, and measure their work through outcomes. The first section of this chapter will demonstrate how through these work methods teleworkers maximize the amount of so called "real work" that they do.

The second section of this chapter will look outside this definition of "real work" and examine what is excluded from it. Childcare and domestic work are seldom considered "real work," nor are the invisible and emotional work traditionally done by women. In addition, teleworkers define all the "informal" work done in the office environment, like office chit chat, as nonwork. Looking at what is excluded from "real work" clarifies the manner in which teleworkers distinguish between work and nonwork as well as the gendered organizational culture which necessitates such a distinction.

The final section of this chapter delves further into the notion of "real work" itself. Teleworkers often say that "real work" is best done in the home environment, and that the office environment is frequently a place of nonwork. Interestingly, teleworkers say that "real work" is best done in the home because it is private and cannot be done in the office environment because the office is public. The previous chapter explored the manner in which teleworkers recreate the public-private dichotomy. In associating "real work" with the private sphere however, I argue that they disrupt the notion

of work as public and nonwork as private, and consequently challenge the aura conventionally associated with the public sphere.[93]

DEFINING "REAL WORK"

Drucker and others argue that we are in the midst of a shift from a capitalist to a "post-capitalist society" (1993:1), in which knowledge will be the basic economic resource (1993:3). The leading social group of this "knowledge society" is "knowledge workers" (1993:8), and the greatest challenge facing post-capitalist society is enhancing the productivity of knowledge workers (1993:83). To overcome this challenge, Drucker writes that, first, "workers must be required to take responsibility for their own productivity and to *exercise control* over it" (1993:92, italics in the original), and second, "the results [of work] have to be clearly specified, if productivity is to be achieved" (1993:85).[94]

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[93]It should be noted, however, that this does not represent a "celebration of the private sphere" as argued by Gilligan (1982) and Belenky et al (1986). As discussed in the previous chapter, it is still necessary for teleworkers to gain societal recognition of work through the definition of it as a public activity. However, at the same time, teleworkers recognize the fact that "real work" can best be done in the private sphere.

[94]Drucker also suggests other ways for productivity to be enhanced in post capitalist society. He argues that for work to be productive, it has to be organized into the team appropriate to the work itself (1993:86), and that a

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Wadel, in a similar vein, identifies two characteristics of activities that are not recognized as "work" even though they may be recognized as useful.[95] First, the time spent on these activities seems to be sporadic, and seems less planned compared to the activities recognized as work. Second, the time and effort spent on these activities cannot be clearly defined in terms of the product they produce (1979:379).

Drucker's and Wadel's analyses coincide with the two central principles through which teleworkers organize their paid work activities and distinguish these activities from their nonwork. First they plan and exercise control over their work, and second they evaluate their work in terms of measurable work output. Through these principles teleworkers define the characteristics required for doing good work, or "real work." "Real work" epitomizes ideal work in the post-capitalist society; and teleworkers are, in Drucker's terms, the "knowledge workers" who are its "leading social group" [1993:8].

"Real Work" as Planned Work

Both female and male teleworkers spend considerable time

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concentration on job and task is necessary for enhanced productivity (1993:90).

[95]A third characteristic identified by Wadel but not discussed here is that people participate in these activities in their everyday lives (1979:379).

and energy in planning their work, in terms of a) the organization of their work activities and, b) the scheduling of their work times.

a) Teleworkers are examples of what Thompson characterizes as workers with "responsible autonomy" who "effectively control themselves" rather than needing to be overtly controlled (1983: 153). One way in which teleworkers control their work output is by planning their work activities. They divide these activities into "tasks" to be completed and designate specific days or times for these tasks. As one woman says,

> I have assigned certain times of my week that have become very distinct times for me to do a particular task. Like Monday is my paperwork day so I don't make any sales calls on Mondays...[this scheduling] allows you to be a lot more firm in your commitments to people in terms of sharing communications and access to information. (#42)

Often the need to plan work activities in such a manner is driven by the constraints of working outside the office environment. One man says:

> I find myself...very conscious about [my] work schedule...[when] I go home I have to schedule what I will do tomorrow. I'll take material home with me and I'll work on it tomorrow at home...you have to really plan things out. (#26)

Another way in which teleworkers plan their work activities is

by making lists or work plans. As one woman puts it, she "works off lists" (#14). A male teleworker says,

> I always work from a book which is a running work plan. Everything I do or say or listen to is all written down...every item becomes an action...in the morning I go through the [book] and I look at the [undone items] - I either write them again or I do them. (#27)[96]

Through such planning, teleworkers believe that they do their paid work activities in the most effective manner possible. As one man puts it,

> I'm getting a heck of a lot accomplished...I've got everything lined up to work on so I know exactly what I'm going to do. (#35)

b)   Another way in which teleworkers plan their work is by organizing their work schedules. They exercise control over their schedules by designating specific times for interactions with colleagues, again, so that they can work most effectively. Teleworkers, for example, say:

> [with telework] work got better for everyone because

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[96]Ronco and Peattie argue that people often think of "good work" as being work which is shaped and formed by the workers' themselves. However, a dilemma inherent in such work is that the continual decision making and initiative involved is often further work; and as Ronco and Peattie write, "making work can be a burden" (1988:719; Acker, 1992c:64). Teleworkers, however, do not perceive such planning work as a burden; in fact, they often do not even refer to such tasks as "work" per se.

rather than having those dreadful ad hoc meetings...it
required a bit more discipline of everyone to say, "OK,
at one o'clock...I'll find B-- and we'll phone you at
home." (Man,#11)

the thing is that I choose my interruptions like [if]
I've got to talk to somebody it's usually me who decides
to phone them after I've finished a block of work...That
will not likely have happened at [the office]. Somebody
would have come by. (Woman, #18)

It's because you're in control of your interruptions. And
your interruptions are not in control of you...if I'm in
the middle of something and I hear the washing machine
stopped I don't have to get up right then, I can ignore
it. But if somebody's at my door [at the office], I try
to ignore them but they don't go away. (Woman, #33)

Perman, in her study of the value workers place on nonmonetary
aspects of their jobs finds that workers place a high value on
having control over their work schedules (1991:169). Both
female and male teleworkers, it can be seen, do place a high
value on having this control; they believe that the ability to
plan their work schedule in this manner allows them to work
most effectively.

"Real Work" as Measurable Work

Traditionally work has been defined in terms of the times
within which it is done, rather than output. As Wadel argues,
the folk (or lay) concept of work is that it is a set of
activities which one is paid for and does at a specific place

(workplace) and at specific times (working hours) (1979: 368-9). Working out of the traditional office environment teleworkers believe that criteria other than visibility should be used to judge work. As discussed in the previous chapter, teleworkers simultaneously stress the importance of following a regular work schedule.[97] This reflects the tension between the norms of traditional organizational culture within which teleworkers need to gain legitimacy and their perceptions of the most effective ways to do their paid work. As one man says,

> you're supposed to work from 9:00 to 5:00 [but] that is not what it's about. You have to get used to the mindset - there is something to be accomplished...within a certain time frame...and the only important thing is whether or not it gets accomplished...the hours you work, what you do...isn't relevant. (#10)

Wharton studies the impact of flexible work schedules on women in residential real estate sales. She argues that although women are attracted to real estate sales because of the flexibility it offers, this flexibility often requires longer work hours since work income is dependent on hard work and

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[97]Although teleworkers cannot be physically "visible" since they do not work at the central office, they often perceive this as an important criterion by which work is evaluated. As will be discussed shortly, teleworkers often compensate for their physical "invisibility" by producing more measurable work output. The fact that teleworkers often perceive the work arrangement as a privilege further induces them to do more work in less time and to simultaneously work longer hours.

high productivity (Wharton, 1994: 196). In a similar manner, teleworkers' greater control over their work, in conjunction with the assessment of their work by measurable output, often leads them to do overtime work. More than a third of the teleworkers in the sample attribute their high productivity to the fact that they work more than forty hours per week. One woman calls this "teleworkaholism" where "you become a junkie, you become so productive" (#43). A other man says that with telework,

> some people might start putting in an awful lot of hours...it's like giving a...hospital shelf [full of drugs] to a drug addict. If someone's a workaholic...you open the barrier even wider for him [sic] to work every night [and] weekends. (#49)

Teleworkers' focus on the measurable output of work can augment their overtime work.[98] Teleworkers say,

> if I see a project that I haven't completed...and it [has] to be done tonight, I'll bust my butt to get it done. (Woman, #32)

> you can finish what you're doing, however long it takes. (Woman, #07)

> My boss told me that I won't keep track of your hours if you don't keep track of your hours. Now why would he say that? Because he already knew that I already put in more than my expectation was, and I had demonstrated that for

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[98]Teleworkers refer to their "overtime work" as time they have to spend in addition to their regular work hours in order to meet their work goals.

years. (Man, #23)

For some teleworkers, however, the measurement of work by output can sometimes reduce the amount of overtime work that they do. One woman says that she does less overtime work because on telework days, "I fit eight hours into an eight hour day" (#37). A man similarly says that with telework,

> I'm not being frustrated in the evening because of not being able to accomplish what I needed to accomplish during the day and having to bring it home. (#01)

While organizing their work by objectives, some teleworkers simultaneously maintain records of the times they spend working, either because of company policy or for personal reasons. One man, for example, who was under treatment for a stress-related illness says that he uses a log to manage his tendency to overwork. He records every minute of work and nonwork activity he does during the day. He says,

> I have a log...when I'm not working I'm not feeling bad...for me it's the tool of my freedom...I would be miserable if I didn't know how many hours I worked...If I don't meet deadlines I can show my log to people and say, OK, I've been working so many hours - this day, that day - I'm sorry, that's the time it takes. (#15)

He goes on to say that as a consequence,

> I'm never unproductive by definition. When I am

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unproductive I log off and I do some...grocery shopping, or go skiing, and then I log on again. Whereas if I had to work from [the office] from let's say 9:00 to 5:00, there would be times during the day I would be killing time. (#15)

Through planning and measuring their work by outputs rather than presence in the workplace, teleworkers believe that they are effective workers. As one woman says, "the more they want to see your face...the less real work you do" (#46). "Real work" is, in this manner, defined as work which can be measured by outcomes and which is judged in terms of tasks completed rather than time spent. In addition, "real work" is work that is planned and for which workers have control over their work activities and interruptions. Both female and male teleworkers argue that the home provides the ideal setting for "real work," as will be discussed in the final section of this chapter. The next section focuses on what is excluded from "real work."

LOOKING OUTSIDE "REAL WORK."

All that is not "real work" is defined by teleworkers as "nonwork." There ... e two specific implications of the location of this boundary between work and nonwork. First is the fact that despite the common site of domestic and paid work, teleworkers often continue to think of their domestic work as nonwork. Second is that teleworkers define much of what occurs

in the office environment (such as informal meetings and chit chat) as nonwork. As a result teleworkers disrupt any connection between the public sphere of the workplace, and "work," arguing that much nonwork occurs in the public. This section will consider each of these two types of "nonwork," and discuss the implications of these characterizations.

Domestic Work as Nonwork

Numerous feminist studies have demonstrated the manner in which domestic work is seen as nonwork, and consequently devalued. As Game and Pringle note, housework is "frequently treated as "leisure" activity rather than "real" work" (1983:120; also Sayers, 1988:728; MacKenzie 1986:91). Feminist theorists identify a need for a more inclusive definition of "work" - one which is more "ample and generous" (Smith, 1987a:165) and which would include women's domestic, volunteer and invisible work (Wadel, 1979:412; Daniels, 1987:403). Despite the common location of their domestic work and paid work, however, teleworkers by and large continue to define their real work as "work" and their domestic work as "nonwork." As discussed in the previous chapter, this resilience of the work-nonwork dichotomy can be attributed to the legitimacy "work" is given because of its separation from "nonwork."

Teleworkers place great value on the ability to control

their work and nonwork schedules, and some intersperse their paid work and domestic work activities. The primary way in which these teleworkers define domestic work as "nonwork" is by referring to such domestic work as a "break." As one woman says,

> I like to be able to do a wash and vacuum...sometimes I just need a break...it's kind of relaxing because you can accomplish that and you can get your mind off of work. (#21)

One man talks about tasks such as shovelling snow, mowing the lawn or washing the truck in this manner:

> I usually do [these tasks] before I work...Or I may mix the two...if it's snowing then I'll work and if it stops snowing I'll go out and clean it. Then I'll come back in and do some work - it gives me a break. (#31)

Teleworking women more often than men refer to their domestic work as nonwork. This is presumably because more women are responsible for domestic work and childcare. However, it is also likely to be related to the continuous need for teleworkers to legitimize their paid work so that it is recognized as "work"[99] (as discussed in the previous chapter). Feminist theorists such as Daniels note that women themselves often do not see domestic work as "work" requiring effort.

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[99]This is perhaps augmented by the fact that teleworkers work in traditionally male-dominated occupations, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Given that the work of a homemaker is private, it lacks validation (Daniels, 1987:405; also Lazano, 1989:121-2). This confirms "women's own sense that much of [this work] ought to be offered spontaneously" and that the knowledge required for such activities should be "natural for women" (Daniels, 1987:407,410; DeVault, 1991). For example, teleworkers frequently draw parallels between the "breaks" they take at home to do housework, and the "spontaneous" and "natural" social interactions with their colleagues in the office. As one woman says:

> I [sometimes] throw a load of laundry in...but I'm sure I waste a lot less time at home than I do at the office..chatting. (#06)

Domestic work is compared to breaks in the workplace, and therefore characterized as "nonwork."[100] At the same time, however, by comparing "breaks" in the office with domestic work, teleworkers point to the fact that "nonwork" occurs in both the home and in the workplace. The so called "nonwork" dimensions of office work further illuminate the activities excluded from "real work."

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[100]No patriarchal construction exists, however, without resistance, and within the larger trend of the definition of domestic work as nonwork there are a few teleworkers who do speak of paid and unpaid work as equally valuable labours. As one woman says,
"what I like is that for my daughter my workplace - both my workplaces are part of her life" (#14).

The Nonwork in the Office

Drucker argues that productivity in a post-capitalist society requires "the elimination of whatever activities...do not contribute to performance" (1993:90). Workers should scrutinize each of their job tasks and ask whether they contribute to their performance (1993:91). If a task does not enhance performance, Drucker suggests, "the procedure or operation must be considered a "chore," rather than "work"" (1993:91). Teleworkers follow Drucker's prescription; putting each of their job tasks into question they sieve out any activities that do not enhance their work performance and label these as nonwork.

One activity teleworkers consistently excluded from the definition of work is social interactions at the office. Clark et al. note that employed people do consider some of the more peripheral aspects of work, for example travel to the job, coffee and lunch breaks at their place of employment, as leisure (1990:344). Perman, in her study of the value workers place on non-monetary characteristics of their jobs, similarly finds that talking to coworkers is evaluated "more as a job burden than as a job advantage" (1991:171). Teleworkers, both female and male, clearly and emphatically stress that such activities are not work. Teleworkers say,

There are so many distractions that happen in the office
that are not viewed as being distractions in corporate
business. It's the social part of business. It gets
defined as the social part of doing business when it's
really just a waste of time...the only way you can really
achieve productivity enlargements is by having people
work longer...or by doing less chit-chat. (Man, #11)

[in the office] you have to answer the phones...
sometimes your co-workers are not there, you have to
answer their calls...sometimes we socialize and then at
the end of the week, I say, "my god, I didn't do any work
on this file, I talked too much!"...I'm efficient just
half the time in the office. (Woman, #25)

in the office...if you saw a movie last night you'd go to
your neighbor and say, "Did you happen to see that movie
last night?" And then you get carried away in a
conversation that can last sometimes an hour. Then
somebody will decide, well let's go for a coffee break,
these fifteen minute coffee breaks get stretched into
thirty minutes. The house is nice and quiet. (Woman, #17)

Wadel suggests that such social interactions may be considered

nonwork for several reasons. One reason is that "the formal

organization can fulfil its goals, it is held, without these

activities" (Wadel, 1979:373). Accordingly, teleworkers do not

see a direct link between social interactions and their

measurable work outputs:

When I go back to the office there's a lot of wasted
time...I find there's so many interruptions at work. They
say, "well this is productive use of our time." I'm not
so sure about that - a lot of that stuff is just chit
chat...I mean is it something that me [sic] as an
employer would want to pay for? I don't think so. I think
there's a lot of time wasted in the existing corporate
structure that is considered work that really isn't.
(Man, #44)

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at the office...if you worked five hours you did a good day, you know you have your colleagues coming in, you have phone calls, people pass in front of your office [and say] "Hi, did you watch that program yesterday or something happened to my mother." So there's that chit chat that I don't have at home...I'm putting [in] a good seven and a half hours a day at home which I was not doing [at the office]. (Woman, #09)

Another reason social interactions are defined as nonwork is that they are often not planned. They occur on an ad hoc, sporadic basis, or happen "in the natural course of events." (Wadel, 1979:374, 379). As one teleworking man says,

You'll think twice before calling somebody and start just chatting about the office politics...but if the person is right there, you want to take a break, you want to stretch your legs, start talking to the person beside you. It's amazing the amount of time that's wasted with that. (#49)

Aside from such social interactions being identified as a "waste," teleworkers also say that being available for consultation does not always lead to efficient work. One woman says,

when you're right there they're more apt to check their little problem out with you and your peer and the next person. [When I'm at home] they have to phone me...what that really does for the company is it helps people make better decisions on who they're going to get input from and how frequently they're going to interrupt you. (#38)

Not only are informal interactions defined as nonwork, but sometimes, so are meetings. As one woman says,

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> I really really try to avoid meetings because it's a
> plague in this milieu. People are always [saying], "Let's
> meet, let's do lunch." I really don't like that because
> I think really a lot of the time it's a waste of time.
> (#16)

These activities are not part of "real work" since they do not

always relate in a direct way to outcome and occur on an ad

hoc basis. They are therefore defined as nonwork, even when

they are recognized as having some value. As Wadel argues

these activities are not termed work but instead are seen as

"leisure at work" or "informal activity," even though "this

activity may indeed be necessary for the "real" work to be

carried out" (1979:367). A very small number of teleworkers do

recognize this and as one woman says,

> I like the interaction with people also. I think that's
> part of work. (Woman, #30)

Others may recognize these activities as important, but

continue to label them as nonwork. Daniels writes that members

of society share a concept of what "real work" means and this

does not include "the warm and caring aspects of the

construction and maintenance of interpersonal relations"

(1987:409). Hochschild (1983) finds in her study of airline

attendants that despite the fact that "emotional work" is

central to the job, it is not recognized as "work." Similarly,

as one teleworking man says,

my impression after having come here [to the office] is
what a loss of time in a way. But I should not say that
because you do have to socialize. (#15)

Although both female and male teleworkers by and large define

such activities as non work, such a labelling has certain

gender implications. It is traditionally women who have been

responsible for the "behind the scenes" or "tailoring" work

and by virtue of its invisibility such work has been devalued.

Daniels argues that "the lack of social validation implicit in

disregard of all tailoring required tells women this effort

doesn't count as work; they themselves often discount the

effort it requires" (1987:405; also Wadel, 1979:376-377;

Glazer, 1993; DeVault, 1991). This can be related to the

discussion in the previous chapter, and teleworkers'

definition of such activities as nonwork can be identified as

serving to legitimize the "work" that they do. This legitimacy

is necessary because the culture of the organization extends

into the private sphere of teleworkers' homes.

The Diffusion of Organizational Culture

Teleworkers, while working at home, continue to be

located within a specific organizational culture. Mills

defines organizational culture as "consisting simultaneously

of a structured set of rules in which behavior is bounded and

of a process, or outcome, resulting from the particular

character of the rule-bound behavior of the actors involved" (1989:30). Two manifestations of the gendered organizational culture can be discerned in teleworkers' experiences; first is the necessity to be completely engrossed in the work process and second is the assumption that family concerns are always secondary to work concerns (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991: 78-90).

Mills and Murgatroyd argue that office or professional work occurs within a gendered organizational culture and "the rules of this particular game involve appearing to be detached, logical, unemotional and absorbed in the work process" (1991:78). This is, as Acker notes, the assumption that paid work has "first claim on the worker" (1992b:255; Ferree, 1990:873). Both female and male teleworkers perceive their employers to have demonstrated a high degree of "trust" in them by allowing them to work at home; given this trust they have an obligation to follow the "rules" of "the game" (Mills and Murgatroyd, 1991:78). As Perin argues, "to compensate for their invisibility and the distrust that accompanies it [teleworkers are]...expected to justify their organizational value through "deliverables"" (1991:256). Teleworkers say:

> I am responsible enough to follow through on my end of the requirements...people are trusting me with the fact that I am serious about my work. Otherwise I think that I would be taking advantage of the system. (Woman, #30)

> it's very dependent on who you work for...trusting you sufficiently to see that you actually can work away on

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your own and produce...results. (Man, #04)

Mills and Murgatroyd write that men in particular are often expected to demonstrate a dedication to the organization that can only be achieved with the aid of a wife (1991:80). Accordingly, teleworking men say[101],

> the company owns more of you that you own of the company. There is an expectation that you put in twelve hours a day, or sixteen hours a day. (#23)

> I only get paid for seven and a half hours a day, but I haven't worked only a seven and a half hour day in years. (#24)

Teleworking women, although to a lesser extent than the men, also perceive the requirement for a high level of organizational commitment. One woman says,

> This kind of work week for a senior manager is not overwhelming. To work a nine to five day, nine to six thirty maybe once a week, lunch meetings, breakfast meetings once a week, working through lunch once a week. (#02)

Related to the assumption that workers will be completely absorbed in the work process is the "expectation that family life comes second to the organization (Mills and Murgatroyd,

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[101]These comments reflect the generally high organizational commitment of these individuals, independent of telework.

1991:80). Teleworkers say that they have to continually "discipline themselves" to focus on their paid work while they are at home and to ensure that work needs are given priority over their families.[102] Teleworkers say,

> Discipline...[is] forcing myself to [say], OK, let's go work. You're in a home environment, we're not conditioned to associate that with work. [We] associate that with leisure and pleasure and housework...not with office work. It [requires] discipline to [say] let's go down and work. (Man, #31)

> They [my employers] trust me and know I'm not going to get peanut butter all over their records because my kids have been playing on the dining room table [where I work]. (Woman, #41)

> I'm probably a good individual to [telework]. My manager [knows that I'm not]...out doing my grocery shopping or something when I'm supposed to be working. (#37)

Mills and Murgatroyd note that "the added power of the hidden aspects of gender rules is that they often stand for something else, for example, being detached is valued at one level as a male trait, but at another level as a necessary professional act" (1991:79). As argued in the previous chapter, teleworkers legitimate their paid work by separating it from their so called nonwork activities. Similarly, the worker who does "real work," which excludes domestic work, invisible and

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[102]This point relates to the discussion in the previous chapter on the need for teleworkers to protect their work from their nonwork in order to reinforce the publicness of their work activities.

emotional work, and social and informal interaction, can only, in the abstract, be the male worker (Acker, 1992a:568). As Tancred notes, work "is defined in terms of *men's* modal experience rather than women's dominant work experience" (italics in original, 1995: 12).

Through the notion of "real work" therefore teleworkers reinforce the existing organizational culture and in so doing gain legitimacy within it while being physically situated outside it. This suggests that organizational cultures exert their influence even beyond the physical boundaries of the workplace. Mills notes that "social understandings of gender...are not left outside the gates of the organizational reality" (1992:99). By the same token, for teleworkers, understandings of the organizational norms extend beyond the physical "gates" of the organization.

The need to remain within the existing organizational rules arises, for many teleworkers, because of their perception of telework as a privilege they have been granted. Although a small number of teleworkers do belong to organizations that actively promote telework as an organizational cost-cutting strategy, for the majority telework is an individual privilege which they had to lobby actively to secure. Thompson identifies the inculcation of self discipline as a method of organizational control (1983:150). Teleworkers discipline themselves to do "real work" so as not to take advantage of what they see as their

employers' trust. More women than men perceive telework as a privilege, perhaps due to women's greater family responsibilities (see chapter 5). Teleworkers are also conscious that they are, as one woman put it, "guinea pigs" (#33) in telework projects:

> It gives me a sense of pride at being different from the rest of the crowd...I find myself privileged...I find that my company trusts me a little better than they trust others. (Man, #50)

> I feel fortunate...to telework and I hope it continues but I feel it's a privilege not a right. (Woman, #08)

> it's up to those of us who have been accepted into this very tiny pilot to prove to them that this does work. (Man, #04)

Teleworkers are eager to preserve the opportunity to telework. Sanderson notes the continuation of telework programs is often dependent on high satisfaction amongst teleworkers (1995:5). This would explain their need to legitimize their paid work within traditional societal norms.

Perin argues that teleworking employees often believe that they have been "given" independence and trust, for which they should be grateful (1991:254). This signals the "principle of continuous visibility" (Perin, 1991:241) that underlies traditional organizational culture. Perin argues that work at home is seen as "anomalous to office-bound work, which is the ideal" (1991: 254). While "trust" is seen as

central to telework culture, many teleworkers recognize that visibility continues to be valued within the dominant culture of their organizations. Franks notes that there is often a distinction between employees' "preferred" and their "perceived" organizational culture (1989:365). In his study of trainees in development organizations Franks finds that a majority prefer a "task culture" which is "job or project oriented and emphasizes judgement by results" (1989:360). A majority of respondents in Franks' study, however, perceive a "role culture" to be actually operating in organizations, where the focus is on the roles or positions individuals occupy in organizations rather than their work per se (1989:360-364; also Duxbury 1995). Similarly while teleworkers prefer a "task culture," they often perceive an emphasis on being visible in their role in the organization. As one man notes, some supervisors:

> feel very insecure with [telework]. A lot of their self worth is tied to the visibility of these human beings [whom they supervise]. It's important for them to be able to say - "Look at all these 150 employees, I own them." (#01)

A few teleworkers, both female and male, note that this emphasis on visibility may hinder their promotion. As one woman says,

one of the drawbacks, and I question myself on this, [is that] I may be cutting my own throat in that there may be less advancement for me. (#34)

Despite this focus on visibility in the dominant culture of organizations, teleworkers believe that they have supportive supervisors and this allows them to effectively work at home. Within a "telework culture" of privilege and trust, teleworkers develop highly efficient work methods so as to increase their measurable productivity. In addition, they reinforce[103] the gendered organizational culture by distinguishing between their "real work" and the rest of their lives, and giving their "real work" predominance.

At the same time, however, "real work" is identified as a type of activity rather one that occurs within a particular sphere. While remaining firmly grounded within the organizational culture, teleworkers challenge, through this notion of "real work," the rhetoric through which work is identified and given value as public and all else is devalued as private.

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[103]This reinforcement is indicative of the influence of organizational culture beyond the physical workplace.

THE "REAL WORK" CHALLENGE TO THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, teleworkers describe what they do as "real work," and identify this as work which can be planned and measured. By controlling their work schedules and interruptions, teleworkers do "real work" which relates, in a direct and immediate way, to measurable output. All that falls outside this definition is nonwork. Closer examination of the manner in which teleworkers describe their two locations of paid work - the home and the office[104] - reveals an interesting irony. The public sphere of the office, the conventional place of work, is defined as an environment within which "real work" is less likely to occur. On the other hand the home is identified as an ideal environment for "real work." Furthermore, teleworkers say that it is precisely because the home is private that "real work" can be done there. This is their quiet challenge to the public-private dichotomy.

The Office: Undermining "Real Work"

It is precisely the factors required for "real work" that are found lacking in the office environment; both planning and

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[104]All teleworkers in the sample either continue to work in an office part of the week, or have worked in an office in the past. They are therefore able to make comparisons between the home and office environment.

measuring work are difficult within this space. Harvey describes space as "a system of "containers" of social power" (1989:237). Control over the space of work enables teleworkers to have control over the meaning of "work." Teleworkers develop the notion of "real work" by working outside the conventional workplace; by being able to control their space of work (the home)[105] they give new meaning to the concept of "work." This new work - "real work" - can rarely occur in the office environment.

Planning how and when to work is identified as extremely difficult within the office environment. This is because of the constant interruptions and the fragmentary method of work fostered in the office. Teleworkers say:

> if you're in an office like we are, with no doors, it's an open office concept...anybody that walks by...you're writing, but you have a tendency to look and see who's coming...everything is a disturbance. (Man, #20)

> in the office sometimes there's such a frenzy...because I'm across from the secretary and across from the printer and next to the boss...I can't focus, I can't concentrate. (Woman, #28)

Nearly half of the teleworkers interviewed have open-plan offices in their central worksites. However, even those who have their own office (a third of the sample) identify the

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[105]There are however gender differences in this control as discussed in Chapter 6.

public workplace as an inappropriate place for "real work":

> You're not five minutes in...your office...somebody... is going to see you there and they're going to want to tell you how rotten the week has been or dump all the problems that they've had in their life [onto you]...after you've been dumped on a couple of times during the morning while [you're] trying to have your cup of coffee, it can't help but influence what kind of day you're going to have. (Man, #01)

Women more than men mention that their proximity to their peers is often abused when they are at the central worksite, heightening the fragmentation in their work. This is perhaps because, as Mills notes, extra-organizational social rules of behavior are often reflected and reinforced within organizations. These rules are informed by social norms which associate women with domestic life and men with public life, and in turn characterize public life as rational and impersonal (1992:105,106). The fact that women are seen to be more accessible or "person oriented" may affect their career mobility (Sheppard, 1992:158) and challenge the appropriateness of their location in the public sphere, further signaling the gendered nature of the organization. Women say:

> I don't get any of [what I classify as my work] done [at the office]. People want to ask me questions...my boss wants to talk to me...people walk by and they ask you a question they could have just as easily found out themselves. (#46)

it's very difficult when you're trying to [work] and you have people popping in and out of your office all the time. [I also often] had oddball requests to design menus, invitations...[now] I can concentrate on my real job. (#34)

Measuring the output of work done is also difficult within the office environment. As one woman says,

when you go into the office it's enough to really say I'm here. WHAT you accomplish is totally irrelevant. (#07)

A teleworking man similarly notes,

one of the things that working in the office has done is it's bred a bunch of bad habits...ninety percent of what you get dragged into are totally inconsequential issues...[being at home] allows you to get far more focused and onward with the real business. (#11)

It can be seen that the office environment is not conducive to "real work;" this is so, however, precisely because of its publicness. As one woman says,

in the general hub bub of the office, the interactions that happened frequently were not conducive to [my work]. I needed something more private. (#05)

It is this need for something more private that makes the home an ideal place to do "real work."

The Home: Supporting "Real Work"

In being able to exercise control over their work space at home, teleworkers design the environment most effective for "real work." Women say:

> It's my interpretation of an office, and having the freedom to choose what your office should look like is a very empowering feeling. (#42)

> you get to manage that environment totally when you're at home. (#37)

This control allows teleworkers to work more effectively. As one man puts it,

> The aesthetics of the environment are very important to being successful in work. (#23)

The control over the physical setting of work exists in conjunction with the control teleworkers have over their work interruptions. In Finch's study of clergymen's wives, she finds that clergy often brought their work home because the home "is thought to provide a setting where uninterrupted work can take place" (1983:55).[106] The control over the work schedule in the home allows teleworkers to plan their work

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[106]Finch notes that the responsibility falls on clergymens' wives to provide a domestic setting where uninterrupted work can take place (1983:55).

effectively. As one man says,

> we work on deadlines...you've got to get into a mindset
> with no distractions - it has to flow chronologically
> from start to finish...[I'm] more efficient when working
> [from] the house. (#24)

A woman similarly says,

> it's a mental thing - that you will not be interrupted
> when you're at home. You have that space, that time is
> your time to work on your projects...it's the issue of
> control over your time. Real control. (#30)

This real control does not exist in the office environment,

and as a result, as one woman says, "I don't have time to do

real work." She goes on to explain,

> [You] need time to do real work...there's no quiet time
> in the office. (#33)

CONCLUSION: THE PRIVATE DIMENSION OF "REAL WORK."

"Real work" is best done in the home not despite but

because of the private-ness of the home. The home office is

the ideal place to work because, as one woman says, "it's

really private" (#30). Within the patriarchal construction of

the public-private dichotomy the public is identified as the

sphere of men within which politics, power and work occur. The

private sphere is the sphere of domesticity, comfort, control

and nonwork. Teleworkers challenge the separate spheres ideology by suggesting that it is precisely that which is associated with the private sphere that is necessary for "public" activities. Teleworkers say,

> If you're in the office everyone's going to be driving you nuts. It's going to take away from what you're trying to do...you need some peace and quiet. (Man, #04)
>
> I think that it's so simple, I mean I'm working in a quiet place...I'm getting my work done. (Woman, #28)

With the disruption of the equivalence between "work" and "public," the aura that is conferred upon "work" in the public sphere is threatened. Teleworkers' challenge to the public-private dichotomy is "quiet" because it is one that begins to dissolve the dichotomy from within.

The manner in which teleworkers recreate the public-private dichotomy as the boundary between their work and nonwork lives draws attention to the social construction of the equivalence between the public and what is valued. By endorsing the socially sanctioned division of their lives into two discrete parts - work and nonwork - teleworkers give legitimacy to the paid work that they do, despite the fact that it is done in the private sphere of the home. Not only do they construct their work as legitimate, however, but they also present it as more legitimate than much of the work that occurs in the public sphere of the workplace. "Real work" occurs in the privacy of the home. Through this teleworkers

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reveal an irony in the concept of work; "real work" is better suited to the private than public domain. The theoretical implications of this challenge for the public-private dichotomy will be considered in Chapter 8, the concluding chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

The primary concern of this thesis has been to understand why the public-private dichotomy has such resilience in contemporary Western society. The experiences of teleworkers, who appear to be appropriately placed to challenge the division of their lives into public and private spheres, allow for an understanding of the societal mechanisms through which the dichotomy is reified.

There has been a wealth of feminist literature to date on the ways in which women's and men's life experiences cannot be accurately represented in terms of the public-private dichotomy. In addition, the literature on telework suggests that working at home allows individuals to achieve an ideal integration of the different spheres of their lives, and to alleviate much of the conflict that arises because these spheres are assumed to be separate. In light of these arguments, it is ironic that workers at home with a high degree of seniority in their organizations, with autonomy and control over their work, and with secure contractual arrangements with their employers, reify rather than dissolve the public-private dichotomy. Teleworkers continue to organize their lives in terms of "public" and "private," although the meanings of these terms shift from "workplace-home" to "work-nonwork." In effect, the division shifts to one within the

home, instead of one between the home and workplace.

The schism between the theoretical reflection on the possibilities of the integration of "public" and "private," and the lack of this integration in teleworkers' lives points to "how integral to modern organization [the] gendered *substructure* is and how relatively inaccessible to change it remains" (Acker, 1992b:255, italics mine). Feminist debates on the public-private dichotomy have focused on the dichotomy itself, rather than on the ways in which it is manifest in everyday life; these manifestations form the "substructure" of the dichotomy. Challenging the dichotomy has been like attempting to break down a fortified wall. The focus of this thesis has been on the mechanisms which fortify the "public-private" dichotomy.

In light of this concern, this thesis has focused specifically on the mechanisms through which the public-private dichotomy is reified in the lives of teleworkers, as a division between their work and nonwork lives. The first of these mechanisms is the gendered division of household labour and childcare responsibilities. "Work," as we know it necessitates the gendered division of labour in the home, and the often complicated rituals female and male teleworkers follow in order to ensure the continued separation of so called "nonwork" activities from their paid work only further manifests this dependence of work, for its very meaning, on nonwork. While they do paid work in the home, teleworkers

constantly shut out their "home" demands - demands that do not disappear, but rather are met later, mostly by women, during their so called "unproductive" or "nonwork" times. This is a systemic arrangement, rather than one that can be attributed to individual men; even teleworking men who assume household responsibilities find it necessary to de-legitimatize these activities in order for their paid work to be seen to have validity and status.

A second mechanism through which the public-private dichotomy is reified is the gendered notion of "professionalism" within mainstream organizational culture. Through this notion of "gendered professionalism" work is seen to be legitimate because it is not nonwork, and work is valued on the basis of this legitimacy. Given the current economic conceptualization of value, work is "paid" on the basis of how legitimate it is, and it is legitimated on the basis of how much it excludes domestic labour, household work and other so called "nonwork." Women more than men are responsible for nonwork and women are therefore less able than men to exclude nonwork labour from their paid work schedules. In an organizational culture within which "work" is legitimized based on its exclusion of nonwork, it can be seen that the work women do can never be as legitimate, and can never be valued (and therefore paid) as highly as that done by men.

The workings of these two mechanisms are operative in teleworkers' daily lives, especially in the context of their

precarious work setting (the home) which is seen to have no organizational status. Given that the home is seen, in essence, as an illegitimate place of work, it is ironic that organizational culture pervades and influences the homes of teleworkers so completely. This suggests that "organizational cultures" are not essentially cultures bounded within organizations. They are rooted in a societal definition of "work," and extend their influence beyond the geographical parameters of organizations to penetrate the "private" sphere of the home. Wherever activities that are known as "work" are being organized, "organizational culture" is being created and reinforced.

This research suggests that teleworking employees can potentially have two very different influences on the cultures of organizations. On the one hand, telework can represent the move towards the post-capitalist society (Drucker, 1993). This would include the emphasis on extremely high levels of work efficiency and productivity and the definition of only "real work" as work. As long as telework continues to be seen as a "perk," teleworkers will have to devalue all their nonwork activities to continue to gain legitimacy within traditional organizational norms. Given teleworkers' strong desire to continue to work at home, they can potentially be in a situation where they opt, or are forced, to accept lower wages, higher productivity, reduced benefits and decreased organizational recognition, in exchange for the opportunity to

work at home.

On the other hand, telework has within it a radical potential, and teleworkers have an opportunity to pose a challenge to the fundamentals of visibility and performance upon which contemporary organizational cultures are based. The present research has suggested that this challenge will originate in their experience that the best work (which teleworkers call "real work") can be done in the private sphere of the home. The office is identified as inappropriate for "real work" precisely because it is public. In this manner, teleworkers begin to dissolve the equivalences between public-work and private-nonwork. However the radical potential of this challenge can only develop when telework is better established within organizations. The teleworkers interviewed for the present study perceive the opportunity to work at home as a privilege they have been granted. At the same time, these employees are invaluable organizational assets - they are highly motivated individuals and are far more productive than their office-going counterparts. In addition, by working at home they potentially reduce their company's overhead costs (such as office rents and maintenance). With time and the continued proliferation of telework, these employees are likely to begin to see themselves as organizationally valuable rather than organizationally privileged employees. Only then can they begin to influence, and subvert, notions of "professionalism" inherent in traditional organizational

culture and the conception of "work" as an activity of the public sphere.

The choice of which of these two paths telework will follow will be made to a large extent by those influencing the telework policies of organizations.[107] Teleworking employees can benefit themselves, as well as propel their organizations towards a more democratic and egalitarian workplace culture only once telework gains organizational status as an acceptable way of working. Policy formation must be directed towards the achievement of this goal.

Indeed, some headway is already being made in this direction. For example, the Public Service Alliance of Canada (the union of federal government employees), while cautious that telework may lead to the proliferation of sub-contracting (conversion of employees into workers without benefits), has begun to recognize that union members report largely positive experiences of telework. The union stresses that this positive reaction to telework must be examined within the context of heavy workloads and the lack of publicly funded childcare. Telework is identified as "a coping mechanism" (PSAC, 1993:12). The present research suggests that unions and other policy makers can challenge the social context within which telework has become popular by encouraging its further entrenchment in the organizational culture, rather that its

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[107]Appendix 1 outlines some specific policy implications arising out of the present study.

eradication. Further research is needed to track the long-term consequences of telework as it becomes better established within organizations.

Related to these policy implications, this research also has implications for future theoretical reflections on the public-private dichotomy. Feminist debates have focused on the patriarchal purposes served through the rhetoric of the public-private dichotomy. Implicit in this line of analysis has been a search for ways in which the dichotomy can be challenged. It is assumed that through a revelation of its inadequacy as an explanatory tool, the dichotomy can be dissolved. While this has been an important undertaking, fewer resources have been directed towards the analysis of another equally vital issue - that of the mechanisms through which the public-private dichotomy *remains operative* in the lives of women and men, even though it may be translated into new terms.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a substantial body of feminist literature on the public-private dichotomy. Theorists have attempted to uncover the gendered conceptualizations of the dichotomy in classical social and political theory, as well as to provide strategies through which the dichotomy can be dissolved. For example, Elshtain (1981)[108] provides a

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[108]In Elshtain's final chapter of her book, she develops a model of the "ideal of the private world" (1981:322) which she argues should "center around affirming the essential needs of children" (1981:331). Many of the reviews and critiques of Elshtain's book have, I feel, given an undue amount of

review of the patriarchal assumptions underlying the use of the public-private dichotomy in classical political theory. She traces the use of the dichotomy by Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Luther, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel and Marx (also, Lloyd, 1984; Pateman, 1983). Helly and Reverby (1992) trace the manner in which the oppression of women is conceptualized in history, and how this oppression is disguised through the use of the public-private dichotomy. Other feminist literature focuses on specific ways in which the use of the public-private dichotomy serves patriarchal purposes. This literature is inter-disciplinary, multi-faceted and varied. For example, Hansen (1987) reveals the inadequacy of the public-private dichotomy suggesting that we need to transform the public-private dichotomy by integrating the dimension of the social. Tiano (1984) illuminates the fact that the capitalist economy depends upon unpaid, devalued and private labour in the household. Elshtain (1981) argues that the public-private dichotomy masks the values of attachment nurtured in the private sphere. Pateman (1983) illustrates the shifting definitions of public and private to demonstrate the patriarchal subtext of liberalism.

Alongside this body of feminist literature, there is also a significant amount of theoretical reflection on the

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attention to this chapter in her book (for example, Siltansen and Stansworth, 1984; Kofman and Peake, 1990). In the first three hundred pages of her book, Elshtain provides a comprehensive and extremely useful analysis of the use of the public-private dichotomy in classical political theory.

activities through which people describe their daily lives; activities such as work, childcare, domestic work, home, family. For example the feminist literature on work and nonwork is extremely rich. Hall and Richter (1990) analyze the separation between home and place of work. Sheppard (1992), Finch (1983) and Luxton (1980) discuss the distinctions between work and domestic work. Perman (1991) explores the monetary and nonmonetary aspects of jobs. Seccombe (1986) and Fox (1981) analyze the distinction between paid and unpaid labour. Theorists such as Daniels (1987), Glazer (1993) and DeVault (1991) focus on visible and invisible work.

To date these two sets of literature have remained, to a large extent, distinct. The task at hand, towards which the present research project attempts to contribute, is to *link* these two sets of feminist knowledge, in order to discern the ways in which the public-private dichotomy is manifest in peoples' daily lives as divisions between work and nonwork. Similar links can be forged between the literature on the public private dichotomy, and research on distinctions between, to name a few examples, workplace and home, gossip and fact, attachment and detachment, subjectivity and objectivity.

Building our analysis on the body of feminist knowledge on why the public-private dichotomy is patriarchal, focus can now be shifted on how this tool of patriarchy is reified in a variety of ways in the daily lives of women and men. While

this shift in focus is necessary, it is not without its perils. Part of the difficulty in this approach relates to the difficulty in specifying a method for linking the public-private dichotomy to the various ways in which the separate spheres rhetoric is manifest in peoples' daily lives. We hesitate to pose questions about the possibility of constructs that remain "invisible but active" (Smith, 1992:96) in the everyday lives of people.

This hesitation relates to a large extent to our "feminist inheritance." Much of early second wave feminism was constructed upon a platform of the bionic vision of certain women and the myopia of others. Betty Friedan, for example, characterizes the feminine mystique which pervades American housewives as a "sickness" (1963:305). She calls for women to "face the problem" and "solve it" (1963:338). Simone de Beauvoir similarly notes that patriarchy has always existed because women have internalized their subordinate status (Tong, 1989:202). Another example can be found in the CR (Consciousness Raising) approach, which was premised on the need to make women more conscious through "the process of transforming the hidden, individual fears of women into a shared awareness of the meaning of them as social problems" (Mitchell, 1973:61). Critiques of these approaches have underlined that it is patronizing for some women to tell other women that they are being unknowingly oppressed. Hooks, for example, relates her experiences in feminist groups where she

says that "they [white feminists] expected us to provide first hand accounts of black experience, they felt it was their role to decide if these experiences were authentic" (1984:11). Instead, she argues that dominant groups of women need to question "whether or not their perspective on women's reality is true to the lived experience of women as a collective group" (1984: 3; also Smith, 1987; Ramazonaglu, 1989; Collins, 1990; Mohanty, 1988).

Our unwillingness to label certain processes in peoples' daily lives as signifiers of invisible processes is not surprising in light of this history; it signals our sensitivity to false consciousness constructions. At the same time, this sensitivity continually pushes us to develop approaches which allow us to begin with the everyday experiences of women and men, and yet recognize the mechanisms which shape these experiences. I suggest that we can do this by situating our analyses in the daily lives of individuals, and by drawing simultaneously from the feminist literature on the public-private dichotomy and from the feminist literature on the terms through which people describe their everyday experiences. Through such analyses we can establish links between the public-private dichotomy and the mechanisms through which the dichotomy is manifest in different ways in peoples' daily lives.

A second direction for future feminist reflection arising from this study relates to the definition of an appropriate

starting point from which to question theoretical knowledge in mainstream disciplines. A basic premise of this thesis has been that an exploration into the activities that are termed "nonwork" provides invaluable insight into the concept of "work." Accordingly, I argue that by examining its separation from nonwork, the gendered nature of the concept of work can be revealed. Similarly, examining what is excluded from "real work," allows for the discovery that "real work" is best suited to the private sphere of the home.

This strategy is situated within a tradition in feminist theory of looking at that which is excluded from the mainstream in order to shed light onto the mainstream. For example, Hooks writes that being located in the "margin" provides "an oppositional world view" where it is possible to focus on the center as well as the margin, and to understand both. It is "a mode of seeing unknown to most of our oppressors" (1984:ix). Collins, similarly notes that the "outsider within" status allows Black feminists to see anomalies in the sociological worldview (1986:S27).[109] In line with these theorists, Tancred argues that the "parameters of women's work have been ignored in the definitions that are current within [the Sociology of Work]...This has hampered the ability of this specialty to deal, not only with women's work, but also with the changing contours of men's work" (1995:11).

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[109]For more examples, see the discussion of standpoint theory in Chapter 4.

Indeed, the present research project reveals that much can be understood about the concept of "work" through an exploration of "nonwork." Future research can be undertaken on how the notion of "women's work" challenges what we know as "men's work," how the concept of "home" challenges that of "workplace," and how what is known as "private" challenges that which is called "public."

Elshtain writes that "the trail of public and private is not like a superhighway, straight and smooth, providing few surprises. Instead there are twists and unexpected turns, retracings of earlier steps, wild, even dangerous bumps, dead ends, detours, and destinations uncertain" (1981:xi-xii). This vivid image challenges the endurance the public-private dichotomy is sometimes thought to possess. The challenge for feminist theorists is to recognize the "detours" along the "trail of public and private," and to use these as points of entry to challenge the mechanisms which seem to necessitate the organization of our lives in terms of the "public-private dichotomy."

POLICY IMPLICATIONS: THE GUIDED ENTRENCHMENT OF TELEWORK

Most teleworkers interviewed for this study reported extremely positive experiences of telework, describing it as "the ultimate" "win-win situation." However, this research suggests that the overwhelmingly positive response to telework is likely to be due, at least in part, to the fact that teleworkers perceive the opportunity to work at home as a privilege and are keen not to jeopardize the work arrangement. The few difficulties that teleworkers report with working at home are therefore important and an exploration of the causes of these difficulties is vital to the successful implementation of telework programs. This appendix focuses on the ways in which teleworkers' experiences, both positive and negative, can guide policy in the formation of telework programs in the future. Five areas requiring specific attention are discussed below:

1. Standardization of Employee Protection

Most of the teleworkers interviewed have some form of a written contract, although for a few the work arrangement is a verbal agreement between themselves and their supervisors. Even amongst those with contracts, however, there are vast differences in what their contracts include, and which levels

of the organization they involve. For one teleworker, for example, the telework contract was a negotiation that involved the teleworker, the supervisor, the union and the President of the company. For another, the contract was a letter in the employee file, with a signature of approval by the manager. Telework contracts also differ greatly in terms of what they include. For a few teleworkers, a comprehensive contract is used; this contract includes the days and times work is to be done at home, the job content and how it is to be evaluated (in some cases, a specific "quota" of work to be completed in the home is established), the equipment to be provided, the insurance coverage, and the safety standards to be maintained in the home. Some contracts include a clause that identifies telework as a voluntary arrangement; employees have the option to return to the central office at any time. Teleworkers with such comprehensive contracts work for organizations that have devoted some resources to research on telework and development of company wide policy on the work arrangement.

Most teleworkers, however, lobbied for the opportunity to telework and then drew up contracts themselves. As one woman says,

> I think [it] is absolutely necessary from the company's point of view and the employees's point of view...to write up a contract...[In my contract] I analyzed [the advantage of telework from]...the company's point of view, my personal point of view, and my home life point of view. I did a cost analysis...to determine that it wasn't going to cost the company more for me to work at home. (#38)

Several teleworkers report that they themselves did much of the research in developing business plans outlining the benefits of telework. This research work is often unrecognized, and indicative of the fact that telework is regarded largely as a privilege given to the employee. A majority of the unionized employees said that their unions played little or no role in the development of their telework contracts. This suggests the need for unions and other policy makers to play a more active role in ensuring that employers recognize, and pay for, the "telework research" currently being done by pioneering teleworkers. The development of standardized contracts would ensure a basic level of employee protection and allow for the employee's telework performance to be measured against certain collaboratively predetermined yardsticks. The development of telework programs and contracts should be seen as an organizational, rather than an "unpaid" employee responsibility.

2. Extension of Organizational Responsibility

Just as there is little standardization of telework contracts there are also vast differences amongst the sample of teleworkers in the amount of equipment and infrastructural support with which they are provided while they work at home. Almost all teleworkers cover part of their work costs themselves, especially for furniture and maintenance (such as electricity bills). No teleworkers have been compensated for the fact that part of their home is dedicated to organizational activities. In some cases, teleworkers have submitted tax claims but several report that the compensation they receive is extremely small. Often, teleworkers also pay for their own telephone lines.

Many employers do provide teleworkers with computers, although in some cases, this is surplus equipment that hinders teleworkers' ability to work effectively. When organizations do provide equipment, however, this is often done in a haphazard manner. As one teleworking man says, obtaining the right equipment has been "an uphill battle" (#24). A woman, similarly reported that her employer had agreed to pay for office equipment, but "after a couple of months, it seems like they forgot [about] it." (#19)

Several teleworkers therefore stress the need for employers to standardize the equipment to be provided to teleworkers. As one woman says,

they've never sat down and said...what is our technology strategy and so we've gone through a couple of years of growing pains and frustration. (#48)

A teleworking man similarly says,

wouldn't it be smart if one guy was making those decisions [about the equipment needs of teleworkers]... instead of everybody reinventing the wheel?...It should be just snap, snap, automatic, boom...there's a workstation. (#44)

Some organizations, however, do assume responsibility for providing teleworkers with appropriately equipped home offices. One woman, for example, says,

I was the one who spearheaded the choice of the computer equipment. What we did was...we set up a sample [home] office [at the central office, so that]...people could come in and test the equipment and see what they thought of it. We tried several fax machines, we tried several computers. So the equipment that we chose was chosen on a consensual basis [by] the people who were going to be [working at home]...The culture of the company that I work with is such that they have provided us with the right equipment to do this job the right way. (#42)

A man, similarly reports,

they have supplied me with a [computer], two lines, a modem, a printer, a cabinet, two tables, a nice business chair...it's almost a perfect replica of the cubicle we've got [at the central office]. (#49)

While some teleworkers do receive such technological support,

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most are reluctant to lobby their employers to make such provisions. This is largely because teleworkers are keen not to jeopardize telework programs, and are afraid that employers may perceive telework as a "cost." Teleworkers say,

> there are some things that aren't covered...like heat and hydro...furniture...but the advantages of being at home far outweigh the costs. (Man, #24)

> my husband [says]...you're using electricity...you're using this room...exclusively for your work...I've never pursued that [with my employer] though...mainly because I don't want to put the situation in jeopardy. I'm enjoying what I'm doing and I don't want to be a pain, I don't want to cause problems. (Woman, #05)

Policy makers and unions can therefore play an important role in ensuring that employers take organizational responsibility for workers at home by providing them with the equipment and infrastructure to do their work effectively.

3. Recognition of the Value of the Teleworker

Due to the fact that teleworkers perceive the opportunity to work at home as a highly desirable, although often precarious, arrangement they are often unable to make demands within the organization. As one woman says,

> I don't know whether to play it up [that I work at home] or just keep quiet about it, so I try not to say too much about anything. (#07)

At the same time, however, teleworkers are keenly aware of the fact that they are highly productive and valuable employees, and provide great benefit to their employers. Teleworkers say,

> [when I work overtime] the funny thing is I don't even feel bad about it...I think the employers are the great benefactors. (Man, #44)

> If a person has to spend twelve hours doing one task, and you can get [that task] accomplished in three hours, there's a big saving...in dollars for my boss. (Man, #01)

> they're doing me a favour by letting me work at home, but I'm also doing them a favour by doing double productivity. (Woman, #17)

While teleworkers recognize their own organizational value, they note that they often do not receive recognition from their peers, their supervisors, and the organization as a whole. Because they perceive telework as a privilege, however,

they do not demand such organizational recognition of their work; several feel, however, that more should be done to acknowledge that they are an integral part of the organization. As one man says,

> I'm working around the company as opposed to the company being sensitive that this [telework] is a blessed program within the company - it's got benefits to the company... no-one in personnel...has given this thing one iota of respect...[we should be] treated as a fully endorsed, vibrant, essential...part of the fabric of the organization. (#44)

Future policy on telework should stress this fact that telework is a valuable "fabric" of many organizations and that teleworkers are organizationally valuable rather than privileged employees.

4. Guided Entrenchment in Organizations

Part of the reason that teleworkers perceive the work arrangement as a privilege despite their organizational contributions is the fact that telework is not, as yet, entrenched in the cultures of most organizations. As yet, many decisions about telework are made by employees' direct supervisors, and there are no formal mechanisms in place to ensure that these decisions are made fairly. As one woman says,

> It's a one day at a time thing as far as I'm concerned...I could have a new boss tomorrow who might not [allow] this...unless it's enshrined in some way in a corporate policy [this will not change]. (#06)

A teleworking man notes that "it's the manager that says" (#03) whether an employee should be allowed to telework.

Policy makers and unions need to lobby for a guided entrenchment of telework in organizations. Decisions about individual telework arrangements need to be made by teleworkers, their supervisors and their unions, but mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that these decisions are made after consideration of all the relevant information. In addition, grievance procedures need to be established for teleworkers who may have been unfairly denied the opportunity to telework (or who may have been forced into telework).

5. Continual Monitoring through Further Research

This study suggests that there is a need for the continual monitoring of the development of telework in Canada. It is necessary to track the growth of telework, as well as the contractual arrangements under which employees work at home. Telework can potentially be a move towards unrealistic work expectations and the increased contracting out of work. It can, however also potentially pose a fundamental challenge to organizational cultures and provide the vehicle through which individuals can engender more egalitarian ways of working. Policy makers must play an active role in guiding the continued entrenchment of telework programs in organizations, and in this manner, contribute to the determination of the future influence of telework.

BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY: MEDIA IMAGES OF WORKERS AT HOME
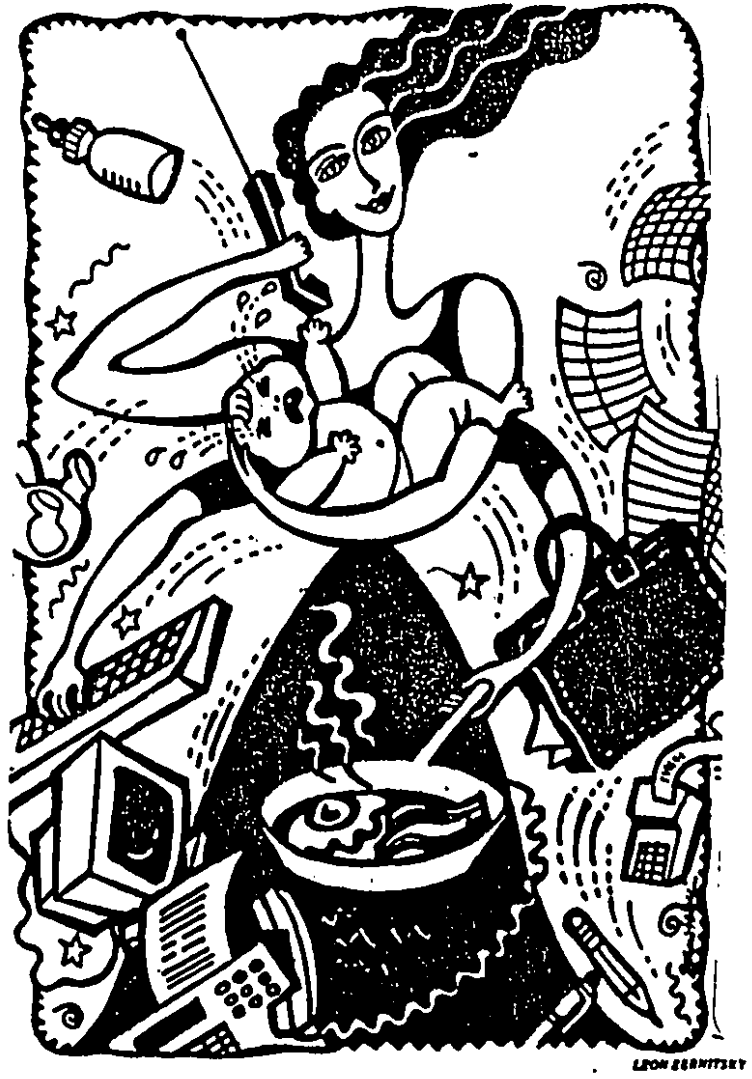
The Globe and Mail, June 14th 1994

PAUL LIMA / FOR THE TORONTO STAR

HOME SUITE HOME: Former actress Lyn Green, with daughter Kyah on her knee, runs a video production company from the living room of her High Park home.

Working at home has allowed Ralph Kopperson a closer connection with his daughter, Caitlin, 8, and son, Eric, 6.

WORKING / *A B.C. Crown corporation is allowing some of its employees to work at home part of the week.*

The experiment's early results point to higher productivity and happier personal lives.

The desktop commuter

:eporter Terry Glavin at work with son Eamonn on his Vancouver houseboat. Is he master of his own space, or time? *(TIM PELLING/The Globe and Mail)*

<u>The Globe and Mail</u>, September 19th 1992

LIVING IN THE OFFICE:
HOW TELEWORKERS SEPARATE HOME AND WORK.

In today's society, many of us have learned to maintain a strict separation between our public and private lives. We often hear of the ill effects of mixing "business with pleasure" or "work with play". Part of the reason this clear division between home and work has been possible is that we have allocated a separate space for each. Teleworkers, however, continuously juggle their work and home lives, living and working in the same location.

I am a Ph.D student at McGill University and am doing my thesis on employee perspectives and experiences of telework. Instead of a survey, I am conducting interviews, in which teleworkers can share the part of their experience they find most pertinent, rather than having to respond to a set of predefined questions.

The particular issue I am interested in is how the movement of work from office to home affects the way in which people organize and separate their public and private lives. I am looking for people across Canada who currently work at home one to five days a week to participate in my study. At the moment, I am limiting my sample to people who are salaried employees (rather than pieceworkers or self-employed entrepreneurs).

Participants in the study will receive a copy of my report with my complete findings. As there are few qualitative studies in Canada on telework, and the popularity of this work arrangement is growing, I encourage all teleworkers to participate in this project. The identity and organizational affiliation of all participants will be kept confidential. If you are interested, please contact me at:

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Tel : (514) 843-8044 (collect, if needed)
Fax : (514) 398-3403

EMail: bfqp@musicb.mcgill.ca

ADVERTISMENTS PLACED TO GENERATE SAMPLE

Calling all teleworkers

The electronic networks of the '90s have given rise to a new sort of "cottage industry" that sees more and more workers not just bringing *work* home, but bringing the *office* home.

These so-called "teleworkers" live and work in the same place. For them, the usual barriers to mixing business and pleasure, work and play, don't exist.

Kiran Mirchandani, a PhD student in sociology at McGill University, wants to know how teleworkers across Canada organize and separate their public and private lives. She is seeking to interview salaried employees (not pieceworkers or self-employed entrepreneurs) who currently work at home one to five days per week.

Participants will receive a copy of the report of her complete findings. Interested teleworkers can contact Kiran Mirchandani in writing at the Department of Sociology, McGill University, 855 Sherbrooke St. W., Montreal H3A 2T7, or by phone at 843-8044 (collect calls accepted). Faxes can be sent to (514) 398-3403.

Living in the Office:

HOW TELEWORKERS SEPARATE HOME AND WORK

In today's society, many of us have learned to maintain a strict separation between our public and private lives. We often hear of the ill effects of mixing "business with pleasure" or "work with play." Part of the reason this clear division between home and work has been possible is that we have allocated a separate space for each. Teleworkers, however, continuously juggle their work and home lives, living and working in the same location.

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I am interested in how the movement of work from office to home affects the way people organize and separate their public and private lives. I am looking for people across Canada who currently work at home as salaried employees (rather than pieceworkers or self-employed entrepreneurs), one to five days a week.

The results of my study will be summarized in a future issue of TELE-WORK CANADA. In addition, participants will receive a copy of my complete findings. As there are few qualitative studies in Canada on telework, and the popularity of this work arrangement is growing, I encourage all teleworkers to participate in this project. The identity and organizational affiliation of all participants will be kept confidential. If you are interested, please contact me at:

Kiran Mirchandani
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The Globe and Mail, Saturday, April 16th, 1994

PROJECTS
AND CAUSES

PILOT INTERVIEW GUIDE

I.   WORK HISTORY

How did you come to be teleworking?

II.   NATURE OF THE JOB

Run through typical telework day, if you have one.
Tasks that are done only in the office or only at
home.

Attention: Interruptions
            Productivity
            Structure of day
            Location of work in the home

Compare to a non-telework day.

III. STRENGTHS/WEAKNESSES

What are some of the advantages you perceive about
this arrangement?

What are some of the problems you encounter?

Attention: Isolation
            Union representation
            Job stress
            Balancing work and family
            Cost
            Workers' compensation coverage

IV.   EFFECTS ON PERSONAL LIFE

Do you maintain a division between your home and work
life? Why?

How does this arrangement affect your personal
relationships?

Attention: Family members
            Colleagues
            Friends

V.   PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

NO:__

I.   WORK HISTORY
        How did you come to be teleworking?

II.   NATURE OF THE JOB
        Run through typical telework day, if you have one.

        Tasks that are done only in the office or only at home.

        *Have work tasks changed in nature because of move from office to home?

        Attention: Interruptions
                   Productivity
                   Structure of day
                   Location of work in the home

        Compare to a non-telework day.

III.   STRENGTHS/WEAKNESSES
        What are some of the advantages you perceive about this arrangement?

        What are some of the problems you encounter?

        *Are there some changes that could be made that would improve your telework situation?

        Attention: Isolation
                   Union representation
                   Job stress
                   Balancing work and family
                   Cost
                   Workers' compensation coverage

IV.   EFFECTS ON PERSONAL LIFE
        Do you maintain a division between your home and work life? Why?

        How does this arrangement affect your personal relationships?

        Attention: Family members
                   Colleagues
                   Friends

V.   PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

* ITEMS ADDED IN FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

No:___

QUESTIONNAIRE

[You may have already answered some of these questions during the interview but I would like to have confirmation on these points].

City of Residence........................._____

Sex (M/F)................................._____

Age......................................._____

Marital Status............................_____

No. of children in your care and their
ages.................... ...._____

Do you provide eldercare? If so, to how
many and what are their ages?..........._____

Highest level of education attained....._____

What is your occupational title........._____

How many years have you been in the
labour force?..........................._____

Do you work for the government, a crown
corporation, or a private company?......_____

Gross annual individual income.........._____

Do you belong to a union? (Y/N)........._____

What is the distance from your home
to your employer's workplace
(in minutes to commute)................_____

How many years/months have you been
teleworking?............................_____

No:___

QUESTIONNAIRE

[You may have already answered some of these questions during the interview but I would like to have confirmation on these points].

City of Residence........................_____

Sex (M/F)..............................._____

Age...................................._____

Marital Status........................._____

No. of children in your care and their
ages...................... ...._____

Do you provide eldercare? If so, to how
many and what are their ages?.........._____

Highest level of education attained....._____

*What is your occupational title........_____

*How many years have you been in your
current job function?..................._____

What is your occupational title........._____

How many years have you been in the
labour force?..........................._____

Do you work for the government, a crown
corporation, or a private company?......_____

Gross annual individual income........._____

*Gross annual household income........._____

Do you belong to a union? (Y/N)........._____

What is the distance from your home
to your employer's workplace
(in minutes to commute)................._____

*Do you have a formal telework arrangement
with your employer?....................._____

*How many years/months have you been
FORMALLY teleworking?..................._____

*How many years/months have you been
INFORMALLY teleworking?................._____

* ITEMS ADDED IN FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CODE SHEET

CODE	CODE NAME
WORK/NON-WORK [PUBLIC/PRIVATE]	
Intersperse Work/Non-Work	
How?	
Intersperse paid work and leisure activities.....	Iw&l
Intersperse paid work and housework..............	Iw&hw
Intersperse paid work and childcare/eldercare..............	Iw&cc
Intersperse work/non-work schedule...............	Isched
Intersperse space of work and space of non work..	Ispace
Why?	
To increase productivity.........................	Iprod
To increase flexibility..........................	Iflex
To have control over schedule....................	Icontrol
Because it's the natural way to be...............	Inat
To avoid "divided selves"........................	Inodiv
To balance work and family (general).............	Ibal
To provide occasional care.......................	Iocc
To provide childcare and eldercare...............	Icare
To provide home security.........................	Isecure
To preserve/rebuild the family...................	Ifly
Intersperse work/non-work - misc comments........	Imisc

WORK/NON-WORK [CON'T] Separate work and non-work	
How?	
Separate work space from non-work space..........	Sspace
Follow regular work schedule.....................	Ssched
Follow ritual of going to work...................	Sritual
Separate work and non-work in other ways........	Sgen
Why?	
To maintain professionalism of paid work; perception of telework as non-work..............	Spercep
To protect work from non-work (family) life......	Swfromfam
To protect work from non-work (leisure) life.....	Swfromlei
To protect non-work (family) from work life......	Sfamfromw
To protect non-work (leisure) from work life.....	Sleifromw
To leave work behind.............................	Sleave
To prevent overworking...........................	Soverwk
Separate work and non-work for other reasons....	Smisc

NATURE OF WORK

Job functions/tasks of teleworkers (general).....	Wjob
Tasks done in the office.........................	Woff
Tasks done at home...............................	Whome
Tasks done in either office or home..............	Weither
Technology being used – what and how.............	Wtech
Productivity level...............................	Wprod
Change in method of work – controlled interactions.....................................	Wmethint
Change in method of work – scheduling/planning work...	Wmethsch
Change in method of work – general...............	Wmethgen
Workload pressures and stress level..............	Wstress
Organizational changes to accommodate telework...	Worgchange
Social interactions..............................	Wsocial
Definition of work vis-a-vis non-work............	Wdefw&nw
Measurement of work by results (change in what counts as work...	Wmeasure

PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE FOR TELEWORK	
Nature of home work-space........................	PShomeoff
Costs covered by the company.....................	PScosts
Outside help for domestic work...................	PSdomestic
Nature of formal contract and union concerns.....	PScontract
Other flexible work arrangements being used simultaneously...................................	PSothflex
The commute, including what saved commute time is used for..	PScommute
Cost savings for the teleworker..................	PSsaving
Organizational advantages with telework, including cost savings for the organization......	PSorgadv
Organizational problems with telework...........	PSorgdis
Number of days teleworking.......................	PSdays

WORK CULTURE	
<u>Home environment</u>	
Control over schedule............................	HEsched
Control over space..............................	HEspace
Control over self-presentation and work experience......................................	HEself
What is missed in home environment..............	HEmiss
<u>Telework culture</u>	
Trust...	TCtrust
Requires self motivation........................	TCmotive
New management style............................	TCstyle
Missing in telework culture............	TCmiss
Need to balance telework with non-telework.......	TCbalance
How telework is seen as a privilege.............	TCprivlege
Main reasons for teleworking....................	TCreason
Bottom line on telework (like it or don't).......	TCbottom
Misc comments about telework culture............	TCmisc
<u>Office environment</u>	
Fragmentation...................................	OEfrag
Lack of control over work and schedule..........	OEnocont
Positive aspects of office environment..........	OEposit
<u>Traditional work culture</u>	
Focus on visibility and supervision.............	WCvis
Resistance to telework..........................	WCresist
Total devotion to job needed....................	WCdevote
Prevalence of informal telework.................	WCinformal
Perception of telework as nonwork...............	WCpercep

CONDITIONS FOR TELEWORK: ABILITY TO TELEWORK DEPENDS ON:	
Job function.....................................	Cfunc
Valued employee..................................	Cvalue
Personality Type.................................	Cperson
Stage in life cycle..............................	Ccycle
Conducive home environment.......................	Chome
Boss' Support....................................	Cboss
Organizational work culture......................	Corgcult
Technology availability..........................	Ctech
Customer and colleague satisfaction..............	Csatis
Other misc conditions for telework...............	Cmisc

MISC CODES	
Futurist Talk...................................	Mfuture
Recession Talk..................................	Mrecess
Plans for the future............................	Mplans
Examples of other teleworkers recounted.........	Megs
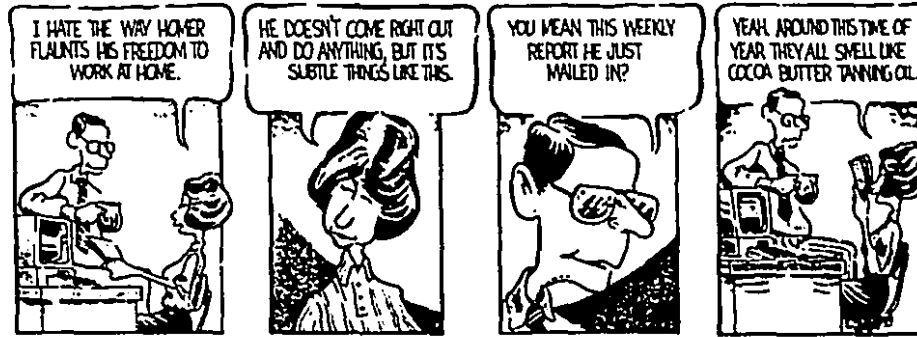
HOMER

HOMER

Reprinted from Gordon (1988) in Korte et al.

Real Life Adventures — By Wise and Aldrich

The nice thing about a home office
is that it has a bed in it.

BACK BENCH
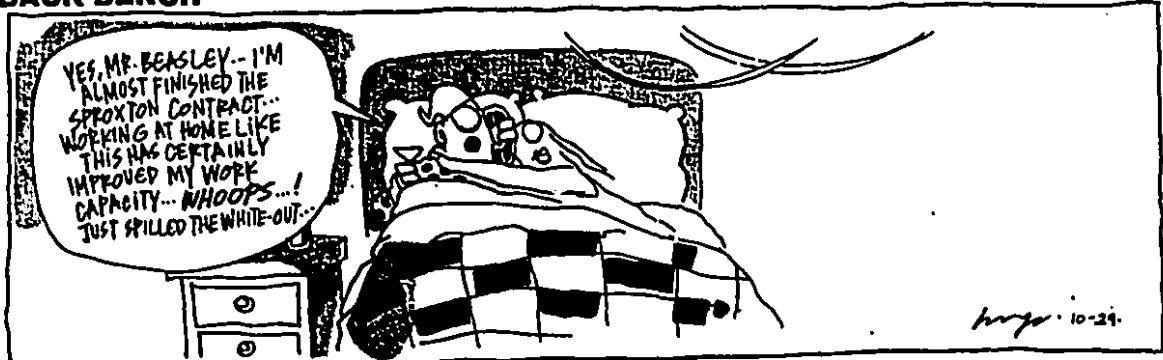
Adam — By Brian Basset

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