Work, Time and Rhythm:
Investigating contemporary ‘time squeeze’

Thomas Edward Ashfold

Wolfson College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Hilary 2016

Abstract

Work, Time and Rhythm:

Investigating contemporary 'time squeeze'

Thomas Edward Ashfold

Wolfson College, University of Oxford

Doctor of Philosophy, Hilary 2016

In contemporary capitalist economies such as the UK, it is commonly held that an increasing number of people and households experience anxiety over time and symptoms of 'time squeeze'. Existing accounts of the character and causes of this phenomenon are rather one-dimensional and lacking in nuance, however. In part, this is because they typically lack any substantial theoretical engagement with the concept of time itself. Accordingly, this research aims to provide a more complex and contextual account of experiences of working time (both paid and unpaid), and to investigate how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between individuals and social groups. This is achieved by calling upon an enriched understanding of time, and employing an instrumental case study built around a set of 50 semi-structured interviews with employees working in Oxford University's central IT department and four of its constituent colleges. The empirical findings reveal that the (quantitative) extent and (qualitative) nature of participants' temporal anxieties vary with occupation, social class, gender, age and family status, as well as the importance of institutional and local context. Furthermore, they demonstrate that contemporary time squeeze is generated by a

variety of causal mechanisms relating to the duration, tempo and timing of both paid employment and unpaid reproductive work, and their intersections with the personal, natural, social, institutional and technological rhythms that variously constitute everyday life.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I am extremely grateful to my two supervisors, Prof. Linda McDowell and Dr. Tim Schwanen, for their continued support and expert guidance over the past three and a half years. Whatever its merits, this thesis is significantly stronger for their input.

I am also grateful to all those members of non-academic staff, both in the School of Geography and the Environment and at my college, Wolfson, who in various ways have helped to make my time in Oxford so rewarding.

My deepest thanks also to my parents, Mike and Julie, for their unwavering love and support over the past 29 years, and especially during these last few months of writing up. A big thank you also to my brother, Matt, sister-in-law, Elena, and niece, Alisha, for their particular brand of 'encouragement', and to my grandmother, Olive, for the continuous supply of cakes!

Thank you as well to my various friends scattered around the country and overseas – particularly those in Oxford, who have shared the highs and lows of this D.Phil. journey with me, and back home in Bristol, whose friendship I know will be lifelong.

Lastly, but by no means least, my thanks to the 50 anonymous individuals whose accounts feature in the pages of this thesis, and to the Economic and Social Research Council, who provided the funding for my D.Phil. Without them this research would simply not have been possible.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HR	Human Resources
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IT	Information Technology
NHS	National Health Service
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PA	Personal Assistant
SOA	Super Output Area
STS	Science, Technology and Society
UAS	University Administration and Services
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

In the summer of 2011 I secured my first 'career' job working for an environmental consultancy based near Victoria, and set off for the bright lights of London. Whilst I enjoyed many aspects of my time in the capital, I also found myself feeling run down from the pace of London life and the demands of my job, which involved regular client deadlines. It soon dawned on me that I was not alone in these feelings and it was here that my interest in the themes of this thesis first surfaced. Indeed, anyone who has repeatedly witnessed the frustration of London commuters at missing a morning tube, when another is not more than two or three minutes away, would surely attest to the fact that time is a source of much contemporary angst (see also Jarvis 2005).

Whilst such anxieties may arguably be intensified in a capital city such as London, it is clear they apply to modern capitalist economies more generally. Indeed, in the UK, barely a month goes by without an article in the popular press bemoaning a shortage of time or a perceived increase in the pace of modern life. An *Economist* (2014) article from December 2014 entitled 'In Search of Lost Time', for example, asked: "Why is everyone so busy?" In January 2015, meanwhile, a *Telegraph* lifestyle article asked readers: "Do we really all want to live our lives in such a rush?" (Bakewell 2015).

The role of paid work is seemingly at the heart of such concerns. In September 2015, for instance, an article in the *Independent* newspaper entitled 'Burnout

Britain' – and citing analysis undertaken by the national Trade Union Centre (TUC) – warned that the number of UK employees working 'excessive hours' had increased by 15 percent since 2010 (Ali 2015). Similarly, in November 2015, a *Telegraph* article described a "work stress epidemic" amongst the UK's female population as women struggle to combine the demands of paid employment with domestic responsibilities (Bingham 2015). Relatedly, modern technology is also seen to play a significant role in generating contemporary angst around time. In December 2015, for instance, a *Guardian* opinion piece sought to advise readers on "how to stop 24/7 email ruining your life" (Parkinson 2015). Likewise, the following month, another *Telegraph* article – this time citing a report from the London-based Future Work Centre think-tank – warned that, by providing constant access to emails outside of working hours, mobile phones have become a "toxic source of stress" (Clarke-Billings 2016).

These concerns are also reflected in contemporary debates around 'work-life balance', as individuals attempt to find enough time for waged work, for families, for leisure and even for sleep. The *Guardian* (2016), for example, has an entire section dedicated to this topic on its website, offering advice to readers on how they might seek to create a more balanced lifestyle. Meanwhile, another recent *Independent* article – this time reporting the findings of a survey by Investec bank – suggested that a quarter of UK professionals were dissatisfied with their work-life balance in 2015 (Molloy 2015).

In recent years, academics from a variety of disciplines – including geography, sociology and psychology – have also engaged with these themes, and have sought to explain why time is apparently at such a premium in modern capitalist economies. To this end, alongside the notion of work-life balance, terms such as 'time famine', 'time squeeze' and 'time stress' have also gained purchase in the academic literature.[1]

Current attempts by social theorists to understand and explain the causes of contemporary time squeeze are rather one-dimensional, however, and like discussions in the popular press primarily focus on either the role of 'long' working hours or the accelerating effects of modern technology. Furthermore, these accounts also typically lack nuance, with a tendency to resort to grand generalisations that underplay the diversity of lived experience. Accordingly, there remains uncertainty as to "whether experiences of a time squeeze... are as pervasive as popular discourse suggests, what socio-structural mechanisms generate a time squeeze and whether its effects are distributed evenly across society" (Southerton and Tomlinson 2005: 216). Broadly speaking, it is these uncertainties that provide the rationale for this research.

[1] Although these terms are sometimes used interchangeably, there are in fact subtle differences between them. Indeed, notions of 'work-life balance' and 'time famine' relate primarily to a perceived shortage of time and are bound up with quantitative, 'zero-sum' conceptions of time (see Thompson and Bunderson 2001). By contrast, 'time squeeze' and 'time stress' are slightly broader, qualitative concepts, which also incorporate concerns around the increasing pace of contemporary life and anxieties about time more generally (see, for instance, Southerton 2003, Southerton and Tomlinson 2005, Jarvis 2005, Schwanen 2006). These are perhaps also more explicitly negative terms (Green and Haddon 2009: 82). Accordingly, it is the concepts of time squeeze and time stress with which I engage in this research (and which I use interchangeably throughout this thesis).

1.2. Research rationale and aims

As I expand on in chapter 2, within this broader critique of existing studies of contemporary time squeeze, a series of more specific and interrelated shortcomings can be identified. Firstly, despite long-standing research by feminist scholars, the role of unpaid domestic and reproductive work is frequently ignored in the mainstream literatures about time. Secondly, the significance of social positioning, and axes of class, gender, age and race, are largely neglected. [2] Thirdly, the importance of place and the context-dependent nature of experiences of working time are often overlooked.

Moreover, existing studies relating to notions of time stress tend to examine a single dimension of time in isolation. That is to say, they focus either on the *duration* of work, the speed (or *tempo*) of modern life, or the *timing* of employment, without considering the need for a more holistic approach that examines how these dimensions are interrelated (Southerton 2006). This leads to a wider criticism about the way in which time is conceptualised in much of the existing time squeeze literature. Indeed, despite an explicit focus on the topic of time, the majority of existing studies lack any substantial theoretical engagement with this concept – assuming it to be a neutral medium in which events take place and on the basis of which economic exchange is possible (Adam 1990, 2000, 2001, Ermarth 1998, Jarvis 2005).

[2] Due to the fact participants in this research are overwhelmingly white and British, issues of race and ethnicity are not explored in any detail; as such, I do not refer to these in the remainder of this thesis when discussing dimensions of individual identity or social positioning and possible axes of inequality.

It is with these criticisms in mind that this research sets out to provide a more nuanced and contextual account of experiences of working time (both paid and unpaid), and to investigate how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between individuals and social groups. In particular, my aim is to explore the qualitative and subjective aspects of people's temporal experiences; in so doing, I seek to provide a better understanding of whether and how the effects of time squeeze are unevenly distributed, and what casual mechanisms help to generate contemporary anxieties around time. To this end, I am especially concerned with exploring the ways in which social characteristics such as occupation, social class, gender, age and family status affect experiences of time squeeze, as well as the influence of institutional and local context.

These aims I seek to achieve by employing a case study approach and calling upon an enriched understanding of time – one that recognises the multiple and heterogeneous nature of this concept. Specifically, the case in question focuses on the University of Oxford and is built around a set of 50 semi-structured interviews with employees working in both the University's central IT department and four of its constituent colleges. As I explain in detail in chapter 3, this focus on a quasi-public sector institution in an innovation rich city is theoretically interesting for several reasons. It also allows for the inclusion of individuals in both high-status managerial and professional roles at the upper end of the labour market, as well as workers in lower-skilled manual and routine occupations at the lower end. Thus, whilst a unique case in certain respects, it ultimately serves as an 'instrumental' study (Stake 1994) or exemplar of the contemporary service-dominated economy, from which wider lessons can be drawn. Before delving further into the particulars of this research (and an explicit focus on the topic of time), however, it is necessary to provide some background context regarding the changing nature of the UK labour market.

1.3. Background: Recent labour market trends

Given that time squeeze is seen to be a distinctly contemporary phenomenon, it is important to take a step back and touch briefly on some of the key socio-economic developments of recent decades, since these provide the context within which changing temporal experiences are located. Indeed, although there is a tendency to couch these changes in overly epochal terms (du Gay 2003, Doogan 2009), the UK and other advanced capitalist economies have undoubtedly witnessed several highly significant and interlinked developments in the world of waged work (and indeed wider society) over the past three decades or so. Chief amongst these are: the rise of the service sector as the dominant sphere of economic activity; a significant increase in female participation in waged labour; the growing hegemony of neoliberal discourse; increasing globalisation; and a rapid advance in technological capabilities.[3] I now briefly expand on each of these issues in turn (see also Koller 2009, McDowell 2009 and Rubery 2015 for similar overviews), before reflecting on two contrasting interpretations of the collective implications of these trends.

[3] To this list might also be added the impacts of recession and austerity following the global financial crisis of 2007-08. Here, however, I focus on the five slightly longer-term trends identified above.

Firstly, then, since the early 1970s there has been a transition in the UK and other advanced capitalist societies from the so-called 'Fordist' model of economic organisation dominated by manufacturing industries, to a 'post-Fordist' or post-industrial economy in which the vast majority of employees (around 86 percent in the UK [ONS 2016a]) now work in the service (or 'tertiary') sector (see, for example, Amin 1994, Beynon and Nichols 2006). This has resulted in significant changes in the nature and conditions of much employment, not least a shift away from manual labour (i.e. 'brawn') towards knowledge-based and 'interactive' work (Leidner 1993) (i.e. 'brain'), in which there is commonly a service exchange between workers and consumers.

Secondly, coinciding with this transition to post-Fordism, there has over a similar timeframe been a significant increase in the rate of female employment in the labour market, with the vast majority of women finding employment in the burgeoning service sector. Accordingly, waged work is now a central part of more and more people's everyday lives: in September 2015, almost 74 percent of people in the UK aged between 16 and 64 were in paid employment of one form or another – the highest figure since comparable records began in 1971 (ONS 2015). At a household level, therefore, the traditional 'male breadwinner' model has been largely supplanted by an 'adult worker' model in which both partners are employed in waged labour. However, as McDowell (2009) notes, many of the women entering the social relations of waged work over recent decades have done so on different terms and conditions than those that typified traditional masculine forms of attachment to the labour market. Most noticeably, a high proportion of women are employed on a part-time basis in the UK (42 percent of working women in 2013, cf. 12 percent of employed men) (ONS 2013). Thus, in reality, a 'one-and-a-half earner' model prevails (Lewis 2002, McDowell et al. 2005b).

These two trends – the growth of the service sector and female participation in paid work – have coincided with, and indeed are interlinked with, a third key development – the rise to prominence of a 'neoliberal' politico-economic discourse (see, for instance, Larner 2000, Harvey 2005). Neoliberalism has received a particularly warm embrace in the UK (as in the US) and since the Prime Ministership of Margaret Thatcher labour legislation and regulation have largely been guided by this ideology.[4] Overwhelmingly, the emphasis has been on maximising productivity and competitiveness through a free-market approach based on deregulation and privatisation, and increased 'employability' and 'flexibility' in the labour market (Davies and Freedland 2007). The former (i.e. employability) is evident in the increasing emphasis placed on the primacy of paid work and on the responsibility for individuals to support themselves rather than relying on financial assistance from the state – for instance, through 'welfare to work' schemes (Peck and Theodore 2000, McDowell 2004, MacLeavy 2007). Meanwhile, the latter (i.e. flexibility) has manifest itself in a sharp increase in the incidence of new shift patterns (including weekend, evening and night work) and contractual types (including the aforementioned rise in part-time employment, as well as temporary or fixed-term, annualised hours and zero-hours arrangements)

[4] It is generally accepted that mainland Western European and Scandinavian countries have not embraced neoliberal economic policies (particularly regarding the role of government in providing welfare for its citizens) to quite the same extent as the UK and US. Esping-Andersen (1990), for example, makes a distinction between 'Liberal' (e.g. Australia, New Zealand, UK, US), 'Corporatist-Statist' (e.g. France, Germany, Italy) and 'Social Democratic' (e.g. Denmark, Norway, Sweden) forms of welfare capitalism.

(see, for example, Bosch et al. 1994, Kalleberg 2000, Presser 2003, Rubery et al. 2015).

This emphasis on increased efficiency and liberalisation is directly linked to a fourth key development over recent decades – increased globalisation and international trade. Indeed, from the perspective of developed economies such as the UK, the growth of transnational corporations and global supply chains over recent decades can be seen both as a threat to continued economic growth (through increased competition from newly industrialising countries and the ongoing relocation of jobs to regions with lower wage costs [Harvey 1989, Koller 2009]), as well as an opportunity (through the opening up of new consumer markets) – with both viewpoints arguably encouraging a shift towards a more vigorous, unregulated, flexible form of capitalism.

Finally, as I expand upon in chapter 2, increased globalisation is itself heavily linked to – in fact, is to a large extent facilitated by – the significant technological developments that have occurred over the past three decades or so, including in the fields of transportation and, especially, communications. Indeed, rapid growth in the availability and capability of digital communications technologies, including the internet (and with it email and social media) and mobile phones, has significantly increased the speed and spatial extent of communications in recent years, encouraging increased global integration (Harvey 1989, Giddens 1984, 1990). In so doing, ICTs have become a pervasive feature of modern society and an essential component of much contemporary employment – as hinted at in the opening paragraphs of this chapter.

It is clear, therefore, that each of these five developments has fundamentally altered the nature and relations of waged work, and the character of contemporary society more broadly. What of their overall impact, however? Around the turn of the millennium, much of the academic narrative concerning these trends was relatively optimistic in its tone, with scholars referring to the rise of a 'new' knowledge economy (see, for example, Carnoy 2000, Rodrigues 2002) characterised by high-technology, innovation and entrepreneurship, and based on the production of 'immaterial' or 'weightless' goods and services (Lazzarato 1996, Coyle 1997). As McDowell and Dyson (2011: 2186) note, according to these accounts, an increasingly specialised, highly-educated and typically well-paid workforce was employed in "new forms of waged work based on flexibility, mobility, emotional intelligence, personal performance, networking and creativity". Individuals were thus increasingly freed from the constraints of categorical inequalities based on class and gender, and empowered to construct their own 'portfolio careers'. However, whilst it is hard to deny that modern technology has fundamentally changed the ways in which much work is conducted and organised (Castells 2001, Coyle and Quah 2002), furthermore that new knowledge sectors such as IT and financial services play a central role in contemporary western economies, the partial nature of these largely positive accounts of the changing labour market is increasingly clear.

Grounded in a 'productionist' understanding of labour market change that focuses on the relative decline of manufacturing industries and counterbalancing growth in 'producer' services, narratives of the new knowledge economy largely ignore the role of 'consumer' services (such as education and healthcare) and reproductive work carried out in both the public and private spheres (Doogan 2009). They thus overlook the fact that the number of waged workers in non-producer service roles has risen significantly in recent years as the dual labour market trends noted earlier – i.e. growing participation rates and an increasing diversity of work schedules – have led to mounting time pressures for much of the population and the subsequent commodification of a range of services traditionally provided within the home (as I discuss in more detail in chapter 2) (McDowell 2009). The employment this process creates is typically low-skilled and often physically demanding; in addition, it is routinely poorly paid and often short-term and precarious in nature (Sennett 1998, Ehrenreich 2001, Toynbee 2003). This is problematic from a gender perspective given that such positions are disproportionately filled by women on account of their continued responsibility for domestic matters. Stark gender inequalities in the domain of work thus remain – they have simply been transferred from the home into the labour market in many cases (McDowell 2009, McDowell and Dyson 2011).[5] From a class perspective these developments are also of concern. Indeed, it appears the labour force in more liberal capitalist economies such as the UK and US is becoming increasingly polarised – both in terms of income and job quality – between an affluent middle class in high-skilled and secure employment (such as that associated with the new knowledge economy) on the one hand, and a growing service class in low-skilled and insecure employment on the other hand – positions that Goos and Manning (2007) refer to as 'lovely' and 'lousy' respectively (see also Kalleberg 2011).

[5] There are also significant elements of continuity in social and economic relations over recent decades, therefore, as well as aspects of transformation and change (McDowell 2009).

As will become clear in the chapters of this thesis, it is these disparities along gender and class lines, and the broader entanglements between these five key socio-economic trends of recent decades, that form the backdrop to the current research, and within which discussions regarding contemporary temporal anxieties must be situated. Thus, with this background in place, I now return to the central aim of this thesis – to provide a more complex and contextual examination of working time (both paid and unpaid), and an improved understanding of how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between individuals and social groups.

1.4. Outline of thesis

This thesis is divided into six further chapters. In chapter 2, I position the current research within the existing academic literature – a task that is divided into two overarching sections. In the first of these, I review recent thinking on the topic of time within the work and labour literature in geography and sociology, arguing that the majority of existing studies examining the causes of contemporary time squeeze can be divided into three broad groups – relating to 'long' working hours, modern communications technologies and 'non-standard' work schedules respectively. I then conclude this discussion by outlining a series of reservations with these three strands of literature, particularly concerning their theoretical underpinnings. In the second half of this chapter, therefore, I set out a comprehensive theoretical framework in order to address these shortcomings. This builds on the work of Torsten Hägerstrand (1970, 1982, 1989), Henri Lefebvre (2004), Anthony Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) and Michel Foucault (1978, 1982, 1993) amongst others, and seeks to provide both a richer understanding of time (and space) – in part by drawing on the notion of rhythm – and a fuller consideration of issues relating to agency, structure and power than are present in existing time squeeze studies.

In chapter 3, I outline my methodology and justify the choice of a case study approach and qualitative data collection methods (specifically semi-structured interviews) as a means of facilitating an in-depth, contextual examination of contemporary time stress. I also provide a detailed overview of the specific case on which this research focuses – Oxford University's central IT department and four of its constituent colleges – and outline the reasons it makes for an interesting and informative study.

Three empirical chapters then follow (chapters 4-6). In keeping with my theoretical framework, these are structured around the three temporal dimensions of duration, tempo and timing. Specifically, chapter 4 focuses on the causes of the long working hours experienced by many of the participants in this research, both within the IT department and participating colleges. Chapter 5, meanwhile, draws on participants' accounts to challenge and refine the dominant narrative of technological acceleration, which holds that modern ICTs are responsible for an increase in the pace of contemporary life. Finally, chapter 6 examines how the timings of paid work interact with the rhythms of participants' personal (i.e. bodily), family and social lives – focusing in particular on the contrast between the day-to-day flexibility enjoyed by IT participants and the non-standard working hours that a number of college employees are required to work.

These themes are brought together in chapter 7, wherein I draw links between these three empirical chapters and explore how participants' experiences of time squeeze vary according to occupation, social class, gender, age and family status, as well as the influence of institutional and local context. In so doing, I argue that the contemporary time squeeze is a more complex, multifaceted phenomenon than is recognised by the majority of existing studies. In contrast to the rather one-dimensional explanations of existing accounts, I also demonstrate that temporal anxieties are generated by a variety of causal mechanisms relating to the duration, tempo and timing of both waged labour and unpaid reproductive work, and their intersections with the personal, natural, social, institutional and technological rhythms that variously constitute everyday life. Finally, I reflect on some of the policy implications of my work and offer my recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

2.1. Introduction

This chapter is divided into two overarching sections. In the first, I review recent thinking on the topic of time within the work and labour literature in geography and sociology (as well as related fields including organisation studies and psychology), suggesting that the majority of existing studies relating to notions of time squeeze can be divided into three broad groups. The first of these focuses on the number of hours spent in paid employment and, specifically, the effects and causes of 'long' working hours. The second group, meanwhile, is principally concerned with a perceived increase in the pace of life – a phenomenon that is largely attributed to the effects of modern technology and globalisation, and associated processes of time-space compression and distanciation. Finally, a third, smaller and more recent group of studies is concerned with the straining (and constraining) effects of 'non-standard' work schedules. I conclude this discussion by identifying a series of shortcomings with these three strands of literature, which necessitate additional empirical research examining how and why experiences of working time, and specifically notions of a time squeeze, vary across society.

In large part, these criticisms relate to the theoretical underpinnings of existing working time studies. Accordingly, in the second section of this chapter I outline a comprehensive theoretical framework for the current research, which seeks to address the shortcomings identified in the first half of the chapter. This exercise begins by introducing Torsten Hägerstrand's (1970, 1982, 1989) 'time-geography', which emphasises the inseparable connection between the dimensions of time and space, and focuses on the activities of individuals within this environment. Specifically, I suggest that a sensitivity to time-geography offers four interrelated benefits for this study. However, I then discuss two major limitations of the time-geographic approach – the first relating to the way it conceptualises *time* itself, and the second concerning its consideration of issues relating to agency, structure and power. In addressing the first of these limitations, I begin by developing an enriched conception of time by focusing on the experiential and subjective aspects of temporality that the everyday time of the clock fails to capture. I then seek to reintroduce the spatial dimension, before ultimately arguing that Henri Lefebvre's (2004) 'rhythmanalysis' offers a fruitful means of integrating time-geography's focus on everyday praxis with an enriched conception of space-time. In addressing the second of these limitations, meanwhile, I begin by drawing on the work of Anthony Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984), whose theory of 'structuration' helps to extend Hägerstrand's framework by showing how individual actions and social relations stretch across time and space to (re)produce the wider social system. However, I then argue that Giddens increasingly overstates the rise of individual freedom and reflexive agency in his later work. This leads me to close the chapter by drawing on Michel Foucault's (1978, 1982, 1993) theory of 'governmentality', which places greater emphasis on the role of structural constraints and the way in which those in power employ subtle mechanisms of domination to guide the conduct of citizens.

2.2. The contemporary time squeeze

As noted above, existing studies relating to notions of a contemporary time squeeze can be divided into three broad groups – the first focusing on long working hours, the second on the increasing pace of modern life (and technological acceleration in particular), and the third on the effects of non-standard employment. I now discuss each of these in turn, outlining a series of reservations in the process.

2.2.1. Long working hours

The first group of literature relating to perceptions of a time squeeze focuses on the number of hours spent in paid employment. Specifically, these studies are concerned with the incidence and impact of 'long' working hours, which are seen to leave people with too little time (and energy) to dedicate to other areas of their lives – including families, leisure and even sleep (see, for instance, Schor 1992, 2006, Hochschild 1997, Harkness 1999, Fagan 2001, Rutherford 2001, Jarvis 2002, Bunting 2004, Burke and Cooper 2008, Drago et al. 2005, 2009, Fagan et al. 2012, Derickson 2014).[6] Indeed, whilst the nominal (full-time) working week in modern capitalist economies such as the UK is typically between 35 and 40 hours in duration, labour force surveys suggest many individuals routinely work longer hours (in some cases for additional pay, but often as unpaid overtime). In the UK,

[6] Although the term 'long' hours is occasionally used to refer to any individual who regularly exceeds a nominal 40 hour working week, a threshold of 45 hours or more is employed in this study.

for instance, survey data for 2014 suggests that one-fifth of all employees usually worked more than 45 hours a week (including 28 percent of men and 11 percent of women) (ONS 2014). Additionally, although over the last century or more there has been a substantial decline in average working hours (see Maddison (2001) and Huberman and Minns (2007) for cross-national data on average annual working hours dating back to 1870), there are concerns that this long-term trend may have reversed over the past two to three decades, particularly in more liberal capitalist economies such as the US, UK and Australia, leading to rising hours and thus an 'overworked' society (Schor 1992, 2006, Hochschild 1997, Harkness 1999, Bunting 2004, Burke and Cooper 2008, Drago et al. 2005, 2009, Derickson 2014).[7]

With these issues in mind, academics from a variety of disciplines – particularly sociology, psychology and organisation and management studies, but to a lesser extent also geography (see Henry and Massey 1995, Jarvis 2002, 2005, Perrons 2003, Jarvis and Pratt 2006, Gill and Pratt 2008) – have in recent years explored the possible causes of long working hours. To this end, attempts to explain why people may find themselves 'overworked' have typically fallen into two broad camps – the first focusing primarily on individual agency and choice, and the second on the role of structural constraints and forms of organisational control. I now provide a brief summary of these arguments, before outlining three reservations with this body of literature as a whole.

[7] This remains a source of debate, however, with other scholars arguing that the trend over recent decades remains one of slight decline (see, for instance, Gershuny 2000, 2005). The use of variable data sources may partly explain such discrepancies. Results are also likely to vary according to the timescale in question (i.e. whether the focus is on the weekly or annual average, since variations in the annual number of days worked may offset any increase or decrease in the length of the average working day or week) and whether the focus is on all employees or only those who work full-time (since there has been a substantial growth in part-time, and hence shorter hours, employment over recent decades) (see Gershuny 2000 and Jacobs and Gerson 2004 for a brief discussion of some of the methodological issues involved in accurately quantifying working time).

2.2.1.1. Willing workers or organisational control?

A number of scholars have emphasised the role of personal choice as regards long working hours, suggesting that these often stem from the enjoyment and intrinsic rewards that paid work can bring (see Reeves 2001, Brett and Stroh 2003, Hewlett and Buck Luce 2006, Sturges 2013). This is especially seen to be the case for those engaged in knowledge-based or creative work (Florida 2002), which can be absorbing and intellectually challenging. Indeed, Lewis (2003) has gone as far as suggesting that post-industrial work may be regarded as the 'new leisure' by some professionals, such is the sense of fulfilment it offers (see also Gershuny 2000, 2005) – an assertion that, if true, could perhaps explain the alleged rise in working hours over recent decades.

This notion of the 'willing worker' is also found in two other influential accounts of long working hours. In *The Time Bind*, Arlie Hochschild (1997) argues that for a growing number of women in particular there has been a reversal of the roles of work and home in contemporary life – with the former increasingly offering a source of security and pride, as well as an escape from the tension and uncertainty of the latter. Meanwhile, in *The Overworked American*, Juliet Schor (1992) focuses on the financial incentives of longer hours, suggesting that the middle classes in particular are – to paraphrase her hypothesis – 'working more to consume more' (see also Drago et al. 2005, 2009). In both cases, then, the primary focus is on the realm of the individual, and peoples' changing tastes and practises (Jarvis 2005: 135). This being said, there is also a recognition within these accounts that the 'choice' to work longer hours is bound up with wider social values – specifically, the superior recognition and status afforded to paid work (as opposed to unpaid domestic and care work) in contemporary society in the case of the former, and pressures towards conspicuous status consumption in order to 'keep up with the Joneses' in the case of the latter. Nonetheless, as with other explanations of long hours which chiefly focus on the concept of the 'willing worker', the role of structural constraints is rather neglected by these narratives (see Lewis 2003, Southerton 2003 and Jarvis 2005).

However, a second group of studies *has* focused on the role of structural constraints in terms of overinvestment in work. Primarily, their focus has been on forms of managerial control and the 'manufacturing of consent' amongst workers, particularly within private sector settings (Ekman 2014: 143). In some cases this is seen to be achieved through explicit demonstrations of organisational power. For instance, a number of studies have related long working hours to authoritarian methods of management and the overt valuing of 'face time' as a sign of employee commitment and loyalty (Lewis 1997, 2003, Rutherford 2001, Clarkberg and Moen 2001). This ties into corporate attempts to instil an 'ideal' worker norm, which advances a vision of the model employee as someone who is wholly dedicated to their employer and unencumbered by family commitments (see, for instance, Williams 1999 and Drago et al. 2005, 2009). Other studies, meanwhile, have emphasised the way in which companies exploit the reality (or in some cases perhaps rhetoric) of competitive pressures as a means of increasing individual workloads and inducing greater effort from employees. This includes the use of restructurings at the level of both the organisation (for example, through corporate mergers and downsizing) and the individual employment relationship (for instance, through renegotiating contracts and setting personal performance targets) (see, for example, Brannen 2005, Rubery et al. 2005 and Hofmeyr 2011). Additionally, it includes the quoting of unrealistically low fees to clients in order to secure their business (see, for instance, Henry and Massey 1995 and Lewis 2003). As Hofmeyr (2011) has noted, these practices may also raise fears around job security and persuade employees to invest further time in their work (see also Burchell 2002).

Elsewhere, this second group of studies has also focused on less formal forms of control and the more subtle methods by which employers coerce their staff into working longer hours. These rely on the promise of autonomy and personal choice in order to function, and are ostensibly aimed at improving the subjective experience of work (Ekman 2014). Examples include the evocation of corporate values and discourses of 'excellence' and 'empowerment' (du Gay 1991, 1996, Willmott 1993, Delbridge 1998, Bunting 2004, Kunda 2006), as well as the use of team-working and 'participative management' – which although offering camaraderie and a certain freedom from hierarchical control, can also act as a form of surveillance, peer pressure and self-regulation (Beder 2000, Barker 2002). According to du Gay (1996), the focus on *collective* values such as 'excellence' requires – somewhat paradoxically – that greater emphasis is placed upon employees as *individuals* and the active engagement of their self-actualising impulses. Indeed, these values are fostered by reconceptualising employees as "'enterprising' subjects... whose sense of self-worth and virtue is inextricably linked to the 'excellent' performance of their work and, thus, to the success of the company employing them" (ibid: 119). Discursive practices are thus used to shape employee subjectivities, "such that workers come to embody and enact organisationally privileged modes of thought and behaviour, in turn achieving organisationally desired outcomes" (Halford and Leonard 2005: 657).

More recently, certain organisations appear to have taken this a step further, with a shift in emphasis away from collective values and forms of commitment towards a full embrace of the individuality of employees. Indeed, Fleming (2009) suggests that a growing number of companies are now encouraging their staff to 'be themselves' and to display 'authentic' expressions of identity in the workplace. Whilst this could be seen as heralding new freedom at work, Fleming (ibid: 36) argues that such strategies are ultimately designed to evoke the fun and creativity typically associated with leisure time, thereby blurring the distinction between the two and encouraging greater employee effort (see also Ross 2003, Walker 2011). Under these circumstances, the notion that those who enjoy their work are simply 'willing workers' (as discussed above) is somewhat open to question.

2.2.1.2. Reflections and reservations

Whilst these two broad schools of thought need not necessarily be seen as contradictory – since each may be applicable to different settings, or indeed partially applicable to the same setting – the degree to which long hours are a reflection of individual agency or wider structural factors clearly remains a matter of debate, and thus a pertinent topic for further research. Moreover, whilst this body of literature offers useful insights into why individuals may experience (perhaps increasingly so) a sense of time stress, I wish to suggest it suffers from a series of limitations, which further strengthen the case for additional research. There are three primary reservations, which I now outline in more detail.

Firstly, as Warren (2015b) notes, the academic literature on long working hours (and associated issues of work-life (im)balance) is largely rooted in middle class concerns and experiences. Indeed, rather than long hours being the overwhelming experience across society, more nuanced analyses suggest that recent decades have in fact seen a 'bifurcation' or polarisation of working hours in the UK (and many other advanced capitalist economies), with rising hours for many highly-skilled professional and managerial employees, yet falling hours for many in lower-skilled employment (see Gershuny 2000, 2005, Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Bittman 2004, Burger 2015).[8] Accordingly, studies focusing solely on long hours (and treating this as a universal experience) overlook the fact that experiences of time stress may be caused as much by a *lack* of working hours (i.e. underemployment) – and the sense of exclusion and economic insecurity this can entail – as by feelings of being overworked (Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Jacobs and Padavic 2015, Warren 2015a, 2015b). Relatedly, the focus on middle class experiences and forms of professional employment means that the straightforward financial imperative for long hours (often through multiple job holding) for some at the lower end of the labour market is often neglected

[8] This polarisation (and discrepancies between social groups) may further explain contrasting accounts of whether average working hours across society have been increasing in recent decades, or continuing to fall in line with the historic trend (as discussed above). There is also some uncertainty as to the net impact of the financial crisis of 2007-08 on the distribution of working hours. However, whilst the crisis may have reduced overtime hours amongst some long hours workers, the level of underemployment has also risen significantly in the UK (Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Warren 2015a), suggesting a high degree of polarisation continues to exist within the labour market.

(although see Reimer 1998, 1999, Ehrenreich 2001, Toynbee 2003, Standing 2011).

Secondly, the overwhelming preoccupation with hours of *paid* employment in much of the existing working time literature means that the role of unpaid domestic and reproductive work is generally neglected (despite long-standing attempts by feminist scholars to overcome this tendency: see, for instance, Dyck 1990, Davies 1994, Everingham 2002, McDowell et al. 2005a, 2005b). This is a significant omission, since the rise in female employment in the labour market over recent decades (and resultant shift to a 'dual-earner', or perhaps more accurately 'one-and-a-half earner', model [Lewis 2002]) has created a set of new practical and moral dilemmas for working parents, and indeed wider society, as to how best to combine work and care (McDowell et al. 2005b). Furthermore, for many women, entry into the labour force does not appear to have been accompanied by a concurrent shift away from domestic labour, leading some commentators to insist that they now carry a double burden, or work a 'second shift' (Hochschild and Machung 1989). Even if some objective time use surveys may cast doubt on this assertion – Gershuny (2000, 2011), for example, argues that the total of paid plus unpaid working time for men and women has in fact remained approximately equal over recent decades – it is women who generally still retain the emotional and organisational responsibility for home and family life (see, for instance, Lareau 2000b and McKie et al. 2002). Thus, a sole focus on the quantity of work – and, conversely, of leisure – overlooks the qualitative character of this time, which may be fundamentally different for men and women (Wajcman and Bittman 2004).

Finally, it can be argued that much of the existing literature regarding long working hours lacks a full appreciation of contextual factors and the specificities of place. In other words, there is a tendency to resort to grand narratives which attempt to diagnose the contemporary time squeeze through 'one-size-fits-all' explanations. Recognising such issues, a select group of geographers have helped to demonstrate the importance of the (local and national) social and material context in shaping individuals' (and families') working lives (see, for instance, Henry and Massey 1995 on scientists and engineers in Cambridge, Perrons 2003 on ICT and 'new media' workers in Brighton, and Jarvis (2002, 2005, Jarvis and Pratt 2006) on dual-earner couples in London and San Francisco in particular). Nonetheless, these studies remain the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, they too have tended to focus on high-status professional employees, with less attention afforded to those in the lower-skilled and more precarious sections of the labour markets under study.

2.2.2. Increasing pace of life

As noted previously, the second major group of literature relating to perceptions of a contemporary time squeeze focuses on the theme of acceleration, and argues that the modern era is one of overwhelming and increasing speed (see Virilio 1986, 1997, Rifkin 1987, Castells 1996, 2010, Gleick 1999, Urry 2000, 2009, Eriksen 2001, Maffesoli 2003, Hassan 2004, 2009, Davis 2013). Gleick (1999) has gone as far as suggesting that we are witnessing "the acceleration of just about everything". So pervasive is this phenomenon deemed to be, that contemporary society is seen to be characterised by an entirely new temporality – one that has been variously described as 'chronoscopic time' (Virilio 1986, 1997), 'computime' (Rifkin 1987), 'timeless time' (Castells 1996, 2010), 'instantaneous time' (Urry 2000, 2009), 'pointillist time' (Maffesoli 2003) and 'network time' (Hassan 2004, 2009). Correspondingly, the relationship between time and space is also seen to have been radically altered, as captured by the concepts of 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1989) and 'time-space distanciation' (Giddens 1984, 1990). However, despite this apparent consensus that the present era is one of exceptional speed, the concept of acceleration remains rather vague and elusive – being used by these authors and others to refer to a variety of phenomena (Wajcman 2015: 14-15).

The work of German sociologist Hartmut Rosa – who has examined the notion of social acceleration in some detail – helps to bring clarity to this topic. Rosa (2003, 2013) identifies three analytically distinct but interconnected aspects of social acceleration. The first of these – and the one that can most easily be measured – is 'technical acceleration', which Rosa (2013: 71) defines as the "intentional, technical, and above all technological (i.e. machine-based) acceleration of goal-directed processes". Obvious examples of this form of acceleration are provided by the fields of transport – where the succession from horse and carriage, to motorcar, to aeroplane has brought ever greater speeds – and communications – in which there has been a similar succession from hand-delivered mail, to telegraphs, telephones and finally the internet. The second element of Rosa's triad is the 'acceleration of social change'. The key idea here is that institutional stability is generally in decline in modern societies. Examples include the acceleration of changeover in jobs, intimate partners and family structures, political party preferences and artistic styles (ibid: 64). The third and final process identified by Rosa – and that which is central in this research – is the 'acceleration of the pace of life'. This refers to popular experiences of being pressed or rushed for time, and corresponding attempts to save time by either quickening episodes of action (for instance, through fast food, speed dating or power naps), or attempting to condense more experiences into a given period of time by reducing the breaks between activities or doing more things simultaneously (i.e. multi-tasking) (Rosa 2003: 9-10).

Pausing to consider how these three dimensions of acceleration relate to one another, it becomes clear that there is something of a paradox (sometimes referred to as the 'time-pressure paradox') between the first and third (ibid: 10). If technological acceleration means that less time is required for a certain task (for instance, to get from one place to another or to produce a particular good), this ought to result in an increase in free time and thus a *reduction* in the pace of life. However, the very presence of the third form of acceleration indicates that, rather than becoming abundant, time is felt to be increasingly scarce. Accordingly, Rosa (ibid: 10) suggests that it only makes sense to apply the term 'acceleration society' if "technological acceleration and the growing scarcity of time (i.e. an acceleration of the 'pace of life') occur simultaneously".

As Wajcman (2015: 16) notes, most of the grand narratives about the runaway pace of modern society and the dawn of a new temporality (such as those cited above) can, according to Rosa's definition, be read as versions of the acceleration society thesis. Indeed, although there are differences between these accounts, they share common ground in terms of the emphasis they place on the role of modern technology in this process – that is to say, they "make a direct, causal link between technological acceleration… and the harriedness of everyday life" (Wajcman 2015: 16).[9] In so doing, these accounts typically build on the work of geographer David Harvey and sociologist Anthony Giddens, and their shared contention that, from the 1970s onwards, evolving global economic processes (and associated technological developments) have fundamentally altered the relationship between time and space in late modern capitalist economies. As noted previously, these developments are encapsulated in the concepts of 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1989) and 'time-space distanciation' (Giddens 1984, 1990), which I now briefly summarise in turn.

2.2.2.1. Time-space compression and distanciation

Harvey's (1989) concept of time-space compression has its roots in Karl Marx's (1857, 1867) seminal analysis of the capitalist mode of production. Like Marx, Harvey (1989) sees acceleration – specifically, the incessant quest to speed up the circulation of capital – as an inherent feature of capitalism (see also Harvey 1982: 86), and it is a step-change in the rate of this acceleration that for him lies at the heart of the shift, beginning in the 1970s, from Fordism to post-Fordism. At this time, the Fordist model of the industrial era – with its strict adherence to clock

[9] It should be noted that Wajcman is a STS (Science, Technology and Society Studies) scholar who writes from a social constructionist point of view, and that some of the social theorists she cites may dispute that their work implies a 'causal' relationship.

time and spatial models like the assembly line – had reached a point of crisis, its rigidities exposed by the saturation of internal markets (partly owing to reduced demand due to continued rationalisation and growing unemployment) and growing competition from less developed nations (both due to the introduction of import-substitution policies, particularly in Latin America, and the first big push by multi-national companies into overseas manufacturing, particularly in South-East Asia) (Harvey 1989: 141).

The response to this crisis was a drive for increased efficiency and flexibility (referred to by Harvey (ibid: 147) as a regime of 'flexible accumulation'), both in the production and distribution of goods (and increasingly services). This was accomplished through the rapid deployment of new organisational forms (including greater use of sub-contracting, outsourcing and just-in-time production) and technological innovations, especially in the fields of transport and communications, which have made it possible to circulate both commodities and information around the globe at ever-increasing speeds. In fact, the development of electronic banking and computerised trading means that global trade increasingly occurs in 'real-time' (ibid: 285) – with the velocity of automated financial trading now moving from milliseconds to microseconds (millionths of a second) (Wajcman 2015: 17).

For Harvey (1989: 240, 293), the upshot of these developments – and the crux of his theory – is "the annihilation of space through time" (a phrase he borrows from Marx [1857]), such that "space appears to shrink to a 'global village'" and "time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is". This in turn leads to “an overwhelming sense of *compression* of our spatial and temporal worlds”, an experience that is simultaneously “challenging, exciting, stressful, and sometimes deeply troubling” (Harvey 1989: 240, emphasis in original).

Giddens’ (1984, 1990) analysis of the spatio-temporal dynamics of late modernity, meanwhile, shares many similarities. However, in addition to emphasising the role of time-space compression (or ‘convergence’ as he tends to refer to it), Giddens also introduces the concept of time-space distanciation. This refers to the way in which the globalising processes of recent decades have led to social relations becoming ‘disembedded’ from their local context, no longer dependent on ‘circumstances of co-presence’ and increasingly involving ‘interaction across distance’ (Giddens 1990: 21, 64). In other words, social systems have become ‘stretched’ across time and space, such that “local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (ibid: 64).[10] The growth of modern communications technologies is again deemed to be central to these developments, with Giddens (ibid: 141) – himself drawing on Meyrowitz (1985) – highlighting how “a person on the telephone to another, perhaps on the opposite side of the world, is more closely bound to that distant other than to another individual in the same room”.

Of course, since Giddens wrote these words, the rapid growth of the internet (and with it email and social media) and mobile phone ownership – which have further transformed our ability to interact with people who are physically (and even

[10] Giddens (1990: 64-65) illustrates this concept by highlighting how “the increasing prosperity of an urban area in Singapore might be causally related, via a complicated network of global economic ties, to the impoverishment of a neighbourhood in Pittsburgh whose local products are uncompetitive in world markets”.

temporally) absent – has only exacerbated this process of distanciation (see, for instance, Ritzer 2009). It is this considerable expansion in the availability and capability of ICTs that takes centre-place in many contemporary accounts of the increasing pace of life (and of the dawn of an entirely new temporality), and it is to this topic that I now turn. In particular, I focus on what I perceive to be the three most prominent accounts of technological acceleration – those of Manuel Castells (1996, 2010), John Urry (2000, 2009) and Robert Hassan (2004, 2009).

2.2.2.2. Technological acceleration

Castells' thesis (1996, 2010) that we have entered a new high-speed temporality begins with an argument (which echoes Giddens' theory of time-space distanciation) that society has undergone a shift in spatiality in recent decades, from a 'space of places', wherein coordination and communication required physical contiguity, to a 'space of flows', in which the modern 'revolution' in digital communications technologies has "transformed the spatiality of social interaction by introducing simultaneity, or any chosen time frame, in social practices, regardless of the location of the actors engaged in the communication process" (Castells 2010: xxxi-xxxii). As its name implies, this new form of spatiality is bound up with the production, transmission and processing of flows of information, and hence relies on the development of comprehensive global communications networks. In an argument that ties into narratives of the 'new' knowledge economy (see, for example, Carnoy 2000, Rodrigues 2002), this leads Castells (1996, 2010) to suggest that networks (and the information flows they contain) are becoming the defining feature of contemporary society – that is to say, we are witnessing the rise of the 'network society'. At an organisational level, therefore, a firm's competitiveness is dependent on its ability to access such networks; similarly, at an individual level, the significance of local context has arguably been superseded by our level of attachment to this virtual domain.

It is not only information that flows around Castells' (1996, 2010) network society, however. Indeed, people, (virtual) money and physical goods – again facilitated by modern transport and communications technologies – also increasingly flow around an entanglement of global networks. As Wajcman (2015: 19) explains, it is the sheer velocity and intensity of these flows that is seen to have produced a new temporality – and, in fact, to have led to the disappearance of time itself. Indeed, Castells (2010: xl-xliii) argues that the dominant 'clock time' regime of the industrial age has been supplanted by a regime of perennial simultaneity, or 'timeless time': "the virtual reality that dominates our experience has cancelled the notion of time, as we live in the ever-present world of our avatars".

A strikingly similar narrative is found in the work of Robert Hassan. Indeed, like Castells, Hassan (2004, 2009) argues that, beginning in the 1970s with the shift to post-Fordism and postmodernity, society has moved into a second temporal empire based on what he labels 'network time' (displacing in the process the first temporal empire based on clock time). Moreover, this network time is borne of the interactions of globalisation and ICTs, and stems from the thicket of interconnected information and communications networks that weave together data centres, servers, individual devices and end-users in what Hassan (2004: 28) refers to as a digital 'ecosystem'.

Again echoing Castells, Hassan (2009: 69) argues that this emerging temporality is one of extreme pace, which is fundamentally altering our experience of time: "this new virtual space is a speed-filled realm, the temporality of which approaches that of a 'constant present', a networked timescape that becomes the governing experience of time". Furthermore, rather than excitement or liberation, the overwhelming experience is one of unease and instability: "the more we inhabit the network – on a PC at work or at home, on a PDA [personal digital assistant] on a train, or in the street with a mobile phone clamped to the ear – the more we inhabit its temporally accelerated domain, with its potentially disorientating and frenetic pace" (Hassan 2004: 28). Accordingly, Hassan (2009: 103-107) refers to a growing sense of 'hyper anxiety' – a state in which individuals, disconnected from the past or future, are caught in a series of media-saturated moments which come to feel like one crisis after another (see also Virilio 1986, 1997).[11]

These themes are also clearly present in the work of John Urry (2000, 2009), who argues that contemporary ICTs are generating a new temporality of 'instantaneous time', which is "characterised by unpredictable change and quantum simultaneity" (Urry 2000: 123). This new computer-infused temporality is "based upon inconceivably brief instants which are wholly beyond human consciousness" and, as a result, the linear logic of clock time characterised by the temporal separation

[11] This includes both 'macro' crises from the wider world, such as the seemingly unending cycles of economic turmoil, war, terrorism, famine and disease that make up the daily news, as well as the 'micro' crises that insert themselves into our daily personal existence, such as a foreshortened work deadline, an unexpected expense, or a cancelled social event (Hassan 2009).

of cause and effect is replaced by simultaneity between social and technical relationships (ibid: 126; see also Rifkin 1987). In turn, this requirement for instantaneous relations means the future appears to dissolve into an extended present, and ultimately leads to a "sense that the 'pace of life' throughout the world has got too fast and is in contradiction with other aspects of human experience" (Urry 2000: 128-129).

However, whilst these three accounts have much in common, it should be noted that their narratives do also diverge in certain areas. Hassan (2004, 2009), for instance, is particularly keen to emphasise the role of capitalism, and specifically neoliberalism, as a driving force in these developments (thus channelling Harvey's theory of time-space compression). Indeed, from a wider political perspective, a key component of Hassan's (2009: 6) narrative is that liberal democracy – the dominant form of governance in the western world throughout the 20th century, and a system premised upon reflection and debate – is no longer fit for purpose, since it is simply unable to keep pace with an ICT driven neoliberalism that is "focused far more on the short-term horizon, and on doing things ever more quickly to satisfy profit-driven expectations". Urry's (2000, 2009) narrative, meanwhile, extends beyond a singular focus on modern technology in places. Indeed, his concept of 'instantaneous time' is also intended to refer to a growing sense of short-termism and volatility throughout society, in everything from fashion styles to labour contracts, personal relationships and political preferences (here there is clear overlap with Rosa's (2003, 2013) concept of the 'acceleration of social change', as outlined above). Linking back to the previous section of this chapter, Urry also refers to the way in which modern ICTs can help to blur the boundary between work and home life, and thus potentially encourage overinvestment in work (see also Perrons 2003, Ellison 2004, Jarvis and Pratt 2006).

Furthermore, unlike Castells and Hassan, Urry (2000, 2009) recognises that acceleration is not the only characteristic of contemporary society – and that other temporalities, including aspects of deceleration or slowing down, are also evident (see also Rosa, 2003, 2013). Specifically, Urry (2009: 194) introduces the concept of 'glacial time', which "is extremely slow-moving and ponderous, desynchronised from both clock and instantaneous times". This concept is not literally intended to refer to natural processes – such as the movement of a glacier – occurring over long timeframes, however. Rather, Urry uses this metaphor to emphasise the ways in which slower temporalities may be deployed in various forms of social resistance to the 'placelessness' of instantaneous time, such as campaigns to promote walking or cycling rather than driving or flying, or community groups directed towards ecological or community preservation (Craig and Parkins 2006: 41). However, whilst this emphasis on multiple temporalities is to be welcomed, the concept of glacial time is nonetheless a distinctly subordinate aspect of Urry's narrative – and one that only surfaces in reaction to the dominance of instantaneous time. Indeed, like Castells and Hassan, Urry's primary concern remains the apparently unprecedented speed of contemporary technologies and runaway pace of modern life. That accounts of technological acceleration are prone to focusing on speed at the expense of all else is just one of several limitations, however, as I now discuss in more detail.

2.2.2.3. *Reflections and reservations*

Whilst the accounts of Castells, Hassan and Urry clearly capture something important about the extent to which the amazing speed of modern technologies is transforming the economy, financial markets, politics and so on, I wish to suggest their narratives are insufficiently nuanced (as Wajcman (2015) has also recently argued in some detail). To begin with, one can question the notion that the present era is one of unprecedented change and that experiences of a rapid increase in speed are unique to contemporary times. Indeed, as scholars such as Thrift (1996a; May and Thrift 2001), Virilio (1997), and Warf (2008) have argued, a more detailed historical analysis may in fact highlight several distinct periods or 'rounds' of time-space compression and distanciation over the modern era (i.e. since around the 15th or 16th century) (see also Glennie and Thrift 2009). Warf (2008), for example, identifies three such rounds, which he labels 'early modern' (relating to the growth of trading and colonial empires), 'late modern' (relating to the industrialisation revolution) and 'postmodern' (relating to contemporary globalisation) respectively.

Of greater interest to me in the present research, however, is a second set of reservations relating to these scholars theoretical outlook. Indeed, whilst they at times attempt to distance themselves from such a stance, the accounts of Castells, Hassan and Urry (and others who have similarly proclaimed the arrival of a new ICT driven temporality) can be accused of being too technologically deterministic (see Thrift 1996a, Green 2002, Warf 2008, Wajcman 2015). In other words, these authors too often veer towards a position wherein technology is conceived of as an autonomous external force which 'impacts' upon people and society from the outside (Wajcman 2015: 27). As such, their work takes the form of grand narratives, in which they argue from extremes and assume that technologies are used in a uniform way across the globe.

Three more specific and interrelated criticisms stem from this point. Firstly, these scholars largely neglect the role of 'power geometries' (including axes of class, gender and age) and the diversity of lived experience (Massey 1993), not least in terms of unequal access to modern communications networks (Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006, Warf 2013). Thus, despite their narratives being premised upon the inter-dependency of time and space, they "would in fact appear to leave little room for basic geography" (May and Thrift 2001: 16). Secondly, for all their talk of instantaneity and simultaneity, Castells, Hassan and Urry do not clearly elucidate how the rapid speeds of global communications networks (at a macro scale) relate to the actual use of ICTs in everyday life (at a micro scale). To paraphrase Wajcman (2015: 26): how and why is it that using ICTs inexorably leads to the acceleration of everything? Finally, the overwhelming focus on the role of (transport and communications) technology means that, to the extent that feelings of being rushed are increasing in contemporary society, other possible contributory factors – including changing social norms and practices – are not fully considered (May and Thrift 2001, Rosa 2003, 2013, Southerton and Tomlinson 2005, Wajcman 2015). As with the literature on long working hours, therefore, these limitations prompt the need for additional empirical (and contextual) research.

2.2.3. Non-standard employment

As noted previously, a third, smaller group of literature stemming predominantly from sociology and psychology has in recent years pointed to another possible cause of contemporary time stress. Specifically, this body of research focuses on the straining (and constraining) effects of 'non-standard' (or atypical) work schedules, in what is perceived to be an increasingly '24/7' global economy (see, for instance, Presser 2003, 2006, Strazdins et al. 2004, 2006, Davis et al. 2008, Kalil et al. 2010, Craig and Powell 2011, Craig and Brown 2015, Verhoef et al. 2015).[12]

Although not the first study to examine this issue, Harriet Presser's (2003) *Working in a 24/7 Economy*, which focuses on the growth of non-standard schedules in the US over the past three to four decades, can be seen as something of a seminal work, and one that has helped to bring this topic to wider attention. The issue of non-standard scheduling is not confined to the US, however. Indeed, it appears that the prevalence of atypical employment has also increased in the UK over recent decades – with statistics suggesting between one-sixth and one-fifth of UK employees now work such schedules (ONS 2011, Eurostat 2015).[13] There is significant variation between occupations, however, with empirical data indicating their prevalence is highest in low-skilled and low-waged service occupations such as waitressing, hospitality, nursing and cleaning (see, for example, Breedveld 1998, Presser 2003, Warren 2003, Mills 2004).

[12] The term 'non-standard' is used here to refer to the *timing* of work, and employment that occurs in the morning, evening, night, or weekend (or a combination of these). A 'majority hours' definition (i.e. at least 50 percent of weekly working hours occur outside traditional daytime hours) is conventionally used in the academic literature to determine whether an employee's schedule is non-standard (see, for example, Presser 2003).

[13] These figures suggest the term 'non-standard' is in danger of becoming a misnomer.

Presser (2003: 3-6) argues that this growth can be attributed to three interrelated factors, which together have raised demand for services at non-standard times. The first of these is the growth in female participation in the labour force, which, as noted in chapter 1 (see also McDowell 2009), has led to mounting time pressures for dual-earner couples in particular and the subsequent commodification of a range of services traditionally provided within the home. For instance, there has been a significant increase in the extent to which families eat out at evenings and weekends over recent decades. Moreover, enduring domestic tasks that might once have taken place during the daytime – for instance, the weekly food shop – are now for many necessarily conducted outside of these hours. Secondly, demographic changes over recent decades, including delayed marriages and an ageing population, have also raised demand for evening and weekend services – particularly entertainment (in the case of young, dual-earner couples) and medical services (in the case of the elderly). Finally, globalising processes and rapid advances in ICTs (as discussed above) have also increased the requirement for atypical scheduling. Regional branches of multinational corporations are increasingly obliged to interact with others in different locations (and time zones), for example, whilst international financial markets are also expanding their hours of operation.

Of even greater relevance for the present research, however, is Presser's (2003) wealth of statistical evidence linking non-standard work schedules with various negative outcomes relating to the quality of personal relationships and the functioning of family life – including higher levels of marital dissatisfaction and instability, less frequent parental involvement in evening meals with children and more complex (and thus potentially less stable) childcare arrangements. As much as long working hours or technological acceleration, therefore, might it be that for certain groups in society, the atypical timing of their employment is behind contemporary experiences of time stress? Certainly, Presser (2003) is not alone in demonstrating that non-standard schedules can place significant temporal constraints on family life (see Strazdins et al. 2004, 2006, Davis et al. 2008, Kalil et al. 2010, Craig and Powell 2011, Craig and Brown 2015, Verhoef et al. 2015).[14] Both Davis et al. (2008) and Kalil et al. (2010) have similarly found an association between non-standard employment and perceptions of greater marital instability amongst American couples, for example. Meanwhile, Stradzins et al. (2006) and Verhoef et al. (2015) have replicated Presser's findings regarding the negative impacts of atypical schedules as regards parenting and childcare – with the former study linking them (in a Canadian context) to worse family functioning, more depressive symptoms and less effective parenting (as well as greater social and emotional difficulties amongst children themselves), and the latter to a greater reliance on informal and more complex childcare arrangements (in Finland, the Netherlands and the UK).

These studies remain relatively few in number, however, and the association between non-standard scheduling and negative outcomes has not been replicated everywhere (see Mills and Täht 2010, for instance). Furthermore, existing studies examining the impacts of atypical employment on the temporal nature of personal and family life are almost exclusively quantitative in nature, being based upon

[14] It should be noted that beneath this broad-scale trend, findings are complex and vary – both within and between studies – by gender, household division of labour, parental status, and type of shift worked (i.e. morning, evening, night, weekend or rotating). National context has also been shown as important (Mills and Täht 2010, Verhoef et al. 2015).

statistical analyses of large-scale survey data (although see Le Bihan and Martin 2004, Henly et al. 2006). Thus, whilst these studies help to elucidate macro scale probabilities and trends, they do not tell us a great deal about the qualitative experience of non-standard schedules at a more personal level. Here again, then, there is need for additional empirical research – particularly qualitative, in-depth accounts – to enrich and extend existing findings.

2.2.4. Summary

As outlined above, the majority of existing studies relating to notions of a contemporary time squeeze can be divided into three broad groups. The first of these is concerned with the incidence and impact of 'long' working hours, which are perceived to leave people with too little time (and energy) to dedicate to other areas of their lives. The second group, meanwhile, focuses on the theme of technological acceleration, arguing that the unprecedented speed of modern ICTs has led to an increase in the pace of life. Finally, the third group focuses on the (less universal) impacts of non-standard work schedules, which have been linked with various negative outcomes relating to the quality of personal relationships and the functioning of family life. Whilst these studies provide useful insights into how and why people may experience time stress, they nonetheless suffer from a number of interrelated shortcomings: firstly, the role of unpaid work in the domestic sphere is frequently ignored; secondly, there is a tendency to resort to grand generalisations that neglect the diversity of lived experience and axes of class, gender and age; thirdly, the importance of place and the context-dependent nature of experiences of working time is often overlooked.

Furthermore, as Southerton (2006) notes, and as the above discussion also illustrates, existing studies of working time tend to examine a single dimension of time in isolation. That is to say, they focus either on the duration of work, the speed (or tempo) of modern life, or the timing of employment, without thinking much about how these dimensions are interrelated. This leads to a broader criticism about the way in which time is conceptualised in much of the literature relating to notions of time squeeze. Indeed, despite an explicit focus on the topic of time, the majority of existing studies lack any substantial theoretical engagement with this concept – assuming it to be a neutral medium in which events take place and on the basis of which economic exchange is possible (see, for instance, Adam 1990, 2000, 2001, Ermarth 1998, Jarvis 2005). That is to say, the "neutral, decontextualised, empty time of calendars and clocks remains the unquestioned medium and the parameter within which socio-environmental activities are experienced, constructed, recounted, recorded and commodified" (Adam 2000: 126). It is with these criticisms in mind that I now set out a comprehensive theoretical framework for the current research.

2.3. Theoretical framework

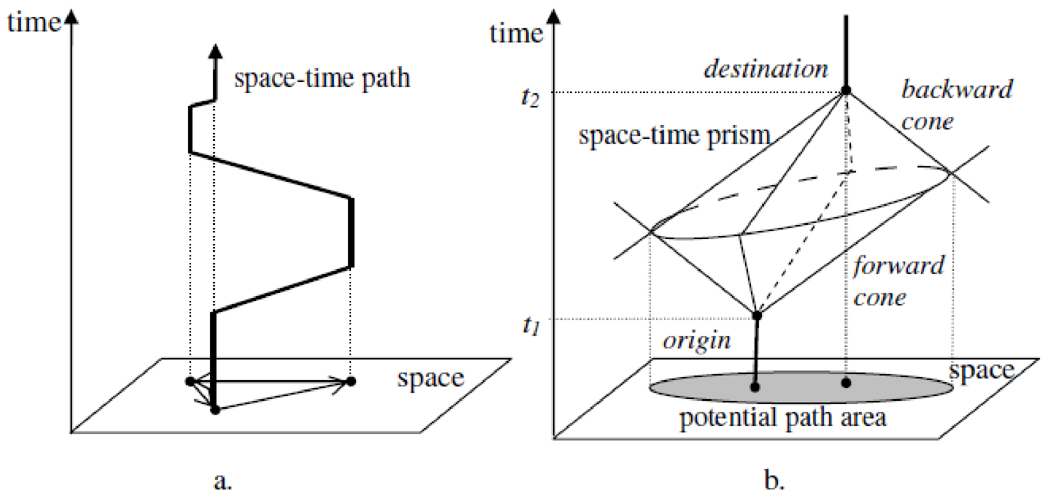
In this second half of the chapter, I turn to the sets of theory on which my research draws, as I seek to address the shortcomings of existing working time studies outlined above. For a human geographer concerned with the topic of time, arguably the most appropriate starting point for this task is Torsten Hägerstrand's 'time-geography' (see, for instance, Hägerstrand 1970, 1982, 1989). I now provide a summary of the time-geographic approach and outline some of the advantages it offers, before highlighting two major limitations that necessitate the extension of Hägerstrand's framework.

2.3.1. Time-geography

> *On the continuum between biography and aggregate statistics, there is a twilight zone to be explored, an area where the fundamental notion is that people retain their identity over time, where the life of an individual is his foremost project, and where aggregate behaviour cannot escape these facts. (Hägerstrand 1970: 9)*

Developed predominantly by Torsten Hägerstrand and colleagues at Lund University, Sweden, during the 1970s and 1980s (see, for example, Hägerstrand 1970, 1982, 1989), time-geography is best thought of as an analytic approach or descriptive model rather than a specific theory (see Friberg 1993). Central to the time-geographic approach are an emphasis on the inseparable connection between the dimensions of time and space, and a focus on the activities of individuals within this environment (Pred 1977). Indeed, its most fundamental concept is the 'space-time path', which "represents the uninterrupted sequence of movements and stationary activities undertaken by an individual in space-time" (Neutens et al. 2011: 27). Such a path can be displayed visually, as shown in diagram (a) of Figure 1, using a three-dimensional coordinate system (or 'space-time aquarium') in which space is flattened into two-dimensions and depicted along the x- and y-axes, with time as the vertical dimension (z-axis). This visual notation system is a further key aspect of the time-geographic model.

Figure 1: Visual representation of (a) space-time path and (b) space-time prism (after Yu and Shaw 2007)



The course of a space-time path results from the interaction between 'projects' and 'constraints'. A project can be defined as "the entire series of simple or complex tasks necessary to the completion of any intention-inspired or goal-oriented behaviour" (Pred 1981: 10). The scope of projects and the likelihood of their completion are restricted by a variety of spatial and temporal constraints. These relate both to the choices made earlier in life, which often must be followed through, and the context in which one finds oneself (Friberg 1993: 68). More specifically, Hägerstrand (1970) identified three categories of constraint: 'capability' constraints – both technological (such as the availability of particular tools, equipment or modes of transport) and physiological (such as the need to eat and sleep); 'coupling' constraints – which dictate where, when and for how long people have to come together in space and time; and 'authority' constraints – which refer to the exercise of power and "to the institutional and societal context including laws, rules, norms and other regulations which imply that specific areas are only accessible at specific times for specific people to conduct specific activities" (Neutens et al. 2011: 27). Despite their apparent distinction, however, these constraints are often interrelated in practice.

From a visualisation perspective, the influence of constraints can be displayed through the use of a 'space-time prism', as shown in diagram (b) of Figure 1. The apices of the prism represent two activities which are fixed in time and space (for instance, participating in paid work or collecting children from childcare) – the first ending at t_1 and the second beginning at t_2. Such fixed activities are known as 'anchor points' or 'pegs' in time-geographic parlance (Cullen and Godson 1975). The interior of the prism, meanwhile, represents an individual's travel possibilities during the intervening time period and is constructed by combining all the possible space-time paths open to the individual at t_1, assuming their need to undertake certain other flexible activities (in line with their personal projects) and then return to a fixed location by t_2.[15] The outer bounds of the space-time prism are therefore determined by the physical distance separating the anchor points in question, the duration of the time budget, the maximum attainable travel speed and the minimum time required for participation in various activities (Lenntorp 1976, Miller 2005, Neutens et al. 2011).

[15] Projecting the interior of the space-time prism to the two-dimensional geographic plane gives the 'potential-path-area', as shown in Figure 1.

In this way, time-geography foregrounds three dimensions of time simultaneously – highlighting as it does how the *timing* of activities, their *duration*, and the speed (i.e. *tempo*) of travel between them are mutually implicated. Accordingly, the time-geographic model provides a starting point for holding these multiple dimensions of time together within a single framework (as has been called for by Fine (1996) and, building on his original work, Southerton (2006); see also Adam's (2000) 'timescape' framework and Reisch [2001]).[16] Whilst not intending to explicitly draw upon Hägerstrand's visual notation system in the present research, this is the first of four interrelated benefits a sensitivity to time-geography offers for a study of working time, and specifically an exploration of how and why individuals may experience symptoms of a time squeeze.

Secondly, then, time-geography's focus on daily praxis helps to unite the various parts of an individual's life and elucidate the multiple claims on their time (Friberg 1993: 76). In particular, it allows for the public and private spheres to be brought together, and for an examination of the ways in which individuals juggle competing responsibilities at (paid) work and home (Schwanen and de Jong 2008). Following the lead of certain feminist geographers whose work has built on the time-geographic approach – and who have long encouraged an understanding of the dynamic dependencies between these domains (see, for example, Hanson and

[16] Although with regards the tempo dimension, it does not incorporate subjective perceptions of the pace of activities themselves (an issue I discuss in more detail in due course). Additionally, it should be noted that Fine (1996) and Southerton (2006) actually outline five temporal dimensions in their work. In addition to the duration, tempo and timing of activities, they also emphasise their 'periodicity' (i.e. frequency) and 'sequence' (i.e. ordering). However, I would argue that these two extra dimensions can ultimately be subsumed under the timing dimension, since knowledge of the timings of either a repeat activity or various distinct activities automatically gives an indication of their frequency and ordering respectively. Accordingly, it is the three dimensions of duration, tempo and timing with which I am primarily concerned in this research (and around which my three empirical chapters are structured).

Pratt 1988, 1992) – we can thus conceive of "home, work and non-employment activities as distinct but interconnected spheres woven together through a web of localised social interactions, activities and trips" (Kwan 1999: 372; see also Dyck 1990, Kwan 2000).

Thirdly, this all-encompassing framework, allied to Hägerstrand's emphasis on constraints, can be used to explore how and why time pressures may differ between certain individuals (and social groups). To this end, feminist and transport geographers have utilised travel diary and survey data to demonstrate the variable nature of coupling constraints in particular, which can lead to fundamental differences in individuals' daily space-time paths (since these typically act as fixed pegs around which other activities must be structured). Kwan (1999, 2000), for example, has highlighted the gendered nature of fixity constraints owing to women's continued responsibility for the majority of domestic tasks. Similarly, but drawing additionally on qualitative interview data, Schwanen (2006, 2007, 2008) has demonstrated how the time pressures associated with the chauffeuring of children to and from school or nursery are borne primarily by women.

Finally, time-geography's emphasis on activities conducted within the local environment allows us to move beyond grand narratives, encouraging a more contextual approach in which the importance of place can be brought to the fore (Pratt 1996, Ellegård 1999, Jarvis 2005). For example, inspired by the time-geographic framework, Jarvis (2005) has demonstrated how the local urban context – particularly what she refers to as the 'infrastructure of everyday life' – is an important mediating factor, which may either help or hinder individuals (and households) to reconcile competing demands upon their time. This includes the spatial distribution of fixed assets such as houses, offices, schools and shops, the layout of connecting road and rail networks, and the various timetables and restrictions that order the use of these amenities (see also McDowell et al. 2006, Schwanen and de Jong 2008).[17]

However, whilst providing a useful framework for thinking about the various time pressures individuals experience in their day-to-day lives, time-geography suffers from two major limitations that necessitate the extension of Hägerstrand's framework. Firstly, time-geography has been criticised for the way in which it conceptualises *time* itself (see, for example, Parkes and Thrift 1980, Friberg 1993, Lenntorp 1999, Davies 2001, Dodgshon 2008). Indeed, the time-geographic approach can be seen as building upon a particular temporal discourse in which time is seen as linear, finite and quantitative – forming a frame of reference to which we can always relate, yet which is independent of us and what it actually means to live.[18] Accordingly, it is necessary to develop a richer conception of time that recognises its multifaceted nature and experiential or subjective aspects. Secondly, despite emphasising the role of individual 'projects' and spatial and temporal 'constraints', time-geography has also been criticised for the way it conceptualises both the human subject and wider social structures (including the

[17] Jarvis' (2005) conception thus demonstrates how Hägerstrand's three 'constraints' are interlinked, with 'coupling' constraints (i.e. the need to come together at a specific time and place) shaped by both 'capability' constraints (i.e. the physical distribution of infrastructure) and 'authority' constraints (i.e. timetables and restrictions).

[18] It should be noted that this criticism relates primarily to 'classical' time-geography (i.e. the work of the Lund school in the 1960s and 1970s) and the way in which it has been taken up in Anglophone geography. In Sweden, time-geographers, led by Hägerstrand himself, moved towards other conceptualisations of time from the mid 1970s onwards (see, for instance, Hägerstrand 1989; see also Gren 2001).

role of power relations and inequalities), as well as the interaction between these (see, for instance, Parkes and Thrift 1980, Giddens 1984, Harvey 1989, Friberg 1993, Rose 1993, Lenntorp 1999, Warf 2008). Here too, then, there is a need to extend the time-geographic framework and to explore more fully questions relating to agency, structure and power. It is these two conceptual steps that I make in the remainder of this chapter.

2.3.2. Developing an enriched conception of time

> *But whatever time is, the common-sense, everyday version of it as linear, regular, absolute, marching from left to right, from the past through the present to the future, is either nonsense or a tiny fraction of the truth. (McEwan 1987: 117)*

For all its theoretical insights, time-geography has been criticised for the way in which it conceptualises *time* itself. As Friberg (1993: 78) explains, "the temporal dimension is omnipresent" in time-geography, forming a frame of reference to which we can always relate. Time moves forward and we move with it; it has an unwavering rhythm and can be measured precisely in terms of seconds, minutes, hours or years; it is seen as a resource to be used or spent. In other words, time-geography "build[s] upon a particular temporal discourse where time is seen as linear, finite and quantitative and consisting of discrete units which can be divided between work, leisure and personal time" (Davies 2001: 137). The way it is represented visually in time-geographic notation – stretched along an axis that can be divided into exactly those units that suit the aim of the analyst – is further evidence of this (Friberg 1993: 78).

Like the majority of existing studies related to notions of a time squeeze, therefore, time-geography is firmly wedded to the objective, absolute time of the clock (Adam 2000). This perhaps ought not to be surprising, since clocks play such a profound role in contemporary life that they have come to be accepted as a given – as part of the way time is (Dodgshon 2008: 9). Yet as McEwan's (1987) above quote hints at, such an understanding of time is partial at best. In this next section, therefore, I develop an enriched conception of time by focusing on the experiential and subjective aspects of temporality that are not captured by the everyday time of the clock. In so doing, I draw out the relative and relational aspects of time (Harvey 2004, 2009), as well as its contextual and gendered nature.

I begin this task by drawing on the work of Parkes and Thrift (1978, 1980). Whilst recognising the huge significance of Hägerstrand's schema, they argue that time-geography focuses solely on 'locational' time that is objectively surveyable. This is the time measured by calendars and clocks, and of the physical universe – hence they refer to it as 'universe time'. Reasoning in favour of the development of a broader 'chronogeography', however, they stress that time can also be 'experiential', or subjectively determined. The common use of terms such as "too soon", "too long", "passing quickly" or "passing slowly" is testament to this. Specifically, two types of experiential time or 'paratimes' are identified by Parkes and Thrift (1980): 'life times', which relate to an individual's physiological clock and personal 'sense of time'; and 'social times', which refer to collective understandings of the timing, duration and sequence of events and activities with relevance to the community.[19] I now discuss each of these in turn.

2.3.2.1. *Life times*

The notion of 'life times' stems from the simple premise that "time... is inseparable from the concept of self" (Meyerhoff 1960: 1). Indeed, all individuals can be seen to have a personal, particular 'sense of time' that influences their actions, and which exists alongside the abstract 'universe time' of the clock. When conceptualising this biological time, Parkes and Thrift (1980: 51) suggest it is useful to draw a distinction between somatic or physiological time (on the one hand) and psychological time (on the other hand). The former is linked to the idea that humans possess an innate system of regulators – or 'biological clock' – which "enable[s them] to reproduce required responses at appropriate times" (Whitrow 1972: 68). Amongst other functions, these internal clocks are believed to control so-called 'circadian' rhythms – that is to say, various biological processes that oscillate approximately every 24 hours. This includes sleep-wake cycles, as well as variations in body temperature, blood pressure and hormone release. However, whilst an endogenous (i.e. internal) feature, these biological processes are also

[19] Whilst Parkes and Thrift's (1980) separation of 'life times' from 'social times' (and thus the individual from society) could be seen as problematic given the way in which social theory has moved to 'socialise' individuals in recent decades, I nonetheless find their classification conceptually helpful. Indeed, Adam (2004) similarly draws a distinction between 'clock time', 'body time' (analogous to Parkes and Thrift's 'life times') and 'social time', arguing in the process that these are interrelated but not entirely reducible to one another.

influenced by environmental (i.e. external) signals – particularly variations in light and temperature in the case of circadian rhythms.

Key to Parkes and Thrift's (1980) understanding of psychological time (or 'lived' or 'experiential' time), meanwhile, is the idea that one's personal sense of time is related to their particular 'time perspective' – that is to say, their orientation towards the past, present or future. This in turn may be shaped by the time perspective of the culture in which they live, as well as their age (with Parkes and Thrift (ibid: 66) suggesting that an orientation towards the past occurs at an increasing rate beyond the age of about 40). In other words, our present day actions are not only shaped by the contemporary environment, but are also tied to the comparative influence of our past experiences and memories, and future plans and expectations. Drawing on the work of Kastenbaum (1964), Parkes and Thrift (1980) emphasise that it is not only the 'directionality' of our time perspective that is significant, however, but also its 'extension' (i.e. the length of the time span involved), 'coherence' (i.e. the degree of organisation of events within the time span) and 'density' (i.e. the number of significant events within the time span).

Furthermore, social theorists like Mead (1932) stress that our conceptions of past, present and future should not be seen as fixed or static, but rather as mutually intertwined and open to change. We cannot evoke past experiences, for example, without relating them to our present situation (or indeed to an imagined future); thus, "from the standpoint of the emergent present, the past is continuously recreated and reformulated into a different past" (Adam 2004: 65; see also Bergson's (1911) notion of 'duration'). As Adam (2004: 53) explains, this line of reasoning stems from St. Augustine's assertion that the past and future do not exist outside of the human mind, and thus his understanding of past, present and future as 'present past', 'present' and 'present future'. For theorists such as Mead (1932), time itself (and not simply 'psychological' time) can be seen to emerge from this interplay between pasts and futures – that is to say, from each successive event and the sense of continually becoming. In contrast to the absolute framework of clock-time (which provides the impression of a container waiting to be filled), then, this is a 'relative' and contextual sense of time, one that is dependent on the frame of the observer.[20]

2.3.2.2. Social times

Parkes and Thrift's (1980) notion of 'social times', meanwhile, draws on the work of scholars such as Sorokin and Merton (1937) and Zerubavel (1976; see also 1979, 1981), who have written about the way time is perceived and handled by collectivities (as distinct from the physiological and psychological times of individuals). According to these authors, social time arises out of social differentiation and role specialisation, and is the result of the need for coordination and collaboration between members of a society. To aid this process, societies have developed a temporal framework of laws and conventions which help to provide a regular patterning to social situations, activities and events. Thus, whilst these conventions may be linked to other temporalities (such as those

[20] This echoes the distinction between Newtonian (i.e. absolute) and Einsteinien (i.e. relative) understandings of time in the physical sciences.

of the clock, natural world or the body), they are ultimately normative prescriptions. Zerubavel (1981: 1-2) refers to this as the 'socio-temporal order' and suggests that four major forms of temporal regularity are apparent within modern social life: rigid sequential structures (such as the ordering of starter, main and dessert at meal times); fixed durations (such as undergraduate degree courses typically lasting between three and four years); standard temporal locations (such as going to church on a Sunday, as opposed to an alternative day of the week); and uniform rates of recurrence (such as a work meeting or deadline routinely scheduled for the last day of each month).

Importantly, these norms and conventions permit individuals to hold certain expectations regarding the temporal structure of daily life; given this 'temporal map', one's immediate environment becomes a means of telling the time in and of itself, independent of the clock (ibid: 14). Relatedly, social phenomena may be used as frames of reference for locating or relating historic or future points in time, independent of the calendrical system (such as saying "when President Hoover came into office" rather than "March 1929") (Sorokin and Merton 1937). In addition, these norms allow us to develop a collective understanding of what constitutes appropriate temporal behaviour, deviation from which may lead to the use of expressions such as "too early" or "too late", or "too long" or "too short" (Zerubavel 1981: 5-10). These examples again demonstrate that time has relative qualities, which exist alongside the absolute, taken-for-granted framework provided by the clock and calendar (Harvey 2004, 2009). However, whilst emphasising the significance of such shared temporal understandings, it should be noted that these may vary between different societies – as someone travelling to another country or culture for the first time may soon come to realise (see Levine 2006). Furthermore, Parkes and Thrift (1980: 73) emphasise that even *within* a single social system, people may have varied understandings of social time owing to their position within the social structure, with "differences between male and female and young and old... [being] only the most obvious ones".

This final point highlights the hierarchical nature of society and the existence of power inequalities within social relationships (as discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter). In turn, this draws attention to the inter-subjective nature of temporality and encourages an understanding that time is not simply a private resource. Indeed, our time is often subject to the demands of others and tied to the social surroundings in which we are embedded. That is to say, time is not only relative, but also intrinsically 'relational' (Harvey 2004, 2009). It is to this relational sense of time that I now turn.

2.3.2.3. Relational sense of time

Relational time emerges from, and does not exist outside of, our relationships with other people; it is "shared rather than personal and thus sensitive to the contextuality and particularity of interpersonal relations" (Odih 1999: 10). As such, it can be contrasted with the dominant (clock) time culture of the contemporary Western world, which is bound up with the abstract individualism and economic rationality that underlies much political thought, and which assumes that time is a commodity that each individual is free to own, use, buy and sell (Bryson 2007: 134). Such a distinction is made by Hall (1989), who argues that US society – and the workplace in particular – is principally governed by 'monochronic' time (which is based on the assumption that one thing is done at a time), but that this tends to be supplanted by 'polychronic' time (which is 'other' oriented and in which several things are done concurrently) in the home.

In keeping with this view, the importance of a relational viewpoint is emphasised particularly by feminist scholars and those whose research focuses on (unpaid) reproductive and care work. Karen Davies (1990, 1994, 2001), for example, has introduced the concept of 'process time' to describe the relational and contextual nature of the time involved in caring for others. Davies (1994: 279-280) emphasises that process time "is enmeshed in social relations" and involves "putting the care receiver's interests first". The caregiver acts primarily on the basis of the specific context that presents itself rather than predetermined conventions, showing empathy, flexibility and respect for the other's integrity; in short, caring 'about' them as well as caring 'for' them (see Thomas 1993). Accordingly, "things take the amount of time they need to take" (Davies 1994: 279).[21]

Davies (ibid: 280-281) illustrates her conception of process time by recounting the example of the time she spent caring about a sick friend on the days leading up to and including an operation – a process that sequentially involved her buying a card (whilst doing the family shopping), writing it (at the same time as listening to music) and then giving it to her friend on the morning of the operation, as well as

[21] Although Davies (1994: 280) qualifies this statement by explaining that process time is different from 'task-oriented time', as "the latter tends to stress the task *per se* and risks separating the activity, at least conceptually, from its context".

intermittently worrying about her throughout the rest of the day and then phoning her in the evening to hear how it went. In cases such as this, it is difficult to know precisely how much time has been spent on caring or when it took place. The time involved is "neither linear, continuous nor entirely measurable. Rather it is *part* of several different ongoing, non-abstract *processes*" (ibid: 281, emphasis in original).

Furthermore, Davies (1990, 1994, 2001) identifies process time (and a relational sense of time more generally) as 'women's time', in contrast to linear or clock time, which she terms 'male time'. This echoes the distinction made by several other feminist scholars (see, for example, Kahn 1989, Leccardi and Rampazi 1993, Leccardi 1996), who argue that women's experience of time is fundamentally different from that of men.[22] Accordingly, it is with a discussion of the gendered nature of time that I conclude this section of the chapter.

2.3.2.4. Gendered nature of time

In contrast to the dominant temporal logic of modern capitalist society, women's traditional position within the home and responsibility for the reproductive work of caring and housekeeping are seen as facilitating a relationship to time that is cyclical and other oriented. As Bryson (2007: 137) explains, "the work of feeding, cleaning, bathing, cooking or comforting are not one-off actions, but processes that

[22] These accounts are bound up with an understanding of the way in which the factory discipline of industrialisation, linked partly – but by no means wholly – to the increased presence of the clock (see, for instance, Thompson 1967 and Glennie and Thrift 1996, 2009), paved the way for an acceptance of the normative ideal of the nuclear family and the division of social life into distinct public and private spheres (Everingham 2002: 339; although see Hareven (1982) for a more nuanced account of this process).

have to be repeated over and over again without ever reaching an identifiable end point". Moreover, as Hall (1989) notes in his conception of polychronic time, these tend to be fragmented and interwoven rather than discrete, well-defined activities. This routinised circularity of domestic labour is encapsulated by the common phrase "a woman's work is never done" (Davies 1990, Odih 1999).

However, whilst keen to demonstrate the incompatibility of women's work with linear conceptions of time, many feminist scholars warn against the use of dualistic thinking that restricts female experiences of time to those that are purely cyclical or relational. Davies (1994: 281-282), for instance, suggests that clock time can in fact be useful for structuring care work (including breaks and time for reflection) and that a temporal relation based solely on processes would lead to things taking an inexhaustible amount of time. Furthermore, as Ruddick (1982) contends, to portray caring (mothering is her particular focus) as responsive only to external rhythms (i.e. as synonymous with process time) would be to obscure its deliberative aspects, many of which, including the planning and coordination of schedules, are implicated in clock time. Moreover, the boundary between the public and private spheres is not rigid but blurred and overlapping (Leccardi 1996) – increasingly so given the continued growth in female participation in paid labour – and hence much of women's lives are played out within the dominant linear time of modern society. Thus, women's temporal experience can more usefully be thought of as involving a multiplicity of times. In this vein, Bittman (1991) applies the metaphor of 'juggling time' to working mothers to highlight their responsibility for balancing the dual burdens of work and home – although as Everingham (2002: 340) suggests, Adam's (1990) metaphor of a conductor is perhaps more fitting, "highlighting as it does the greater multiplicity of temporal rhythms and schedules coordinated by working mothers". Similarly, Davies (1990: 239) uses the imagery of a cat's cradle to capture the way in which women continually weave between linear and cyclical time.[23]

Within this shared temporality, however, it should be recognised that experiences of time may vary significantly between women (as indeed with men) according to their social class, age, sexual orientation and so on (Leccardi 1996, Bryson 2007). Furthermore, we ought to tread cautiously when dealing with explicit conceptions of 'women's' time. Indeed, for post-structuralist scholars such as Odih (1999, 2007, Knights and Odih 1995), gender roles are to a large extent socially constructed and thus there is not necessarily an inherent association between biological sex and certain forms of temporality. Relational and heterogeneous understandings of time are not exclusive to, or exhaustive of, women, therefore; they are simply experienced by those who perform 'feminine' roles and who are discursively constituted as such. To this end, rather than conceiving of distinct 'male' and 'female' times, it may be preferable to think of more dynamic and unstable 'masculine' and 'feminine' times (Odih 1999).

2.3.3. Bringing space back into the equation

> *Rather than seeking to clarify their inter-dependency, [recent] accounts have too often proceeded as though questions of time and space are able to be treated in isolation. (May and Thrift 2001: 3)*

[23] Cat's cradle is a game played by two or more people, in which players take it in turns to manipulate a piece of string that is woven around their fingers to create various shaped figures.

By recognising its multiple and heterogeneous nature, and the extent to which it varies both within and between individuals and societies, the proceeding sections of this chapter have helped to develop a richer conception of time than is present in classical time-geography. However, by foregrounding the temporal in this way, there is a danger that the spatial dimension – which is of course a coequal component of Hägerstrand's framework and a central concern of the geographic discipline more generally – is neglected. There is a need, therefore, to bring subjective or experiential accounts of both time and space together. As Dodgshon (2008) notes, within human geography this endeavour has been led by Doreen Massey (1992, 1994, 2013a) and Nigel Thrift (1996b, 2000; Parkes and Thrift 1975, 1979, 1980, Glennie and Thrift 1996, May and Thrift 2001) (although see also Crang 2001), and it is their thinking on this subject with which I initially engage, before ultimately turning to the work of French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (2004).[24]

For Massey (1992, 1994, 2013a), social theory not only tends to regard time and space as distinct entities, but also as polar opposites, with the former being viewed as the dimension of change and dynamism, and the latter as a kind of flat, inert given. In overcoming this dualism, she argues that if time is the dimension of 'succession' (where things happen one after another), then space is the dimension of 'simultaneity' or multiplicity (of many things happening at the same time). In this sense, space is inherently social – "a cut through the myriad stories in which

[24] Whilst I focus on the seminal work of Massey and Thrift here, it should be noted that an increasing number of geographers are now engaging with this topic, making it a fertile area of the discipline. This includes Jarvis et al. (2011), who draw attention to the intersection of space, time and the life course, Schwanen and Kwan (2012), who call for a greater focus on the temporal (and spatio-temporal) dimensions of social differentiation and marginalisation, and Merriman (2012), who encourages a focus on concepts such as movement, affect, energy and rhythm alongside, or in place of, time and space.

we are all living at any one moment" (Massey 2013a: 2). This focus on social relations brings dynamism to our conception of space, and means that space and time become intimately connected. In fact, argues Massey (1994: 261) (by drawing an analogy with Einsteinian physics), it allows us to think in terms of a four-dimensional (and relational) 'space-time', in which (three-dimensional) space and (one-dimensional) time are viewed as inextricably interwoven with each other.[25]

Thrift's thinking on this subject shares a number of similarities. May and Thrift's (2001) concept of TimeSpace, for example, explicitly builds on Massey's work. However, whereas Massey begins from the absence of temporality in conceptions of space, May and Thrift (ibid: 2-3) argue that recent thinking on time has too often neglected (or at least underemphasised) the spatial. With this in mind, they contend that a sense of time stems from four interrelated domains: timetables and rhythms (both natural and social); social discipline (whether secular or religious); instruments and devices (which serve either to mark the passage of time or alter our conception of it); and texts (which set out particular understandings of time) – all of which can vary spatially. Furthermore, developments (over time) in each of these domains may also vary according to their impact and reach across space. Accordingly, "the picture that emerges is less that of a singular or uniform social time stretching across a uniform space, than of various (and uneven) networks of time stretching in different and divergent directions across an uneven social field" (ibid: 5). Rather than thinking in terms of Massey's all-encompassing four-

---

[25] The terms 'time-space', 'SpaceTime' and 'TimeSpace' are also utilised within the literature. Whether with or without a hyphen, the bringing together of these two concepts into a single term is generally a means of emphasising their interdependence, rather than suggesting they be considered as unidimensional (Dodgshon 2008).

dimensional space-time, therefore, May and Thrift (ibid: 3) suggest it is necessary "to think in terms of a multiplicity of space-times".

In emphasising the dynamic and evolving nature of space-time, Massey (if somewhat implicitly) and Thrift (more explicitly) also touch on the notion of 'rhythm' within their writing. In so doing, they continue a long tradition within the humanities of engaging with this concept as a means of combining thinking about time, space and action or movement (see May and Thrift (2001: 30) and Dodgshon (2008: 10) for brief overviews of historical work on this subject). This interest in rhythm has intensified in recent years owing to the English translation of the work of Henri Lefebvre (2004), and it is to his 'rhythmanalysis' that I now turn. Lefebvre's rhythmic framework, I suggest, allows us to return to time-geography's primary concern with *individuals'* daily activities (rather than the broader-scale focus of scholars such as Massey and Thrift), whilst maintaining an enriched conception of space-time (see also Edensor 2010: 1-2).

2.3.3.1. Rhythmanalysis

> *Neither geodesic space nor clock/calendar time is appropriate for the measurement of experience. The notion of rhythm may offer a beginning step towards such a measure. (Buttimer 1976: 289)*

Rhythmanalysis – as its name suggests – is concerned with analysing the rhythms of everyday life. For Lefebvre (2004: 15), rhythm emerges from the trialectical "interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy". Everything, he suggests, is rhythmic ("from particles to galaxies" [ibid: 87]) and subject to ongoing change (or 'becoming'), even if it appears stable. In this way, rhythmanalysis seeks to bring space and time together, as well as to "cross the quantitative-qualitative chasm by connecting multiple scales" (DeLyser and Sui 2013: 299) – and can thus be seen as part of Lefebvre's wider attempts to overcome the (often simplistic and conceptually limiting) dualistic thinking that hampers much social theory (see Elden (2004a) on Lefebvre, and Cloke and Johnston (2005) on dualisms more generally).

More specifically, Lefebvre (2004) outlines several key features to his notion of rhythm. Firstly, he highlights that rhythms involve 'birth-growth-peak-decline-end' cycles and repetition (ibid: 15). In this way, rhythms contain a 'measure' or beat and can be seen as having 'wavelike' properties analogous to those studied in mathematics and physics (ibid: 6, 78, 82). However, this recurrence does not amount simply to mechanistic reproduction of the same phenomenon. Indeed, Lefebvre (ibid: 6) emphasises that "there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely"; hence, "there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference". Secondly and relatedly, rhythms may differ in their speed, frequency and consistency, and thus have relative properties: "we know that a rhythm is slow or lively only in relation to other rhythms" (ibid: 10).

Thirdly, Lefebvre (ibid: 8, 76, 90) distinguishes between 'cyclical' and 'linear' repetition. The former "originates in the cosmic, in nature" and can be seen in the diurnal cycle of night and day, the seasons, and the waves and tides of the sea; the latter, by contrast, typically stems "from social practice, therefore from human activity" – for instance, a sequence of hammer blows or the beat of a metronome. As Simpson (2012) notes, the cyclical thus presents a firm sense of evolution and change within repetition, whilst the linear bears a stronger resemblance to the mechanical and monotonous. These concepts should not be seen as a mutually exclusive dualism, however; rather, Lefebvre (2004: 76) sees them as a dialectical pair, between which there exists "an antagonistic unity".[26] Indeed, a recurring feature of Lefebvre's writing is his concern at the extent to which this relationship has become unbalanced, with the linear beat of capitalist modernisation coming to dominate the cyclical rhythms of nature (including the body and human subjectivity) (see Lefebvre 1991: 206, for instance).

Finally, as this antagonism between the cyclical and the linear implies, Lefebvre (2004: 8-10, 16) emphasises the interactive nature of rhythms, and the way in which multiple rhythms combine to form a 'polyrhythmia'. Furthermore, he introduces the terms 'eurhythmia' and 'arrhythmia' to distinguish between the nature of such interactions, with the former describing situations where rhythms unite harmoniously and the latter, by contrast, pertaining to conflict or discord.[27] Lefebvre (ibid: 20) uses the example of the human body to elucidate these concepts: "the eurhythmic body, composed of diverse rhythms – each organ, each function, having its own – keeps them in metastable equilibrium, which is always understood and often recovered, with the exception of disturbances (arrhythmia) that sooner or later become illness (a pathological state)".

[26] In fact, they can arguably be seen as "two perspectives on one and the same process": "while the moment of return produces the effect of cyclicality, the periodic repletion of the same moment produces a series" (Hoogstad 2013: 182-183).

[27] Unlike the distinction between 'cyclical' and 'linear' repetition, the distinction between 'eurhythmia' and 'arrhythmia' can more easily be regarded as a dualism – and thus potentially undermines Lefebvre's attempts to move beyond such dichotomous thinking.

As this example (i.e. the human body and its component organs) demonstrates, then, Lefebvre's rhythmanalytical lens allows complex entities to be viewed as constellations of multiple rhythms – that is to say, as forms of polyrhythmia. Indeed, in recent years a growing number of geographers and sociologists have engaged with Lefebvre's work as a means of understanding 'place', demonstrating in the process how urban space-time is characterised by a multitude of dynamic, interweaving rhythms – including those relating to mobility (traffic flows and pedestrian movements, for instance), institutional timetables (such as the opening hours of offices and shops, and public transport timetables) and the natural world (the 24-hour daily cycle and the changing of the seasons, for example) (see Crang 2001, Mels 2004, Edensor and Holloway 2008, Simpson 2008, 2012, Middleton 2009, Edensor 2010, Kullman and Palludan 2011, Schwanen et al. 2012, Smith and Hetherington 2013, Wunderlich 2013, Muliček et al. 2015, 2016).[28]

It is not only place that can be conceived of in this way, however. Indeed, at a finer scale of analysis, Lefebvre (2004: 20, 80) suggests that each individual can themselves be thought of as a 'bundle' of diverse, interacting rhythms. Most obviously, this bundle includes the rhythms of the human body – both physiological (such as those relating to hunger and thirst) and psychological (such as those relating to memory or habit, as well as the imagined or expected) (ibid: 18). However, it also incorporates rhythms of the wider environment in which the individual is situated (such as those just discussed). In this way, the boundary between the micro (individual) and the macro (environment) is dissolved, and

[28] In the third chapter of 'Rhythmanalysis', Lefebvre (2004: 27) himself describes the street scene he can view from the window of his Paris apartment in polyrhythmic terms, focusing in particular on the rhythms of the passing traffic and pedestrians.

lived experience can be regarded as an 'emergent' phenomenon of these multiple rhythms. Here, then, we can begin to see the merging of time-geography's focus on the activities of individuals within their local environment, with the enriched conception of space-time outlined in previous sections (see also Edensor 2010: 1-2).

2.3.4. Questions of agency, structure and power

> *The criticism remains that time-geography ignores the importance and the capacity of human agency and gives no answers to a lot of questions on how and why. (Lenntorp 1999: 158)*

As noted previously, in addition to its unsatisfactory formulation of time itself, time-geography has also been criticised for the way it conceptualises both the human subject and wider social structures, as well as the interaction between these (see, for instance, Parkes and Thrift 1980, Giddens 1984, Harvey 1989, Friberg 1993, Rose 1993, Lenntorp 1999, Warf 2008). I now provide a brief overview of these reservations, before seeking to overcome them by drawing on the work of, first, Anthony Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) and, second, Michel Foucault (1978, 1982, 1993).

On the one hand, then, time-geography has been criticised for its "naive and deficient conception of the human agent" (Giddens 1984: 116). Indeed, detractors of Hägerstrand's framework argue that it reduces the individual to little more than a 'social atom' (Friberg 1993: 78), treating them as a mechanistic object rather than "a thinking, experiencing person with feelings and expectations for the future" (Lenntorp 1999: 157). Certainly, time-geography tells us little about an individual's motivations for following a particular space-time path, or the nature and origins of their 'projects' (Parkes and Thrift 1980).

On the other hand, time-geography has also been criticised from a more structural perspective, since the way in which Hägerstrand's three forms of constraint (i.e. capability, coupling, and authority constraints) are socially generated is left largely unexplained (Warf 2008). In other words, time-geography leaves aside the question of how and why certain constraints become hegemonic, and makes no attempt to understand why certain social relations dominate others (Harvey 1989). Correspondingly, Hägerstrand's schema "involves only a weakly developed theory of power" (Giddens 1984: 117; see also Friberg 1993), and has an impoverished sense of structural inequalities relating to gender and class (Rose 1993, Warf 2008).

Moreover, within wider structure-agency debates regarding the determinants of human behaviour, critics have also accused time-geography of placing too much emphasis on either agency or structure (depending on their standpoint), and of failing to successfully integrate these two perspectives (Roe 2015). Giddens (1984: 117), for example, argues that time-geography "tends to treat 'individuals' as constituted independently of the social settings which they confront in their day-to-day lives", and thus tends "to recapitulate the dualism of action and structure" that undermines much social theory. Furthermore, Giddens (ibid: 117) contends that time-geography overlooks the potentially transformational character of human action and peoples' ability to affect their surroundings; accordingly, processes of institutional formation and change are left largely uninterpreted. In part, this is because of an overwhelming emphasis on that which restricts individuals' movement in space-time, and hence a failure to appreciate that "all types of 'constraint'... are also types of opportunity, media for the enablement of action" (ibid: 117).

In the ensuing years, however, various scholars have built on Hägerstrand's framework in an attempt to address these limitations. This includes Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) himself, and it is to his theory of 'structuration' to which I now turn: this attempts to maintain time-geography's emphasis on the 'situatedness' and context-specific nature of human interactions in time and space, whilst combining it with a richer conception of the intersection between agency, structure and power (see also Pred 1981, 1984).

2.3.4.1. Structuration theory

At its heart, Anthony Giddens' (1976, 1979, 1984) theory of structuration seeks to overcome the dualism of structure and agency. This it attempts to achieve by synthesising 'functionalist' and 'structuralist' traditions on the one hand (which Giddens views as overemphasising the role of institutions in the functioning of society), and 'interactionist' or 'interpretivist' traditions on the other hand (which he regards as overstating the importance of individual agents) (King 1999).

In keeping with this aim, Giddens sees social systems as created and reproduced through the social practices of active participants, which emanate in turn from the interplay between structure and agency. Here, Giddens (1984: 25) seeks to move beyond the traditional notion of structure as something 'external' to human action, and which acts purely as a source of constraint. To this end, he argues that structures consist of 'rules' (generalisable procedures that guide individuals' behaviour) and 'resources' (capacities individuals may utilise for achieving their purposes of social interaction).[29] When agents act, they draw upon such rules, which are embedded in their 'memory traces' (ibid: 17); through their action, however, they ultimately reproduce these rules (and hence the social structure). This is what Giddens (ibid: 25) refers to as the 'duality of structure', in which "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organise".[30] In this way, neither structure nor agency is granted primacy: the two are mutually entwined.

Giddens' duality of structure thus posits a recursive relationship between the short-term events and routines of daily life (what he refers to as the '*durée* of day-to-day experience') and longer-term structural developments (the '*longue durée* of institutions') (ibid: 35). In this way, Giddens helps to extend the time-geographic framework by showing how individual actions and social relations (as depicted by Hägerstrand's space-time paths) stretch across time and space to (re)produce the wider social system.

[29] With regards the latter, Giddens (1984: 33) distinguishes between 'allocative' resources (i.e. command over material objects and raw materials) and 'authoritative' resources (i.e. command over other people and their actions).

[30] In earlier work, Giddens (1979: 77) uses the example of language to illustrate this recursive relationship: "when I utter a grammatical English sentence in casual conversation, I contribute to the reproduction of the English language as a whole".

Although perhaps evident, it should be noted that this emphasis on the reproduction of social structures and hence the wider social system does not imply these to be unchanging or static (i.e. reproduction does not imply replication). Indeed, for Giddens (ibid: 169), structures are enabling as much as constraining, meaning agents possess the ability to act in creative and innovative ways – and thus to transform (even if unintentionally in many cases) the very structures that gave them the capacity to act (see Sewell 1992 for a development of these ideas). Crucial to this process, and a key aspect of Giddens' (1984: 5) conception of agency, is the ability to engage in the "reflexive monitoring of activity" – that is to say, to rationalise or evaluate one's actions and adjust them accordingly.

This focus on agency and reflexivity leads neatly to a discussion of Giddens' conception of power, which he regards as a critical component of structuration theory. Indeed, in contrast to traditional top-down, repressive formulations of this concept, Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) – in keeping with his emphasis on duality – seeks to explain power simultaneously in terms of both human action and the social structure. To this end, he asserts that all individuals have the capability to "make a difference" and hence to exercise some sort of power (1984: 14). Moreover, as Haugaard (2002: 214) explains, this power is not only "the 'can' which mediates the desired or intended outcomes of social actors", "it is also the 'could have done otherwise' which is implicated in every situation, even the most restrictive" (see also Giddens 1976: 81). By linking power to agency in this way, Giddens rejects the idea that individuals are ever completely governed by social forces. However, he also rejects the other extreme (i.e. that individuals are free to act in ways entirely of their own choosing). This is because the ability to exert power is intimately tied to the resources that an individual is able to access (recall that agents draw upon structural resources when they act) – and such access is unequally distributed across society. There exists, therefore, a continuum of "autonomy and dependence" (Giddens 1984: 16), along which individuals have differing capabilities to influence the course of events. This is not a simple case of 'haves' and 'have-nots', however, as Giddens (ibid: 16) stresses that "all forms of dependence offer some resources whereby those who are subordinate can influence the activities of their superiors". Giddens' conception of power is thus dynamic and processual, with power relations continually reproduced (and potentially transformed) through the ongoing cycle of social interaction and structural change (i.e. the duality of structure) (Haugaard 2002: 216).

2.3.4.2. Individualisation and reflexivity

Despite this initial attempt to maintain a balance between structure and agency, however, it can be argued that Giddens increasingly privileges the latter over the former in his subsequent work (see King 1999). Indeed, from the late 1980s onwards, Giddens' (1990, 1991, 1994, 1998) focus turned to the defining characteristics of late modernity – a period he argues has seen the disembedding of social relations from local settings and their stretching across time and space (as discussed previously in relation to the concept of 'time-space distanciation'). Along with scholars such as Ulrich Beck (1992, 1994, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), Giddens argues that this disembedding of relations has given rise to a 'post-traditional' society characterised by new forms of trust and risk, and increasing individualisation and reflexivity: "the more tradition loses hold, and the more daily life is reconstituted in terms of a dialectical interplay between local and global, the more individuals are forced to negotiate lifestyle choices among a diversity of options" (Giddens 1991: 5).

Significantly, and despite acknowledging that this increased emphasis on personal choice and reflexivity may contribute to growing uncertainty and insecurity as individuals engage in a continual process of self-evaluation (ibid: 52-55), Giddens tends to view these 'emancipatory' developments in overwhelmingly optimistic terms (as indeed does Beck [1992, 1994]). Indeed, for Giddens, the disintegration of traditional social roles over recent decades (along with the expectations and constraints that these entailed) means that citizens are now increasingly free to construct (and indeed re-construct) their own identities and biographies: "we are not what we are, but what we make of ourselves" (Giddens 1991: 75). In other words, the ongoing process of de-traditionalisation is one "in which agency is set free from structure" (Lash and Urry 1994: 5).

However, whilst these claims are not entirely without basis, I believe Giddens' (1990, 1991, 1994, 1998) evolving worldview to be overly optimistic, overstating the rise of individual freedom and reflexive agency, and underemphasising the importance of one's social and economic context (as others such as Thrift 1996b, King 1999, Skeggs 2004, Brannen and Nilsen 2005, and Dawson 2012 have also suggested). More specifically, there are three interrelated strands to this critique. Firstly, Giddens' claim that individuals have been freed from traditional categorical constraints lacks empirical support.[31] Indeed, rather than a "*neutral* concept available to all" (Skeggs 2004: 53, emphasis in original), reflexivity (and the notion of 'the self' as a project to be worked on) is surely 'stratified' (Dawson 2012) – something that certain individuals are more able to enact than others. Axes of class and gender continue to act as potential sources of restraint, therefore (see, for instance, Plumridge and Thomson 2003, Brannen and Nilsen 2005). Ironically, this is something that Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) himself originally appeared to acknowledge (recall the emphasis on variable access to resources and relations of autonomy and dependence in his theory of structuration), before falling into the trap of treating his own middle class experience as one that is universally shared (Savage 2000, Skeggs 2004). Secondly, as touched upon above, Giddens places too much emphasis on the 'empowering' aspects of individualisation, and not enough on the potentially detrimental impacts of increased agency and reflexivity. In particular, he underplays the extent to which individualisation (particularly in conjunction with the rise of neoliberalism) demands that citizens take greater personal responsibility for their actions and social situation more broadly (with correspondingly less responsibility attached to institutions and the state) – thus potentially increasing personal pressures and anxieties (Kelly 2001). Finally, insofar as contemporary society is characterised by increased choice and reflexivity, the extent to which these are purely matters of personal agency (i.e. unconstrained) is somewhat open to question. Indeed, Giddens' individualisation thesis overlooks the 'relational' nature of reflexivity (Dawson 2012), and the

[31] This ties into a broader criticism of Giddens' individualisation thesis (and structuration theory more generally), in that it veers towards the form of a grand narrative, and lacks specificity in terms of how agency and structure play out at the level of the everyday (Pred 1981; see also Dyck 1990). Methodologically, Pred's criticism reinforces the need for specific case studies examining individuals' daily lives rather than grand theorising at an aggregate level (as argued earlier in this chapter and discussed in more detail in chapter 3).

reality that decisions about how to act are not simply made internally, but rather with reference to other people and socially acceptable or desirable forms of behaviour (see, for instance, Dickens 1999, Mendez 2008).

It is with this three-fold critique in mind that I ultimately turn to the work of Michel Foucault, and specifically his theory of 'governmentality'. Like Giddens, Foucault (1978, 1982, 1993) similarly sought to transcend narrow, state-centred conceptions of power, favouring instead an understanding of power as an everyday, embedded phenomenon that is neither structure nor agency: "power is everywhere" and "comes from everywhere" (Foucault 1978: 93). However, in contrast to Giddens, Foucault's work emphasises the ways in which individual freedom and reflexivity are subtly constrained, paying particular regard to the mechanisms by which citizens come to discipline themselves without any explicit coercion. Whilst some critics have argued that Foucault's conception of power thus risks leaning too far towards 'structure', and denying room for individual agency and resistance (see, for instance, Scheurich and McKenzie 2005: 860), if applied in a considered fashion, I believe a governmentality perspective has much to offer in terms of illuminating the often hidden ways in which individual conduct is guided (and inhibited).

2.3.4.3. Governmentality

> *The forms of freedom we inhabit today are intrinsically bound to a regime of subjectification in which subjects are not merely 'free to choose', but obliged to be free, to understand and enact their lives in terms of choice under conditions that systematically limit the capacities of many to shape their own destiny. (Rose 1996: 17)*

At its most basic, governmentality can be understood as the 'how' of governing. It asks questions concerning how we govern and are governed, and explores the relationship between the government of the state, of others and of ourselves (Dean 1999: 2). It is, therefore, a concept that rests on a broader understanding of the notion of 'government' than is common today:

> *This word must be allowed the very broad meaning which it had in the sixteenth century. 'Government' did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick. It did not only cover the legitimately constituted forms of political or economic subjection, but also modes of action, more or less considered and calculated, which are destined to act upon the possibilities of action of other people. To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others (Foucault 1982: 221).*

Accordingly, governmentality has also been described as the 'art of government' – that is to say, the more or less subtle direction of how we behave and act. This is the essence of Foucault's (1982: 220-221) oft-quoted definition of government as the 'conduct of conduct' – an expression that plays on the double meaning of this word. As outlined by Dean (1999: 10-12), further scrutiny of the word 'conduct' also helps clarify that governmentality is concerned not only with the exercise of authority over others, but how we as individuals govern ourselves. If we consider the reflexive verb 'to conduct oneself', for instance, we see a concern with the form of self-direction appropriate to various circumstances. From the perspective of governmentality, then, government is a continuum that extends from political government or the state on the one end, to forms of self-regulation on the other (Lemke 2001: 201).

Within this framework, conduct is said to be guided by assorted 'technologies of government' (also referred to as 'technologies of power'). Put simply, these are the various means, mechanisms and instruments through which governing is accomplished and certain practical outcomes realised. As Rose (1999: 52) explains, this includes everything from "forms of practical knowledge [to] modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgment, architectural forms, human capacities, [and] non-human objects and devices". Coming back to the notion of a continuum from state to self, one can thus speak of a range of technologies, from 'technologies of domination' – that is to say, the macro-technologies by which states govern institutions and populations, to 'technologies of the self' – that is to say, the micro-technologies by which individuals relate to and govern themselves (Foucault 1993: 203, Binkley 2011).

This interface between state power and individual freedom is of course at the heart of philosophical debates about liberalism, which forms the basis of democratic government in the western world, and with which Foucault was principally concerned. Indeed, it is in conjunction with the rise of neoliberalism, particularly in the Anglo/European world, since the late 1970s that scholars have increasingly engaged with the concept of governmentality. A governmentality perspective allows us to conceive of neoliberalism as a problematisation of the liberal 'welfare state', which emerged as the dominant model of government in western societies in the second half of the 20th century (Kelly 2001: 26). Moreover, it renders neoliberalism not simply as an ideology or politico-economic theory premised on competition and deregulation, but as an increasingly pervasive, if somewhat less quantifiable, mode of governance based upon self-regulation and self-reliance (Gordon 1991). Indeed, by extending market thinking and the spirit of entrepreneurship and competition to all areas of life, and conceiving of individuals as rational, autonomous citizens with aspirations to self-actualisation and self-fulfilment, neoliberal governmentality attempts to reconfigure the practices of government: this it achieves by governing through the behaviours and choices of individual citizens, rather than through 'society' (Rose 1996: 41). Thus, somewhat paradoxically, we are "governed through our freedom" (Rose 1999: 62).

However, rational self-interest is "not so much a given of human nature as a consciously contrived style of conduct" (Burchell 1996: 23-24), thus citizens must be 'made up' or educated via the use of various techniques as the entrepreneurial architects of their own life project (Rose and Miller 1992: 200-201). Whilst such active participation is potentially empowering, it comes with the condition that individuals must assume responsibility for their actions and choices – both in terms of carrying them out and the subsequent outcomes (Burchell 1996: 29). Furthermore, this process of 'responsibilisation' entails an obligation to conduct oneself in accordance with appropriate models of action (ibid: 29). Indeed, although seemingly unconstrained, the conduct of the neoliberal subject is subtly guided by the 'normalisation' of certain actions or values, which come to be seen as natural or common sense 'truths' (Hall and O'Shea 2013). In this way, neoliberalism is able to lead and control individuals without at the same time being responsible for them (Lemke 2001: 201).

2.3.5. Summary

In the second half of this chapter, I have discussed the sets of theory on which I intend to draw in the present research, with the aim of overcoming the theoretical shortcomings that hamper many existing studies of working time. This exercise began by introducing Torsten Hägerstrand's time-geography, a sensitivity to which I suggest offers four interrelated benefits for an exploration of how and why individuals may experience symptoms of time squeeze: firstly, it allows the three temporal dimensions of duration, tempo and timing to be foregrounded simultaneously; secondly, it allows for the public and private spheres to be brought together, thus elucidating the multiple claims on peoples' time; thirdly, it emphasises the role of constraints, variations in which can lead to fundamental differences in individuals' space-time paths (and sense of time pressure more generally); finally, it encourages a more contextual approach in which the importance of place can be brought to the fore.

However, I then set out two major limitations of the time-geographic approach, which I argue necessitate the extension of Hägerstrand's framework. The first of these relates to the way it conceptualises time itself, whilst the second concerns its consideration of issues relating to agency, structure and power. In addressing the first of these limitations, I began by setting out an enriched conception of time by focusing on the experiential and subjective aspects of temporality that are not captured by the everyday time of the clock. In so doing, I drew out the relative and relational aspects of time, as well as its contextual and gendered nature. I then sought to bring the spatial dimension back into the equation, before ultimately arguing that Henri Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis offers a productive means of merging time-geography's focus on the activities of individuals within their local environment, with an enriched conception of space-time.

In addressing the second of these limitations, meanwhile, I began by drawing on the work of Anthony Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984), whose theory of structuration posits a recursive relationship between the short-term events and routines of daily life and longer-term structural developments, and thus helps to extend the time-geographic framework by showing how individual actions and social relations stretch across time and space to (re)produce the wider social system. However, I then suggested that Giddens increasingly overstates the rise of individual freedom and reflexive agency in his later work, thus underemphasising the importance of one's social and economic context. This led me to close the chapter by drawing on the work of Michel Foucault (1978, 1982, 1993), whose theory of governmentality emphasises the ways in which individual freedom and reflexivity are subtly constrained, paying particular regard to the mechanisms by which citizens come to discipline themselves without any explicit coercion.

It is the theoretical insights of these three scholars in particular that I draw on in the three empirical chapters that follow. The first of these focuses on the dimension of duration (wherein I draw on Foucault), the second on the dimension of tempo (wherein I draw on Giddens) and the third on the dimension of timing (wherein I draw on Lefebvre). Prior to this, however, it is necessary to discuss my methodology in more detail, and it is this topic that forms the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter I focus upon my choice of methodological approach. I begin by introducing and justifying the two key facets of this approach – the adoption of a case study (specifically an 'instrumental' and 'comparative' case) and the use of qualitative data collection methods (specifically semi-structured interviews) – outlining their merits and the way they link to my research rationale and aims in the process. I then turn to a more detailed discussion of the specific case (Oxford University IT and colleges), which proceeds in four parts: firstly, with a summary of the local context, including both typical and unique aspects of the Oxford labour market; secondly, with an overview of Oxford University itself; thirdly, with a four-part justification for focusing on this particular case; and finally, with an overview of the research participants themselves, as well as the means by which they were selected.

In the second half of the chapter, meanwhile, I focus on the generation and interpretation of my research data. I begin with an overview of the interview process, before discussing a key feature of the interviews – the use of a 'timeline' exercise – in more detail. I then provide a summary of the transcription and analysis of my interview data, before reflecting on the 'trustworthiness' of my methodological approach. This leads into a final section in which I focus on issues of 'reflexivity' and 'positionality'.

3.2. Methodological approach

3.2.1. Case study approach

As Yin (2014: xix) notes, there is growing recognition within academia of the value of case study research. Indeed, Flyvbjerg (2006: 219) argues that a discipline without good case studies is ultimately “an ineffective one”. Nonetheless, case study methodology remains a somewhat contested terrain, with researchers espousing a variety of approaches regarding their design and implementation (Yazan 2015). Here I draw primarily on the perspectives of Stake (1994, 1995) and Yin (2014), both of whom have written extensively about the art of case study research.

Case study research, Yin (2014: 2) suggests, is particularly suited to situations where: the main research questions are ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions; the researcher has little or no control over behavioural events; and the focus of the study is a contemporary (as opposed to historical) phenomenon, particularly one that requires detailed examination. In its most basic sense, then, a case study can be defined as an empirical inquiry that “investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in depth and within its real-world context” (ibid: 16). A case study approach thus seems particularly apposite to the present research given that it fulfils each of the above criteria, and is premised upon the need for further in-depth, contextual examination of how and why experiences of working time (both paid and unpaid) vary between individuals and social groups (as outlined in chapters 1 and 2). In addition, Yin (ibid: 17) argues that good case study inquiries benefit from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. Here, too, my research fulfils this criterion, as it is informed by the need for an enriched conception of temporality, and a fuller understanding of issues relating to agency, structure and power (as discussed in chapter 2).

Case studies come in many shapes and sizes, however, and thus it is necessary to be explicit about the nature of, and rationale for employing, a particular case study design. To this end, I suggest my research aims are best aided by a case study that can simultaneously be described as 'instrumental', 'unique', 'comparative' and 'embedded' – terms which I now expand upon in more detail.

The first of these descriptors is derived from Stake's (1994, 1995) typology of case studies. Specifically, Stake (1994: 237) draws a distinction between 'intrinsic' and 'instrumental' cases.[32] Whilst intrinsic case studies are guided by an exclusive interest in, and desire to better understand, the particular case at hand, instrumental cases are examined primarily to provide insight into some broader issue. The case itself is of secondary interest, therefore, playing a facilitating role in supporting an understanding of the wider topic. This, of course, is the intention of my research, which seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of widespread notions of a contemporary time squeeze.

This distinction leads to a point about the 'generalisability' of case studies. Indeed, contrary to conventional wisdom, it *is* possible to generalise on the basis of an individual case (see Firestone 1993, Lewis and Ritchie 2003, Flyvbjerg 2006).

[32] Stake (1994) also identifies a third type of case study, which he labels the 'collective' case. Put simply, this involves the joint study of multiple instrumental cases in order to inquire into a particular phenomenon, population or condition.

Importantly, however, this should take the form of 'analytic' generalisation – that is to say, principles or lessons learned from a study that may be applicable to other settings – rather than 'statistical' generalisation, where an inference is made about a population on the basis of empirical data collected from a sample of that population (Yin 2014: 40-41). Accordingly, case studies are particularly useful for 'falsifying' existing arguments, and for building new theoretical insights at a conceptual level higher than the specific case (Flyvbjerg 2006, Yin 2014).

However, this emphasis on generalisability is not to say that instrumental studies lack depth or focus; indeed, it is precisely through detailed scrutiny of the case in question that an improved understanding of the wider topic is garnered. Nor is it to say that such cases must necessarily represent some 'common' or 'representative' type. Indeed, as Stake (1994: 238) argues – drawing in the process on Stouffer (1941) – "case researchers seek out both what is common and what is particular about the case, but the end result regularly presents something unique".[33] Thus, as I explain in more detail later in this chapter, my study of the city of Oxford – and more specifically Oxford University – has a number of common features, yet is in many respects distinctive, and thus ultimately a 'unique' case.

The emphasis on the third of the descriptors outlined above, meanwhile, can be attributed to the strength of 'comparative' studies for exploring and understanding issues around power, inequality and intersectionality (see, for instance, McDowell 2008a, 2008b) – issues which, as I explained in chapter 2, are overlooked by many existing working time studies, and which I thus aim to explore in the present

[33] I thus find Yin's (2014: 52) straightforward distinction between 'common' cases (on the one hand) and 'extreme' or 'unusual' cases (on the other hand) too simplistic. Indeed, whilst cases may clearly lean towards one or other of these extremes, most will ultimately combine elements of both.

research. As noted in chapter 1, I seek in particular to draw comparisons between occupations and various social characteristics, since I believe these to be crucial determining factors regarding individuals' experiences of working time. To this end, my research rationale and aims also befit an 'embedded' design – a term Yin (2014: 50) employs to refer to cases which have multiple units of analysis. Indeed, my focus is multiple in both a 'horizontal' sense (since my case study incorporates both the University's IT department, on the one hand, and constituent colleges on the other hand) and a 'vertical' sense (since within these settings, I am interested in exploring a range of variables, including social class, gender, age and family status).

3.2.2. Qualitative data collection methods

Although case studies can rely on purely quantitative data collection methods, they are more commonly associated with qualitative research. Indeed, whilst quantitative methodologies such as surveys and questionnaires typically "lack the sensitivity to be able to explore difference, inconsistency and, often, meaning and argument" (Stroh 2000: 197), qualitative research seeks "to gain an understanding of the nature and form of phenomena, to unpack meanings, to develop explanations, or to generate ideas, concepts and theories" (Ritchie et al. 2003: 82), and thus dovetails well with the aims of case study research.

More specifically, Spencer et al. (2003: 3) outline six distinctive features (and potential benefits) of qualitative research: it is concerned with answering 'what is', ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions; it uses methods which are sensitive to the social context of the study; it seeks to explore phenomena from the perspective of those being studied; it captures data which are detailed, rich and complex; it relies on mainly inductive rather than deductive analytic processes; and it develops explanations at the level of meaning or micro-social processes rather than context-free laws. For all of these reasons, a qualitative approach is well suited to the present research, given that it seeks to provide an in-depth, contextual examination of how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between individuals and social groups.

Specifically, this research is based upon 50 one-to-one (and face-to-face) interviews. As Kvale (1996: 1) explains, qualitative interviews are particularly useful for uncovering people’s ‘life-worlds’ – that is to say, for attempting to “understand the world from the subjects' point of view [and] to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences” – as I seek to do in this research. This is a particular strength of more open-ended interview approaches, which allow participants’ responses to shape the direction of the discussion, so that there is ‘dialogue’ rather than ‘monologue’ (Stroh 2000: 203). This desire for genuine ‘conversation’ must be balanced against the need for reliable, comparable data, however, and thus a degree of structure is also useful (Russell Bernard 2011). Thus, as I outline in more detail later in this chapter, my interviews can best be described as ‘semi-structured’ – they being partly ordered around a ‘timeline’ exercise and certain pre-prepared questions relating to the three dimensions of ‘timing’, ‘duration’ and ‘tempo’ (as identified in chapter 2), but with sufficient flexibility to allow for the particularities of each interviewee’s experiences to shape the course of the discussion. Such compromise also lies behind the overall size of the case study, with 50 participants deemed to provide a reasonable balance between the need to explore the topic until data 'saturation' has been reached, yet at a level that is manageable within the time constraints of doctoral research (see Baker and Edwards 2012).

3.3. Case study approach

3.3.1. The context: Oxford labour market

With a population approaching 160,000 (ONS 2016a), Oxford represents a typical small UK city in certain respects. Indeed, the economic history of the Oxford region mirrors that of much of the UK, following the familiar path from industrialisation through to a post-industrial or 'knowledge' economy. In particular, Oxford has a strong car manufacturing heritage following the establishment of Morris Motors in the district of Cowley in 1913 (see Hayter and Harvey 1993 for an account of the decline of this industry during the 1980s). In common with the majority of the country, however, Oxford's economy is now dominated by services, with 91 percent of its employees working in this sector in 2015 (compared to 86 percent nationally) (ONS 2016a).

In several other respects, however, Oxford is much less typical. Public sector employment in Oxford is significantly higher than the national average (48 percent, cf. 27 percent) (ONS 2016a), for instance, with the city's two universities, Oxford University and Oxford Brookes University (including the former's publishing arm, Oxford University Press), and the NHS John Radcliffe Hospital amongst its largest employers. Partly owing to the influence of the universities, Oxford's population is also more highly-educated than the national average, with 43 percent of working-age adults educated to degree level or above (cf. 27 percent nationally) (Oxford City Council 2015a). Relatedly, Oxford and its surrounds are also the site of a flourishing high-tech sector, with Oxfordshire having more science parks than any other county in the UK, and home to leading ICT, biotechnology, and motorsport engineering firms in particular (Lawton Smith et al. 2003, 2005, Oxfordshire County Council 2015a).[34] Here, too, the universities play an important role; for instance, Oxford University's technology-transfer company, Isis Innovation, has created over 110 'spin-out' companies in its 25 year history (Isis Innovation 2016).

The current relative affluence and skill level of the Oxford workforce is far from uniform, however (McDowell and Dyson 2011). Indeed, in addition to the growing number of high-status employment opportunities provided by the universities and high-tech sector, the city also provides an increasing array of low-status jobs for less skilled workers and migrants prepared to accept work below their qualification level (see also Goos and Manning 2007). Much of this work, which is routinely poorly paid and often lacking long-term job security, involves serving the city's 32,000 plus student population and estimated 7 million annual tourists (Oxford City Council 2015a) – for instance, in cafes, restaurants, bars and hotels.

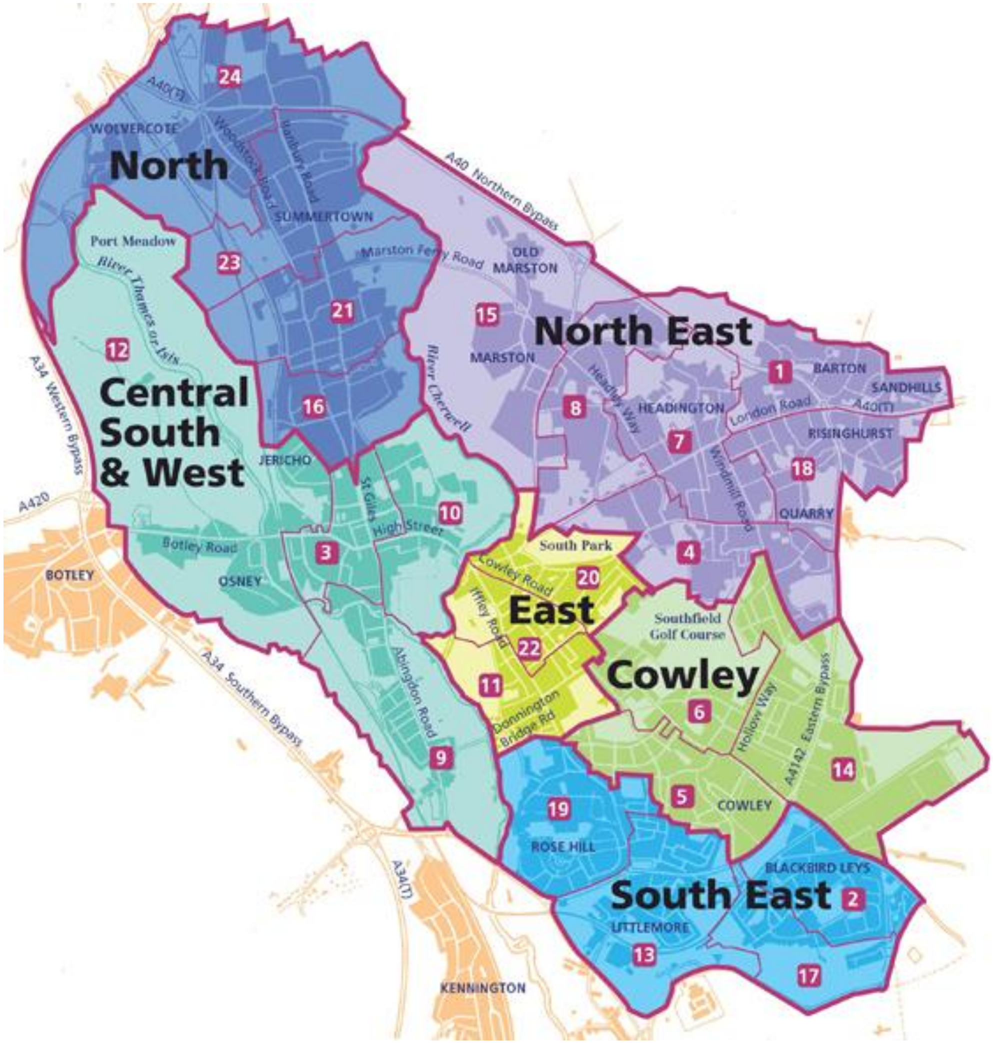
[34] So striking has the growth in this sector been over the past two decades that key strategic actors in the Oxford region – including Oxford City Council, Oxfordshire County Council and the city's two universities – have sought to push the narrative of an 'Oxford phenomenon', thus seeking to mirror the success of the 'Cambridge phenomenon' in the 1980s and 1990s (see, for instance, Oxford Strategic Partnership 2013; see also Crang and Martin 1991, Henry and Massey 1995, Massey 1995).

As McDowell and Dyson (2011: 2193) note, the consequence of these developments is "a growing bifurcation in wages, income levels, and standard of living between the affluent middle class and the growing service class who wait in the cafes, clean the offices and care for the children of those in secure employment". Indeed, given its reputation, Oxford is home to a surprising degree of inequality, with a number of Super Output Areas (SOAs) in the wards of St. Margaret's (see number 21 on Figure 2), Summertown (23) and Wolvercote (24) in the North of the city within the lowest deprivation decile nationally (according to the UK Government's Index of Multiple Deprivation), yet several SOAs in wards such as Blackbird Leys (2), Northfield Brook (17) and Rose Hill and Iffley (19) in the South East of the city amongst the most deprived 10 percent in the country (Oxfordshire County Council 2015b).[35]

For those at the lower end of the labour market in particular, this situation is compounded by Oxford's very high housing costs, with private sector rents amongst the most expensive outside of London (Oxford City Council 2012), and property prices relative to mean earnings making the city, by some measures, the least affordable in the country (Dorling 2015). This relatively high cost of living means that two incomes are essential for all but the most affluent households, and thus dual-earner family arrangements, where the difficulties of balancing paid work and care are perhaps most likely to be felt, are common in Oxford (McDowell and Dyson 2011).

[35] Super Output Areas (SOAs) are a set of geographical areas of roughly equal population size (around 1,500 people) used in the publication of ONS (Office for National Statistics) statistical data. England is divided into more than 32,000 SOAs, of which 83 are in Oxford.

Figure 2: Map of wards and areas of Oxford (after Oxford City Council 2015b)



3.3.2. The case: Oxford University IT and colleges

Widely regarded as one of the world's leading universities, Oxford University also lays claim to being the oldest university in the English-speaking world, with teaching existing at Oxford in some form since 1096 (University of Oxford 2016a). Like the majority of UK universities, Oxford can be considered a 'quasi-public' sector institution, since it receives some public funding from the UK Government, yet is entirely self-governing. However, in contrast to many other UK universities (which typically have more centralised structures), Oxford is founded on a federal arrangement, with a central division consisting of academic departments, administrative services and libraries existing alongside 38 colleges (and 6 permanent private halls) that are self-governing and financially independent. This collegiate system is a defining feature of the University, with colleges acting not just as halls of residence for the University's approximately 22,000 students, but responsible also for the social and pastoral aspects of student life, as well as the tutorial teaching of undergraduate students in particular.

Including Oxford University Press, the University supports around 17,000 members of staff, making it the largest employer in Oxfordshire (University of Oxford 2016b). Around 12,500 of these individuals are employed by the central University (University of Oxford 2015). Of this figure, just over half (51 percent) are employed in academic and research roles, around 4 percent in library related roles, and the remainder within University Administration and Services (UAS) – the collective name for the University's central administrative services – which includes academic administration, estates, finance, IT, legal and personnel divisions amongst others. The majority of non-academic and support staff in colleges, meanwhile, are employed directly by their college. This includes both office-based administrative and clerical roles in areas such as finance, accommodation, conferencing and events, and alumni relations, as well as more manual and routine roles in catering, housekeeping and cleaning (known colloquially as 'scouts'), security and reception (known colloquially as 'porters'), maintenance and gardening.[36]

Within this staff base, this research focuses specifically on employees working in the University's central IT department (part of UAS) and four of its constituent colleges. At the time of the research interviews (November 2013 to October 2014), the former – which is responsible for managing the University's core IT infrastructure, and providing IT related support and training to both staff and students – had around 350 employees, and was in fact emerging from a period of significant restructuring. Indeed, whilst now under a single organisational structure, the University's central IT services were previously split into three separate departments, which were merged together during the summer and autumn of 2012. Partly as a result of this legacy, the department is split geographically across several sites, although the majority of staff are based in two large offices in the centre of Oxford. The four colleges, meanwhile, must remain anonymous for the sake of confidentiality, but as with the majority of Oxford's constituent colleges, each employs in the order of 100 non-academic and support staff.[37] Three of the four colleges in question cater for both undergraduate and postgraduate students, whilst the other is solely a postgraduate college. As touched upon previously, this choice of case was in part guided by the contention that my research aims were best served by an instrumental and comparative study. More specifically, however, I suggest there are four interrelated reasons as to why these two settings make for an interesting and informative case study.

---

[36] Cleaning and catering services in other parts of the University, such as academic departments, are often contracted out to local companies, however.

[37] However, I feel it important to clarify that my own college – Wolfson – is not one of the four to feature in this research, as I did not want my pre-existing perceptions of the college or personal relationships with staff members to unduly influence my data.

3.3.3. Case justification

Firstly, a study of the University allows for a focus on service sector employment, which – as outlined previously – now dominates the UK labour market (as is true also of other modern capitalist economies). Within this, the specific focus on IT and colleges allows for the inclusion of individuals from a wide range of job roles and labour market experiences – from those in high-status managerial and professional positions at the upper end of the labour market, to those in low-skilled, less-well-paid manual and routine occupations at the lower end. As I expand upon in more detail in the next section of this chapter, this not only allows for an exploration of the impact of specific occupations on experiences of working time, but also into the role of social class more broadly.

Secondly, Oxford University is theoretically interesting because it represents a curious mix of modern dynamism and archaic tradition. Indeed, Oxford is on the one hand a setting of cutting-edge research and technological innovation. It is also part of a fast-changing higher-education landscape, in which neoliberal economic policies and globalisation processes are challenging the traditional role of universities in the UK and elsewhere (Shore and Wright 1999, McDowell 2004, Deiaco et al. 2012, Hall 2015). However, given its long history, these processes of change intersect, and in some cases clash, with a strong sense of tradition and hierarchy. 'Butlers' and 'high tables' are still to be found in most college dining rooms, for example, and only in 2015 did gender segregation officially end within the University, as the last of Oxford's 44 colleges and private halls – St. Benet's – began accepting both male and female students.

Thirdly, whilst various scholars have examined the employment effects of public-private entanglements (see, for instance, Allen and Henry (1997) and Reimer (1998, 1999) on Compulsory Competitive Tendering in the UK), there are few case studies within the work and labour literature in geography and sociology focusing explicitly on quasi-public sector institutions such as universities.[38] Given that governments are increasingly experimenting with ways to provide public goods through the private sector (often referred to as 'marketisation') and that the boundary between these traditionally distinct spheres is becoming increasingly blurred (Birch and Siemiatycki 2015), further such studies would thus appear timely. Similarly, whilst other small, southern UK cities have occasionally acted as case studies within this field (see, for instance, Crang and Martin 1991, Henry and Massey 1995, Massey 1995, and McDowell 2000, 2003 on Cambridge, and Perrons 2003, 2004 on Brighton), Oxford's labour market has received relatively limited attention, and thus deserves further study. Moreover, where scholars have explicitly focused on Oxford, they have tended to examine a specific subset of the labour market – whether high-skilled, knowledge-based work (Lawton Smith et al. 2003, 2005), lower-skilled manufacturing or reproductive work (Hayter and Harvey 1993, McDowell and Dyson 2011), or the experiences of women (James 2008, 2009, McDowell and Dyson 2011) – rather than attempt, as this research seeks to do, a more holistic exploration of class and gender.

This ties into a related point about conducting research within local communities. Indeed, the fourth and final reason for focusing on Oxford and its University is my contention that academics – and human geographers in particular given their

[38] In a UK context, this also includes organisations such as NHS foundation trusts, housing associations, and utilities such as Highways England and Network Rail.

interest in place and space – ought to focus more on issues of relevance to the everyday lives of those who live and work in the towns and cities that surround the 'ivory tower'. This ties into calls for more 'social' or 'moral', action-oriented, policy-relevant geographical work that "interrogat[es] phenomena which might matter to non-academics in ways which make sense to some non-academics" (Pain 2003: 650; see also Martin 2001, Fuller and Kitchen 2004, Valentine 2005).

Furthermore, there are certain practical benefits to conducting a case study within one's local community – and particularly one's home institution – which should not be lightly dismissed. This includes the increased ease of – and potential for more privileged – access, as well as a more intimate understanding of the local context (Miles et al. 2013: 37).[39] Of course, there are also certain ethical issues associated with being an 'insider', particularly in cases where the researcher has existing personal or professional relationships with those being researched (see Mercer 2007, Adriansen and Madsen 2009, Floyd and Arthur 2012). In addition, prior familiarity with research settings is not always advantageous, since it may contribute to preconceived or 'biased' interpretations of the issues being investigated. Nonetheless, in this research I engaged with parts of the University with which I had previously had little, if any, attachment; this allowed me, I believe, to achieve a fruitful balance between informed 'insider' and detached 'outsider'.

[39] Indeed, in the initial stages of this research, the prospect of including local private sector IT and cleaning businesses was explored; however, after approaching a number of organisations without success, a decision was made to focus solely on the University.

3.3.4. Research participants

As noted above, all 50 participants are Oxford University employees based in either the central IT department or constituent colleges (with 25 participants recruited from each).[40] Once a decision had been made to focus on these work settings and access had been granted, participants were selected through a 'purposive' sampling strategy (see, for instance, Ritchie et al. 2003, Hay 2005). As Ritchie et al. (2003: 82-83) explain, in purposive sampling participants "are chosen because they typify a circumstance or hold a characteristic that is expected or known to have salience to the subject matter under study". As noted previously, factors such as occupation, social class, gender, age and family status are important determinants of experiences of working time (and perceptions of time stress more specifically), and thus these acted as key considerations when approaching potential participants.

Of these, occupation was the characteristic that ultimately led the sampling process, with participants in each setting divided into two broad stylised categories based on the range of job roles to be found (giving four such groups in total). Thus, in the largely professional, high-skilled environment of the IT department, I made a distinction between 'managerial' employees (which includes both senior and middle managers) on the one hand, and (non-managerial) 'technical, analytical and administrative' employees on the other hand (for

[40] Whilst ideally it might have been possible to recruit participants from a single college, the participation rate meant it was ultimately necessary to approach employees from four separate colleges. Although all colleges have slightly different cultures and working practices, they share much in common and thus I believe it is acceptable to treat these participants as a collective group. Furthermore, the University's IT department arguably represents a relatively comparable situation, since the majority of employees previously belonged to one of three distinct departments (as outlined above).

example, developers, business analysts and project managers) – ultimately recruiting 11 and 14 participants respectively. In the college environment, meanwhile, I drew a distinction between 'manual and routine' employees (which includes jobs in catering, cleaning, security, reception, maintenance and gardening) on the one hand, and 'office-based' employees on the other hand (which consists mainly of administrative and clerical roles relating to finance, accommodation, and conferencing and events, as well as some supervisorial roles associated with the previous group) – ultimately recruiting 15 and 10 participants respectively.

The reason for structuring my sampling strategy in this way was not simply to ensure I incorporated a suitable breadth and depth of occupations, but because in this research I also use job role as an indicator of social class. This follows a long tradition within social research of taking employment relations as the foundation of class differences and deriving socio-economic class categories from occupation (see Scott 1996). In this regard, John Goldthorpe's (1980, 1997, Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992) class schema has been particularly influential in UK class analysis over recent decades and it is his work that forms the basis for the Government's National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC) (see Rose and Pevalin 2003, 2005, 2010). It is this classification – which divides occupations into seven analytic classes (with an eighth class for the unemployed) – that I utilise in the current research, and onto which my four employee groups can be mapped, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Stylised employee categories mapped onto NS-SEC analytic classes

NS-SEC analytic classes	NS-SEC collapsed categories	IT managerial	IT non-managerial	College office-based	College manual and routine
1 Higher managerial, administrative and professional	Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	X	X		
2 Lower managerial, administrative and professional			X	X	
3 Intermediate	Intermediate occupations			X	
4 Small employers and own account workers					
5 Lower supervisory and technical	Routine and manual occupations				X
6 Semi-routine					X
7 Routine					X
8 Never worked and long-term unemployed					

As also outlined in Table 1, these seven analytic classes can be collapsed into three hierarchical categories of 'higher managerial, administrative and professional' occupations (classes 1-2), 'intermediate' occupations (classes 3-4) and 'routine and manual' occupations (classes 5-7). Although the NS-SEC does not make an explicit link between these three broader categories and traditional social class divisions, and whilst recognising that labour market developments over recent decades complicate the use of conventional class categories (see Standing 2011, Savage et al. 2013), the first (i.e. managerial and professional occupations) and third (i.e. routine and manual occupations) of the collapsed NS-SEC categories are often considered analogous to 'middle class' and 'working class' respectively (Roberts 2011).[41] The traditional class position of the intermediate NS-SEC category, meanwhile, is rather less clear-cut, with people in lower-level office jobs and the self-employed (as typifies analytic classes 3 and 4) dividing roughly equally into middle class and working class identifiers (ibid: 25). Accordingly, when discussing issues of class in the remainder of this thesis, it is primarily the accounts of (both managerial and non-managerial) IT participants (on the one hand) and manual and routine college participants (on the other hand) upon which I draw, since a clear class divide exists between these groups.[42]

[41] I also recognise the argument – which often draws on Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) concepts of 'habitus' and 'cultural capital' – that occupation alone is an imperfect indicator of social class, and does not effectively capture the role of social and cultural processes in generating class divisions. Nonetheless, I have decided to utilise this indicator (and the NS-SEC) given that it remains influential in both academic and policy settings.

[42] This means that I am defining social class on an 'individual' rather than 'household' basis. The latter approach is more commonly used in sociological studies (by characterising all members of a household according to the characteristics of the 'head of the household' or 'household reference person'), since it is recognised that certain individuals (particularly women, on account of their traditional responsibility for domestic matters) may have a higher household income or standard of living (or other indicator of social class) than their personal occupational status might imply. Nonetheless, on the basis of questionnaire responses, there are seemingly no instances in the current research of participants and their partners (where applicable) occupying significantly different NS-SEC analytic classes. This ties into understandings that partners often (and increasingly so in the UK, it appears [IPPR 2013]) occupy 'same class' positions (see, for instance, Jarvis 2002). Participants' education levels also reinforce the view that it is reasonable to define social class on an individual basis in this instance, with 23 of 25 IT participants educated to degree level, yet only 3 of 15 manual and routine college participants holding a degree (of which 2 are immigrants working below their qualification level) (see Table 2). This discussion also ties into a broader point about my focus on individuals rather than households. Indeed, whilst it is recognised that including participants' partners within the research would have generated additional insights into household dynamics, this would ultimately have proved too time consuming and made recruitment significantly more difficult. Furthermore, it would also have diluted the focus on the workplaces in question and thus blurred the boundaries of the case study.

Across these four stylised groups, I also endeavoured to achieve approximately equal splits by gender, age group, and family status – although in truth these occurred 'naturally', with no potential participants having to be turned away because certain characteristics were in danger of being significantly over-represented. I also endeavoured to recruit several part-time employees within each setting so as not to exclude this group of workers (and because working hours are a further factor likely to affect experiences of working time, as discussed in chapter 2). A summary of key participant characteristics is provided in Table 2.[43]

[43] Although my sample included at least three migrants, participants were overwhelmingly white and British (as noted in chapter 1), and thus I do not focus on axes of race or ethnicity in this research.

Table 2: Summary of research participants

	IT department			Colleges			Totals
	Managerial (11)	Non-managerial (14)	Sub-totals (25)	Office-based (10)	Manual and routine (15)	Sub-totals (25)	
Gender							
Male	8	6	14	3	8	11	25
Female	3	8	11	7	7	14	25
Age							
20-29	0	0	0	2	2	4	4
30-39	1	5	6	3	3	6	12
40-49	4	6	10	2	2	4	14
50-59	6	3	9	2	6	8	17
60+	0	0	0	1	2	3	3
Family status							
No children	3	6	9	7	5	12	21
Youngest child ≤ 16	4	6	10	1	5	6	16
Youngest child > 16	4	2	6	2	5	7	13
Education level							
No degree	0	2	2	4	12	16	18
Degree	11	12	23	6	3	9	32
Working hours							
Full-time	9	8	17	9	10	19	36
Part-time	2	6	8	1	5	6	14

Participants were recruited in a variety of ways, with my initial contacts within the IT department and four participating colleges (typically an HR manager or senior administrator) helping to guide this process, and in some cases directly approaching colleagues on my behalf. In the IT department, for example, my initial contact helped to set up interviews with several senior managers, who then in turn helped me to recruit further individuals from their teams. In one of the participating colleges, meanwhile, I was invited to a monthly staff meeting to introduce my research, whilst in other cases I was invited to send a blanket email to staff, or to put up posters advertising my research within staff rooms. In all cases, emphasis was placed on the voluntary nature of participation and individuals were provided with an information sheet outlining the nature and aims of the research prior to being interviewed.[44] It is to a more detailed discussion of the research interviews themselves that I now turn.

[44] This information sheet also confirmed that the research had received ethical approval from Oxford University's Research Ethics Committee and included details on participant confidentiality. The latter is an especially pertinent issue in this research given that it takes place within a select group of workplaces, in which even with the use of pseudonyms it could prove possible for people to identify colleagues on the basis of extracts taken from their interviews. Accordingly, I have used unique pseudonyms in each of my three empirical chapters, and for each quotation included in my text have provided only the characteristics (whether job title, age, marital status, or number and ages of children) most relevant to the themes under discussion.

3.4. Qualitative data collection methods

3.4.1. Overview of interviews

As noted previously, semi-structured interviews were deemed the most appropriate means of encouraging participants to reflect at length on their experiences of working time, both paid and unpaid. To this end, interviews were loosely structured around six sections (see Appendix 1: Interview schedule), starting with a series of introductory or background questions designed to reveal more about each participant's job role, and to help situate their experiences within the context of their personal career history. This was followed by a 'timeline' exercise (which I shortly expand upon), before a series of questions relating to each of the three temporal dimensions of 'timing', 'duration' and 'tempo'. Finally, the themes of the interview were summarised and the interviewee asked whether they wished to add anything further.

Interviews were conducted between November 2013 and October 2014, and typically lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. All interviews were conducted in a confidential setting in a location of the participant's choice. Generally this was a quiet space, such as a private office or meeting room, within the department or college in question, although a handful of the interviews took place in local cafes. Thus, although there is an increasing acceptance of the importance of place to the research encounter and what is (or is not) said (see, for example, Holton and Riley 2014), there were no instances where I perceived the interviewee to be withholding information as a result of the interview setting. Digital audio recordings of each interview were also attained with participants' permission.

These were transferred to an encrypted computer file shortly after the completion of each interview, at which time immediate reflections were also noted along with any interesting or unusual points of discussion.

Prior to each interview, meanwhile, participants were asked to complete a short questionnaire in order to ascertain various socio-demographic (e.g. age, marital status, number and ages of children) and employment (e.g. level of education, contractual status, details of any additional jobs) characteristics (see Appendix 2: Pre-interview questionnaire). This afforded me some prior knowledge of each interviewee and their current life situation, and meant time did not have to be wasted during the interview itself asking basic, closed-ended questions.

3.4.2. Timeline exercise

As noted above, the interviews were in part structured around a 'timeline' exercise (a method also utilised, with slight variations, by other working time researchers such as Davies 1996, Jarvis 2002, Southerton 2003, Brannen 2005 and Nockolds 2015). This involved participants providing a 'blow-by-blow' account of the events and timings of their most recent working day, from the moment they woke until they returned to bed at the end of the day – details which I recorded onto a pre-prepared template as they spoke. Later in the interview, colour was also added to the timeline to signify parts of the day that the interviewee experienced as comparatively fast (red) or slow (blue) (see Appendix 3: Example timeline exercise).

This exercise aided the interview process – and aligned with the research rationale and aims more generally – in three important ways. Firstly, it helped to ground the discussion in everyday lived experience and real world context, rather than vague statements and generalisations. Secondly, by including periods spent outside of the workplace, it encouraged participants' to extend their focus beyond *paid* work (see also Davies 1996). Finally, it helped to simultaneously foreground the three dimensions of time (i.e. timing, duration and tempo) around which the remainder of the interview process was structured. These objectives were aided by the fact the timeline acted as a visual focal point throughout the course of the interview and was thus something that could be referred back to, allowing links to be made between various points of discussion and ultimately encouraging a deeper, more intricate understanding of participants' experiences of working time.

In addition, and although not the primary motivation for employing it, the timeline exercise also acted as a kind of 'opener' or 'icebreaker' that helped participants to ease into the interview process (alongside the introductory questions relating to their recent career history and current job role). Relatedly, it may also have facilitated a sense of participant involvement and ownership in the interview process, and thus encouraged a more even distribution of power between myself and the interviewee (an issue I discuss in more detail in due course) (Adriansen 2012).

The use of timeline exercises such as this is not entirely unproblematic, however. Of particular relevance to the current research is a criticism that they tend to reinforce linear, quantitative understanding of time (which, as noted in chapters 1 and 2, is one of the shortcomings of many existing working time studies and something that the present research seeks to redress). Indeed, as Davies (1996) discusses in some detail, the extent to which timelines (longer-term 'life-lines' are her explicit focus) are able to capture events and actions related to 'process time' (as discussed in chapter 2; see also Davies 1994) – and aspects of temporality beyond those associated with clock time more generally – is somewhat limited. In fact, this shortcoming was explicitly mentioned by at least one participant, as the following interview excerpt illustrates:

> *And I do find a lot of the work I do is... there's a long run of thinking and sort of possibly stuff turning over in my mind that wouldn't show up on a chart like this [points to timeline], and then there's a splurge point where it all comes out.*
>
> *Hermione, information manager*

Nonetheless, as Davies (1996: 586) herself concedes, this is ultimately "a much larger epistemological issue regarding the basic tenets of our understanding of time", and thus not reason alone for discouraging their use. Furthermore, with the timeline as an aid, it may be possible to unpack more qualitative experiences of temporality through the interview questions that follow – as I sought to do in this research. Moreover, the notion that timelines automatically impose linearity on proceedings is not necessarily a given. Indeed, Adriansen (2012) argues that, rather paradoxically, the narrative can actually become less linear through the use of a timeline, with its visual nature allowing both researcher and participant to 'jump' between events. The visualisation thus acts like a painting, "where you can refine different fields in any order you like [and] add new layers [of detail]" (ibid: 49). My own experience largely supports this view, and there were a number of interviews in which I felt the timeline aided the discussion in this way. Thus, although harbouring limitations, timelines remain a useful methodological tool for temporal research – one that encourages a focus on everyday lived experience and "creates order and understanding in what may appear to be chaos" (Davies 1996: 586).

3.4.3. Transcription and analysis

The interviews were transcribed in full by me over a period of several months. Since I sought to analyse the content and substance of interviewees' narratives rather than their particular style or form (i.e. an 'interpretive' rather than 'literal' reading [Mason 2002: 149]), and given that everyday speech is often messy and fragmented, this transcription process involved the use of what Corden and Sainsbury (2006) refer to as 'light tidying-up' – in which the disfleuncies, fillers (e.g. 'ums' and 'ers') and false starts that pepper most people's speech are 'cleaned up'.[45] This helped to enhance the readability of the transcripts and aided their subsequent analysis. Additionally, it also means the intelligence of participants is not undermined when presenting excerpts from their interviews.

Although time-consuming, the decision to transcribe the interviews in full helped to increase my familiarity with the research material, and in many ways acted as

[45] Of course, the form and content of speech are not always unrelated, and in cases where hesitations and other disfleuncies appeared explicitly connected to what was being said (such as might occur when someone is wary of expressing a particular point of view), these were retained within the final transcript. Here I made subjective decisions on a case-by-case basis rather than following any firm rules, but at all times sought to ensure participants' voices were accurately heard and their responses truthfully represented (see Corden and Sainsbury 2006: 18).

the first stage of analysis – allowing me to draw links between various interviews and identify emerging themes. Subsequently, analysis of the transcripts involved a more formal 'thematic analysis' (see, for instance, Boyatzis 1998, Ryan and Russell Bernard 2003), which utilised three complementary techniques. The first of these is what Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003; see also Russell Bernard and Ryan 2010) describe as 'pawing' or 'eyeballing', which involves simply reading through the transcripts multiple times, underlining key words and passages "because they make some as yet inchoate sense" (Sandelowski 1995: 373), and waiting to see if any themes or patterns emerge after a period of 'living with' the data. This was followed by more formal coding of the transcripts. Here I focused particularly on what Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003) refer to as 'repetitions' – that is to say, words and topics that occurred regularly throughout participants' narratives – and 'theory-related material' – where I drew upon preliminary theoretical insights: for instance, different aspects of temporality (e.g. clock time; dimensions of timing, duration and tempo; absolute, relative and relational understandings; gendered nature of time) and notions of rhythm (Lefebvre 2004) (as discussed in detail in chapter 2). In this way, analysis was both 'inductive' and 'deductive' (or a priori), with transcripts coded partly according to categories that emerged from the data itself, and partly according to theoretically informed themes. Finally, I also utilised a technique that Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003) refer to as 'cutting and sorting'. As the name suggests, this involves 'cutting' out interesting passages or quotes (making sure to preserve some of the surrounding context) and then 'sorting' them into groups based on their similarities. This is a particularly useful means of identifying sub-themes and, where quotes seemingly fit in more than one group, of drawing links between different topics (ibid: 103).

Through the use of these three interrelated techniques, key themes emerged, which were developed by reengaging with existing empirical and theoretical literature, and through various discussions with my supervisors and contemporaries. By way of example, codes relating to issues such as 'responsibility', 'commitment to colleagues', 'personal development' and 'self-blame' led to a deeper engagement with Michel Foucault's (1978, 1982, 1993) theory of 'governmentality' (of which I had limited prior knowledge), which in turn helped to refine my analysis and strengthen my understanding of participants' narratives.

3.4.4. Trustworthiness

Interviews and other qualitative research methods are often criticised for being unable to meet the same standards of scientific rigour as their quantitative counterparts, and of lacking the 'validity', 'reliability' and 'generalisability' of statistical studies (see, for instance, Lincoln and Guba 1985, Spencer et al. 2003, Noble and Smith 2015). In response, many qualitative researchers argue that the two approaches are not comparable, and that terms such as validity and reliability are not appropriate for evaluating qualitative methods. Nonetheless, there is increasing acceptance of the need for qualitative researchers to apply some kind of qualifying check or measure to their research. To this end, the concept of 'trustworthiness' has gained purchase in recent decades, and it is this measure of quality (specifically that defined by Lincoln and Guba [1985]) to which I subject my own research.

Specifically, Lincoln and Guba (ibid: 71) outline four components of trustworthiness: 'credibility', which involves establishing confidence in the 'truth' of research findings; 'dependability', which relies on demonstrating that findings are consistent and could be repeated; 'confirmability', which relates to neutrality and involves accounting for any aspects of researcher bias; and 'transferability', which relies on demonstrating that findings have applicability to other contexts.[46] Focusing initially on the last of these – transferability – I have already discussed the extent to which my choice of an 'instrumental' case means it is possible to make 'analytic' generalisations on the basis of my study, such that principles or lessons learned may be applied to other settings (Yin 2014). In addition, I have attempted to provide rich detail of the research context (both in this chapter and later empirical chapters) in order to facilitate the evaluation of my findings and conclusions, and their transferability to other cases (Noble and Smith 2015).

With regards the credibility criterion, meanwhile, I have adhered to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) call for researchers to 'triangulate' their findings through the use of supplementary data sources. Indeed, whilst this research ultimately rests on a set of 50 semi-structured interviews, my understanding of the themes to emerge from these interviews was confirmed and enhanced by information gleaned from several other sources, including: the more informal discussions I held with initial contacts such as HR managers and senior administrators; a variety of publications (including annual reports and strategic plans) and more general website material produced both by the wider University and the IT department and participating

[46] Credibility can be seen as analogous to the concept of 'validity' in quantitative research, dependability and confirmability as analogous to 'reliability', and transferability as analogous to 'generalisability' (Noble and Smith 2015: 34).

colleges more specifically; the responses provided to the initial pre-interview questionnaires; and occasional additional documents provided by participants (such as shift rotas) during the course of their interviews. Beyond this, the credibility of the research findings has also been enhanced by two further strategies: firstly, the decision to record the interviews, which allowed for repeated revisiting of the data to check emerging themes; and secondly, the frequent use of rich verbatim extracts in the three empirical chapters that follow, which assists the reader to make judgements about whether the themes discussed are 'true' to participants' accounts (see also Noble and Smith 2015).

Finally, in terms of dependability and confirmability, I have endeavoured in this chapter to provide a transparent and clear description of the research process, including my choice of methods (i.e. case study and semi-structured interviews), sampling strategy for the recruitment of participants, and techniques used for analysing my interview data (Spencer et al. 2003). This task was made easier by referring to the extensive electronic and paper-based records I kept throughout the research, in which I documented challenges, resolutions, developments and personal reflections, and ultimately maintained a kind of 'decision-trail' (Noble and Smith 2015: 34). Moreover, I have also endeavoured throughout to maintain an awareness of my own role in the research process, and it is with a fuller discussion of issues relating to reflexivity and positionality that I bring this chapter to a close.

3.4.5. Reflexivity and positionality

As England (1994: 241) explains, the rise of post-structuralist, postmodernist and feminist thinking over recent decades means there is growing acceptance within geography (and social research more broadly) of the socially constructed and situated nature of knowledge, and hence increasing suspicion of the possibility of entirely detached, objective, impartial research. However, whilst this orientation allows for a more complete analysis of the complexities of the social world, it also raises new ethical issues regarding the researcher's role in the research process (ibid: 242). Accordingly, there is growing recognition of the need for researchers to display 'reflexivity' in their work, and to reflect openly on the effects of their presence and relationship with those that are the subject of their research (see, for instance, Lincoln and Guba 1985, McDowell 1992, England 1994, Mason 2002, Doucet and Mauthner 2008, Bourke 2014).

Key to this process is an awareness of 'positionality', which involves "acknowledg[ing] who we are as individuals" (Bourke 2014: 3), and how our personal characteristics and biography affect both our own conduct and that of our participants, as well as the power relations between us. Indeed, the present research involved participants of different social backgrounds, gender and age, and thus I believe my own social positioning as a young, middle class, university-educated male inevitably had some impact on the dynamics of the interviews. In particular, there are three instances where I believe unequal power relations and perceptions of social, cultural, and personal differences (both my own and those of my participants) may have influenced the conduct and content of the interviews

(Tang 2002, Doucet and Mauthner 2008). The first of these relates to gender (and perhaps partly also to age), and specifically my discussions with female participants relating to domestic and caring responsibilities (see Butz and Berg 2002 for a discussion of the often contradictory positioning of men who engage with feminist geography). The second relates to class or social position and my interviews with senior managers in the IT department, whose relatively elite position and often very busy schedules led to me perceiving their time as being particularly 'valuable', and thus influenced my interactions with them (see also Harvey 2010).

It is the third instance that I wish to focus on in more detail, however. This concerns my interviews with participants working in manual and routine college roles, who almost exclusively came from working class backgrounds. Here I was aware that I altered my language and the way I phrased particular questions based on certain preconceptions. Furthermore, I am sure I tried harder to emphasise aspects of shared identity or experience (for example, my knowledge of certain locations in Oxford or particular TV shows that were mentioned by participants) during the course of these interviews in an attempt to compensate for my 'outsider' (yet potentially dominant) status as a middle class student (see also Bourke 2014). I believe that these participants' perceptions of me, and of the research process more generally, also affected the interview dynamic in some cases. Indeed, a number appeared hesitant about my reasons for wanting to talk to them and the nature of my questions (despite having volunteered to participate and having received an information sheet prior to being interviewed), whilst others expressed concern that their lives might appear 'boring' or were unlikely to be of interest to me (although this was true also of other participants to a certain extent).[47]

Nonetheless, I believe my status as a middle class student was not as significant a barrier as it might have been had I been interviewing working class individuals from outside the University setting – an assertion that is supported by the following quote from my interview with Jamie, a night porter in one of the participating colleges:

> *I was very surprised with working for the University as to what it actually is. Because when I grew up in Oxford we always associated the students as born with silver spoons in their mouths – 'Hooray Henry's' if you want to call them. But now you're here, you've got people that are coming from real rough backgrounds and they're down to earth people. [...] But even what we class as Hooray Henry's, they're always polite – you get on well with them.*
>
> *Jamie, night porter*

This leads onto a broader point, which is to say that in spite of these various differences in positionality, there was always some common ground between myself and my informants – whether it be experiences of University life, of living in Oxford, of having been employed in paid work, or of generally feeling pressed for time. Indeed, there were no interviews where I felt participants were completely unable to relate to me and my research or, conversely, where their experiences

[47] In general, this group of participants seemed less familiar with the process of being interviewed, and were less comfortable reflecting on their lives in the ways demanded by an in-depth interview. Some also found certain more abstract questions difficult to answer; this included my final introductory question, wherein I asked, somewhat ambiguously, whether anything immediately came to mind when I said the word 'time' (see Appendix 1: Interview schedule).

seemed totally alien to me.[48] Thus, whilst issues of positionality can perhaps never entirely be overcome, I believe most participants enjoyed the experience of being interviewed and felt comfortable answering my questions openly and honestly. To this end, I believe the interviews were successful in allowing me to develop an understanding – albeit one that is partial and situated – of participants' experiences of working time and, more specifically, perceptions of a time squeeze.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have given an overview of my methodological approach, and justified the use of an instrumental and comparative case study built around 50 semi-structured interviews as a means of facilitating an in-depth, contextual examination of how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between individuals and social groups. I have also provided a detailed overview of the specific case on which this research focuses – Oxford University IT and colleges – and outlined the reasons it makes for an interesting and informative study. This overview incorporated a summary of the research participants themselves, including the means by which they were selected, as well as a synopsis of the context in which the case sits – the Oxford labour market. Additionally, I have provided a detailed summary of the interview process itself. This included my reasons for structuring the interviews around a timeline exercise, as well as an account of how I transcribed and analysed the data generated. Finally, I have

[48] More critically, although participants sometimes discussed potentially distressing experiences – such as divorce, illness and bereavement – there were no occasions during the interview process when I felt a serious ethical conflict or deemed it necessary to pass on information to any public authority.

reflected at length on issues of trustworthiness, reflexivity and positionality, thus facilitating confidence in the rigour of my methodological approach. Based on this discussion and the methods adopted, I now turn to my empirical findings.

Chapter 4: Duration

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the dimension of 'duration', or the number of hours of work. In particular, I focus on the causes of the long working hours experienced by many of the participants in this research, both within the IT department and participating colleges. Whilst much of the existing literature perceives long working hours as resulting from either the deliberate exploitation of employees by productivity-seeking corporations or the intrinsically rewarding nature of modern professional and creative work (i.e. due to a love of the job), I suggest there is a need to look beyond such one-dimensional and dichotomous causal links in the case of participants in this research. Indeed, drawing on participants' accounts, I argue that their long hours are best understood through the lens of Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' and, in particular, the technologies of 'responsibilisation' and 'normalisation' (Foucault 1978, 1982, 1993). Specifically, I outline three strands to this 'responsibility' thesis, which broadly equate to three different scales: the self; the organisation; and the nation. The first two scales relate primarily to the long hours of IT participants, whilst the third is most applicable to the accounts of college employees (whose long hours typically result from holding a second job, rather than working 'overtime' in a single role).

The chapter proceeds in five sections. I begin by giving a brief overview of participants' working hours, arguing that they can be divided into three groups: those who work part-time; those who work 'normal' full-time hours; and those who work 'long' hours (i.e. full-time employees who significantly exceed a nominal

40 hour working week on a regular basis). As the largest of the three groups and given my concern with notions of a 'time squeeze' (as well as significant interest in the topic of extensive working hours within the academic literature), it is those who work long hours upon whom I focus in the remainder of the chapter.[49]

In the second section of the chapter, meanwhile, I build upon the overview of 'governmentality' provided in chapter 2, focusing in particular on the technologies of responsibilisation and normalisation. The subsequent three sections then demonstrate how these 'technologies of power' subtly underpin the long hours of participants in this research. Firstly, I examine the way in which IT participants have internalised the ideal of work as the central source of self-fulfilment and how this contributes to them overinvesting in their job. Moreover, I discuss how they as individuals are increasingly held accountable for realising this sense of self-fulfilment, as well as for the state of their careers more generally. This places a burden on participants to undertake additional training or professional development in order to enhance their employability and thus can also increase the amount of time devoted to work related activities.

Secondly, I outline the sense of moral responsibility IT employees feel in relation to colleagues and the wider University. This is driven in part by the fact they perceive the department to be a flexible and considerate employer, as well as a wider commitment to the ideals of the University. Alongside a perceived responsibility to self-manage their working hours, this sense of moral responsibility leads to the potential for participants to further overinvest in their

[49] For the sake of clarity, participants working part-time or 'normal' full-time hours still feature in chapters 5 (on tempo) and 6 (on timing).

work. As I later explain in more detail, two specific sets of issues – relating both to the operational and cultural environment of the department and the nature of professional service work more generally – result in this potential for long hours becoming a reality. Participants do not appear to grasp the significance of these structural constraints, however: in keeping with the insidious nature of neoliberal governmentality, their long hours are thus seen as the result of individual failings.

Finally, I turn my attention to the long hours of college participants, particularly those whose long hours result from holding a second job. Drawing again on participants' accounts, I argue that their motives for taking on additional employment are linked primarily to a wider sense of responsibility – one that is tied to their citizenship and the value attached to a strong work ethic in contemporary society. This sense of 'work as responsibility' (Beder 2000) encourages long hours both directly – by perpetuating the myth that hard work is virtuous – and indirectly – through the way in which it leads to paid employment becoming the primary form of social contact and sense of personal identity in a number of participants' lives.

4.2. Summary of participants

As summarised in Table 3, participants can be divided into three groups with regards to their working hours: those who work part-time; those who work 'normal' full-time hours; and those who work 'long' hours (i.e. full-time employees who significantly exceed a nominal 40 hour working week on a regular basis).[50] Overall, there is a relatively even split between these three groups (with 14, 21 and 15 participants respectively), although this masks the fact that the vast majority of 'long' hours participants worked in the IT department, whilst most college participants worked standard full-time hours. However, this picture is complicated slightly by the fact that 8 participants (7 of which were college employees) also held a second job, which in all cases resulted in their total weekly working hours exceeding the 45 hour threshold. In total, therefore, 23 participants could be said to work 'long' hours.

Table 3: Summary of participants' working hours

	Part-time (<35 hours)	'Normal' full-time	'Long' (≥45 hours)	Second job	Combined (≥45 hours)
IT department	8	5	12	1	13
Colleges	6	16	3	7	10
Totals	14	21	15	8	23

It should also be noted that these figures represent a relatively static picture of participants' working hours in the weeks and months leading up to the time of the research interviews. Indeed, it was clear that a number of participants (particularly women with children) had experienced variable working hours over

[50] In this research, 'part-time' is defined as less than 35 hours a week. Although the term 'long' hours is occasionally used to refer to any individual who regularly exceeds a nominal 40 hour working week, a threshold of 45 hours or more is employed in this study. 'Normal' full-time hours are thus classed as anything between 35 and less than 45 hours a week. The figures in Table 3 should also be regarded as best estimates, since in a small number of cases it was difficult for participants to accurately quantify their working hours.

the course of their working lives. This included Miriam, who had gone through a mixture of working arrangements since joining the IT department in 2005:

> *Well I've had different sort of working hours contracts since I've been here. I started out at half-time because that was the post and then it went up to full-time. But I said I couldn't manage full-time because I had... my son I think at that point was… I think he'd just gone into secondary school. Yes he had I think – 2006. And I went back to... so I was on four days a week for about five years. […] Then I went... the only reason I went up to full-time again was because I actually had project work and I also felt: 'Well OK I'll manage it'. But I have found actually that full-time is a bit hard to manage – and I have been thinking recently about going down to four days a week.*
>
> *Miriam, researcher, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 17-18 and 19+)*

Miriam's account also attests to the relatively accommodating nature of the IT department (and the University more generally) with regards to flexible working arrangements – an issue I discuss in further detail later in the chapter. In spite of this flexibility, however, almost half of participants were regularly working long hours at the time of the research interviews (conducted between November 2013 and October 2014). This perhaps ought not to be surprising given growing concern about the prevalence of excessive working hours, particularly in professional and managerial roles – as reflected in the working time literature, including amongst geographers (see, for instance, Henry and Massey 1995, Jarvis 2002, 2005, Perrons 2003, Jarvis and Pratt 2006, Gill and Pratt 2008). Given this concern within the literature as well as my own interest in contemporary senses of a 'time squeeze', it is the topic of 'long' hours – and specifically the drivers of these hours – that forms the primary focus of this chapter.[51]

However, in contrast to much of the existing literature – which, as discussed in chapter 2, tends to view long working hours as resulting from either 'willing workers' (due to a love of the job) or the calculated exploitation of employees by productivity-seeking corporations – I propose a different explanatory narrative on the basis of participants' accounts. Indeed, whilst the majority of participants claimed to enjoy their work (or at least certain elements of it), many also viewed their long hours as a source of considerable time stress, suggesting these hours are not entirely within their control. Furthermore, it was evident that neither those based in the IT department nor the participating colleges felt pressured into working extended hours (whether the result of working overtime in a single role or holding a second job). Similarly, it was clear from speaking to senior managerial staff in both settings that long hours were not actively encouraged by management. Accordingly, there is a need to look beyond such direct or explicit causal links and to focus instead on the more subtle ways (both at an organisational level and more widely) in which employees may be compelled to overinvest in their work. To this end, I suggest that the long hours of participants in this research are best explained through the lens of Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' and, in particular, the theme of 'responsibility' (Foucault 1978, 1982, 1993).

[51] Whilst there is growing recognition that 'underemployment' is also a significant issue in the UK (as mentioned in chapter 2; see Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Warren 2015a), only two of the participants in this research (one part-time IT employee and one full-time college employee) were obviously employed for fewer hours than they desired. Accordingly, I do not focus on the issue of underemployment in the empirical chapters of this thesis.

4.3. Overview of governmentality

As outlined in chapter 2, governmentality is concerned with the way in which governments (and indeed other institutions) attempt to direct the conduct of their citizens to achieve politically desired outcomes. Under neoliberalism, this is achieved by conceiving of citizens as rational, autonomous beings with aspirations to self-actualisation and self-fulfilment, and by governing through their individual behaviours and choices, rather than through 'society' (Rose 1996: 41). Thus, somewhat paradoxically, we are "governed through our freedom" (Rose 1999: 62).

This in turn requires that citizens are 'made up' or educated via the use of various 'technologies of the self' as the entrepreneurial architects of their own life project (Rose and Miller 1992: 200-201). Two particular technologies are crucial to this process. The first is the technology of 'responsibilisation', which operates by characterising social risks such as illness and unemployment – and the quality of one's life more generally – not as the preserve of the state, but rather as lying in the realm of individual control. Accordingly, these are transformed into issues of 'self-care' (Lemke 2001: 201). Whilst such active participation is potentially empowering, it comes with the condition that individuals – since they are, under the neoliberal notion of rationality, acting of their own free will – must assume responsibility for their actions and choices, both in terms of carrying them out and the subsequent outcomes (Burchell 1996: 29).

Furthermore, this process of responsibilisation entails an obligation to conduct oneself in accordance with appropriate models of action (Burchell 1996: 29). Indeed, although seemingly unconstrained, the conduct of the neoliberal subject is in fact subtly guided by a second technology – that of 'normalisation'. This refers to the way in which certain politically desirable actions or values come to be seen as natural or common sense 'truths' (Hall and O'Shea 2013). Citizens thus work on themselves in the desire to achieve 'normality' (as well as to avoid the shame administered to those who do not), with the result that they ultimately conform to the goals of those in power (Rose 1999: 73-77). In this way, neoliberalism is able to lead and control individuals without at the same time being responsible for them (Lemke 2001: 201).

Whilst acknowledging critiques of Foucault's conception of power, which argue that it denies room for individual agency and resistance (see, for instance, Scheurich and McKenzie 2005: 860), it is these twin technologies of responsibilisation and normalisation with which I wish to engage in this chapter, and which I suggest offer a productive means of explaining the long working hours of participants in this research. There are three specific strands to this 'responsibility' thesis, which broadly equate to three different scales. Firstly, there is a sense of responsibility to the self to pursue self-actualisation through work. Secondly, in relation to colleagues and the wider University, there is a sense of moral responsibility to not let others down (as well as to self-manage one's working hours). Finally, there is a wider sense of responsibility tied to one's status as a citizen and the importance of a strong work ethic.[52] I suggest the first two of these themes relate primarily to the long working hours of IT participants, whilst

---

[52] Here my conception of 'citizenship' goes beyond the formal, 'political' definition of a citizen as a legally recognised subject of a nation state to incorporate a broader, 'socio-cultural' understanding that is "wrapped up in questions about who is accepted as a worthy, valuable and responsible member of an everyday community of living and working" (Painter and Philo 1995: 115). In this sense it is both relational and fluid, being tied up in relationships, social norms and collective values that are always evolving (Staeheli 2011).

the third topic is most prominent in the accounts of college employees whose long hours result from holding a second job. In turn, I now explore each of these themes in more detail.

4.4. IT participants and responsibility to the self

As discussed in chapter 2, a number of scholars have emphasised the role of personal choice as regards long working hours, suggesting that these often stem from the enjoyment and intrinsic rewards that waged work can bring (see, for instance, Reeves 2001, Brett and Stroh 2003, Hewlett and Buck Luce 2006, and Sturges 2013). This is especially seen to be the case for those engaged in knowledge-based or creative work (Florida 2002), which can be absorbing and intellectually challenging. Indeed, Lewis (2003) has gone as far as suggesting that post-industrial work may be regarded as the 'new leisure' by some professionals, such is the sense of fulfilment it offers (see also Gershuny 2000, 2005).

The accounts of IT participants provide some support for this narrative. Indeed, the majority of those interviewed clearly liked their work (or at least certain aspects of it) and, in several cases, it appeared this sense of enjoyment directly contributed to participants regularly working beyond their contractual hours. This was seemingly true of both Alice, a part-time training officer who also holds an academic role within the University, and Laura, a team leader:

> *And I'm sort of firmly of the belief that the way to enjoy life is to have a job or multiple jobs that you enjoy doing. Because it is something that takes up a large part of one's waking hours. So it doesn't bother me that I'm spending a lot of time working.*
>
> *Alice, training officer*

> *My own opinion is that if you don't enjoy your work you shouldn't do it, because it takes up like half your waking time and that's a really important thing. So I like my job and if I didn't I'd leave.*
>
> *Laura, team leader*

However, whilst it would be easy to attribute the long hours of participants such as Alice and Laura solely to a love of the job – and to label them simply as 'willing workers' in the process – their narratives are rather more intricate than this. Indeed, they have not merely chanced upon a job they enjoy; rather, they perceive it is a necessity to derive a sense of self-fulfilment from their work. As McGee (2005: 131) notes, this orientation has become increasingly pervasive over the past two to three decades and has been engendered by the establishment (or 'normalisation') of "an ideal of work as the central, even sole, source of self-fulfilment" (see also Ekman 2014). As detailed in chapter 2, this ideal has been encouraged at an organisational level through the use of corporate values and discourses of 'excellence' and 'empowerment' (du Gay 1991, 1996, Willmott 1993, Delbridge 1998, Bunting 2004, Kunda 2006), as well as – in more recent times – by encouraging 'authentic' expressions of identity in the workplace and attempting to conflate paid work with people's desires for fun and creativity (Ross 2003, Fleming 2009, Walker 2011). Whilst such attempts to improve the subjective experience of work may not be entirely insincere (and whilst apparently preferable that paid work is intrinsically rewarding), they are ultimately aimed at inducing greater effort from employees. Thus, where long working hours result, the extent to which these are truly the personal choice of 'willing workers' is somewhat open to question.

However, whilst the University's IT department clearly shows concern for its employees' sense of wellbeing, this orientation does not appear to be part of a wider attempt to increase their productivity, suggesting the focus on self-actualisation in participants' accounts stems from a broader, societal-wide narrative. Indeed, regardless of organisational attempts to influence worker subjectivities, it is *individual* employees that are increasingly held responsible (or 'responsibilised') for ensuring they realise a sense of self-fulfilment (as supported by Laura's assertion that one should find another job if they don't enjoy their work) – and indeed for the state of their careers more generally. In particular, individuals are encouraged to seek self-actualisation through two complementary means: firstly, by pursuing their passion and finding a job they 'love'; and secondly, by working on themselves in the quest for continuous self-improvement (and thus in theory increasing control over their personal destiny). Accordingly, the ideal modern worker combines elements of both the 'artist' and the 'entrepreneur' (McGee 2005).

I have already touched on the extent to which IT participants such as Alice and Laura exhibited the first of these norms (recall Alice's "belief that the way to enjoy life is to have a job or multiple jobs that you enjoy doing"), as well as – from a temporal perspective – how a love of the job may encourage longer working hours. In addition, it is clear that a number of participants also internalised the neoliberal ethic of the entrepreneurial or enterprising self – one in which they bear ultimate responsibility for enhancing their human capital and managing their personal career trajectory within a competitive labour market. Significantly, this process places a burden upon the individual to undertake additional training or professional development in order to enhance their employability and thus can also increase the amount of time devoted to work related activities. This is demonstrated by the account of Toby, a senior manager with a history in academia, who regularly worked in excess of 50 hours a week:

> *So there's an element of course of doing [additional] work for personal development – is another way you could think about it. So if I did that because I thought I would be able to get a publication out of it, which might enhance my chances of getting a different job – that's not quite work. So there is that.*
>
> *Toby, senior manager*

In fact, the fast-moving nature of high technology sectors such as IT (and indeed other professional working environments) means continued skills investment is often necessary for ambitious employees simply to maintain their position in the labour market (see also Henry and Massey 1995, Rutherford 2001 and Perrons 2003). This view is advanced by Keith, an external contractor who had been employed by the University for just over a year at the time of his interview:

I must say that IT is a very time consuming vocation.[53] *Because even when you're not engaged in your role, you're engaged in learning, learning enhancement, you know keeping your skills up to date. And it does put quite a drag on your time resources.*

Keith, systems administrator

Even where learning enhancement is not the primary focus, the competitive nature of the neoliberal labour market leads some employees to subscribe to a form of 'presenteeism' as a means of displaying commitment and improving their chances of promotion (Jarvis 2002, Lewis 2003). This presenteeism can also be linked to the aforementioned rise of an 'ideal' worker norm, which – in addition to championing the 'entrepreneurial artist' (McGee 2005) – advances a vision of the model employee as someone who is wholly dedicated to their employer and unencumbered by family commitments (see, for instance, Williams 1999 and Drago et al. 2005, 2009). Such an orientation inevitably leads to longer days in the office, as Oliver – a web developer – explained:

I think part of it is... I'm sure part of the reason is... maybe this was ingrained in me back in [home country], but the more you're putting in, the later you're staying, somehow relates to effort put in and if you want to move up the ladder then promotions are given to people that are showing more of an effort. And so staying late is somehow more of an effort.

Oliver, web developer

It is clear, therefore, that participants' long hours can at least partly be attributed to a sense of responsibility to the self – and an acceptance of the idea that one is

[53] Whilst potentially unconsidered, Keith's use of the word 'vocation' is perhaps further evidence of the extent to which participants have internalised the notion of pursuing a career they love or view as some kind of 'calling'. It also evokes Massey's (1997: 28) comparison between high-tech workplaces, historic universities and monasteries, on account of three shared characteristics: their devotion to knowledge-production; their habitation by a 'caste' that monopolises the definition and production of that knowledge; and the fact they are masculinised.

personally accountable for managing their career trajectory and pursuing self-actualisation through work as part of a wider "do-it-yourself biography" (Beck 1992: 135). From the perspective of neoliberal governmentality, the normalisation of this ethos can be viewed as a significant 'technology of power'. Indeed, whilst in many respects desirable that paid work should be intrinsically rewarding, an increased emphasis on occupational satisfaction – and the fact this is framed as an individual problem – means that extrinsic job factors such as pay and security (and the unequal distribution of these) are relegated to a secondary position, and the underlying capitalist division of labour that (particularly in its neoliberal form) privileges profit-taking over meeting human needs remains largely unquestioned (McGee 2005: 130-131). Thus, in its current incarnation, the desire for vocational happiness is double-edged – offering the possibility of self-fulfilment and yet also serving as a powerful means of social control (ibid: 130).

More broadly, the pursuit of self-actualisation through work can be linked to increasing political and public (and hence also academic) interest in the concept of 'wellbeing' (see Schwanen and Atkinson 2015 for an overview of the diverse ways in which geographers have engaged with this topic in recent decades). Here, too, there is evidence to suggest that understandings of this concept have been appropriated by a neoliberal ethos in recent years. In the UK, for instance, the Conservative Party has called for a greater emphasis on wellbeing in public policy, particularly in relation to its localism agenda and vision of 'The Big Society'. This is a particular conception of wellbeing however – one based primarily on 'subjective' measurements (as opposed to wider societal factors such as inequality and social exclusion) and couched in the language of individual responsibility, with an emphasis on reducing state bureaucracy and increasing personal choice, and increasing volunteering and community engagement (Atkinson and Joyce 2011, Scott 2015). In addition, the neoliberal era has seen the emergence of a profitable wellbeing or happiness industry. This incorporates products aimed specifically at enhancing mental wellbeing (which are often based on the findings of 'positive psychology'), such as self-help books, 'mindfulness' courses and life coaching, but also – through an emphasis on the link between 'looking good' and 'feeling good' – those concerned with transforming the body, such as fitness holidays, beauty therapies and cosmetic surgeries (see, for instance, Binkley 2011 and Little 2015).

Overwhelmingly, then, neoliberalism characterises wellbeing as the preserve of the individual, encouraging citizens to act in their own self-interest with little thought for the wider good or the possibility for collective action. Ultimately, therefore, the wellbeing movement in its current form is "attach[ed] to the status quo, with all its inequalities and abuses of power" (Ehrenreich 2009: 170). Furthermore, by holding individuals personally responsible for their wellbeing, those who fail to find happiness cannot help but blame themselves for this shortcoming (see, for example, Ehrenreich 2009, Davies 2015, Cederstrom and Spicer 2015). The issue of self-blame is one to which I return in the following section of this chapter, which focuses primarily on the organisational level, and the way in which a sense of moral responsibility to colleagues and the wider University (as well as to self-manage one's working hours) also contributes to the long hours of IT participants.

4.5. IT participants and responsibility to the organisation

Continuing with the central theme of the previous section, McGee (2005: 111-112) suggests that increased corporate emphasis on the possibilities for self-actualisation through work was in part prompted by the recession of the early 1990s and the need "to motivate a workforce that experienced shattered job security, frequent unemployment [and] declining real wages". Whilst this approach has helped to encourage overinvestment in work (as discussed in the previous section), the volatile and competitive nature of the neoliberal labour market is also utilised in more overt ways in an attempt to induce employees into longer hours.

Indeed, in the conventional view of the modern labour market (see, for example, Sennett 1998, Beck 2000 and Beder 2000), a ruthless and exploitative organisational culture is seen to dominate, in which competitive pressures necessitate that flexibility reigns supreme (hence the advent of the term 'flexploitation' [Gray 2004]). This results in greater use of short-term contracts and temporary recruitments, as well as repeated organisational restructurings. In turn, this encourages competition within the workforce, which is heightened by the continual monitoring of individual performance through the regular setting of objectives and subsequent evaluations (Hofmeyr 2011: 23-24). Held responsible for their output as if an independent contractor whilst nonetheless remaining subject to strong hierarchical authority, the natural response of many employees is to invest additional time and effort in their work in an attempt to cling on to their increasingly insecure employment (ibid: 23-24). Whilst this scenario is undoubtedly an accurate representation of many modern workplaces (see, for example, Brannen 2005 and Rubery et al. 2005), to what extent does it form a second strand of the responsibilisation that I argue underpins the long working hours of IT employees in this study?

As touched upon in chapter 3, it is clear that universities are not immune from the pressures of the neoliberal ethic. Indeed, as Deiaco et al. (2012) explain, the role of universities in economic growth and innovation is now increasingly emphasised by those in power (see also Shore and Wright 1999, McDowell 2004, Hall 2015). Alongside funding constraints following the global financial crisis of 2007-08, this has increased pressure upon universities to act strategically, enhance professional internal management practices, and demonstrate accountability and impact (Deiaco et al. 2012: 526).[54] These pressures are exacerbated by the increasingly global flows of students, staff and funding resources in what has become a highly competitive higher education market. Oxford University is no different in this respect – and indeed may even be at the forefront of these trends – as is evidenced by the language employed in its Strategic Plan for the years 2013-18. This document outlines a vision of the University as "fostering a culture in which innovation plays an important role" and "ensuring significant contributions to public-policy making and economic growth", as well as a pledge to "monitor progress against our priorities, commitments, and aims using relevant performance indicators, benchmarks and targets" (University of Oxford 2013). That the spirit of this vision filters down through the levels of hierarchy within the

[54] It should be noted that the impact of funding constraints on UK universities has been partially offset by the increase in tuition fees (to a maximum of £9,000 per year) under the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010.

University was clear from several of the interviews with senior managers in the IT department, as the following quotes attest:

> *So my particular role, the focus really is on making sure that the four main teams within my group understand what's required of them, have the resources available and have a point to escalate any problems with delivering services or customer issues and so on. And planning ahead – so working out strategically where we want to be in the future, how we're going to measure what we're doing to get there, and bidding for and requesting the resources and running projects to make those changes.*
>
> *Damian, senior manager*

> *I'm going through a process of introducing what we call 'pace-layered development', which means that we categorise our application developments and the methodologies around it into applications that allow us to differentiate ourselves from all other universities and those that are just systems of record. So those that our systems of record we make sure that we just maintain and deliver a good enough service, whereas with the systems that differentiate us we make sure that we develop them faster, we develop them... you know with that innovation in mind – the added value.*
>
> *Esther, senior manager*

Damian's use of the word 'customer' – a term a number of other participants also used when referring to the University's students and staff – is also telling in this regard, demonstrating how the vocabulary of neoliberalism and commercial transactions has infiltrated what is ostensibly a public service environment (Steger and Roy 2010, Massey 2013b).

Returning to the issue of time, it was apparent that for some of those in managerial positions in particular, the additional work created by the emphasis on accountability and the monitoring of performance contributed to their long working hours. There was a feeling amongst some participants that things had changed noticeably for the worse in this respect following a major restructure in the summer and autumn of 2012 – a little over a year before the time of the research interviews. As touched upon in chapter 3 – and as the accounts of Laura and Kathryn also allude to – this restructure involved changes to various organisational processes and procedures as well as the merger of three divisions with previously distinct subcultures:

> *My perception of the overall department is that it's become more bureaucratic and more corporate, and less collegiate. […] There's a lot more forms, there's a lot more procedures and it's a lot more formal, whereas a lot of the stuff we did, we did internal to the team. So we did the same procedures, checks and balances, but it was more light touch and documented much more tightly within the team and less... so there was feedback up and down the chain, but it was in a more unstructured way. So there's a burden of administration that didn't use to exist.*
>
> *Laura, team leader*

> *I think how I spend my time has changed in this larger organisation. I spend much, much more time on administrative things – finance, HR – chasing that stuff back and forward, back and forward, because it's now a huge organisation and systems are not mature.*
>
> *Kathryn, senior manager*

However, as a quasi-public sector academic institution, the University is at least partially removed from the ruthless excesses of the neoliberal marketplace. This is certainly true of its IT department, which primarily provides internal services to members of the University in an uncompetitive environment.[55] Indeed, there was little evidence to suggest that participants were compelled into working long hours by an overbearing management or a sense of job insecurity, as in the conventional view of the neoliberal workplace. This reality was explicitly stated by Toby:

> *So it's not work running me ragged in that traditional way. I mean I'm not fearing... I don't work because I'm afraid if I don't work I won't get promoted or I'll get sacked or anything like that. [...] And it's a very traditional reason for worry – for overworking – is because you worry about that kind of thing. And I don't think we do feel that kind of pressure at all. It just doesn't work like this.*
>
> *Toby, senior manager*

Rather, the overwhelming picture of the department painted by participants was of a considerate employer that made attempts to accommodate individual needs through flexible working arrangements, and of a friendly, open and collaborative working environment. The average length of time IT participants have been employed at the University – 8 years – is perhaps testament to this (as well as further evidence of the high degree of job security University employees typically enjoy). Thus, in contrast to the more conventional 'neoliberal' narrative proposed above, I suggest it is this apparently agreeable working environment that somewhat paradoxically leads to a process of responsibilisation amongst the department's employees: it is this responsibilisation that underpins the long hours that many of these individuals routinely work. Importantly, however, this does not appear to be a deliberate attempt on behalf of the University to coerce greater

[55] It is also largely true of the University's constituent colleges, although it should be noted that conference and event provision plays an increasingly important role in the life of many colleges during vacation periods – and here they are not only competing against each other, but also the private sector.

productivity (unlike broader corporate strategies to improve the subjective experience of work, as discussed previously). Still, this is not to completely contradict what has gone before, for as I have argued a sense of increasing organisational bureaucracy and a quest for self-actualisation are also clearly visible within participants' accounts.[56]

There are two complementary strands to this responsibilisation at the organisational level. The first relates to the fact that the department's employees are afforded a high degree of freedom as to how they go about their work and enjoy relatively flexible working conditions with regards times of arrival and departure (although they are generally expected to be present during the 'core hours' of 10:00 till 16:00). Whilst this autonomy can be seen as empowering and potentially helps employees to respond to coordination challenges in their private lives – particularly in relation to childcare (to be discussed in more detail in chapter 6) – it also leads to an acceptance (or 'normalisation') of the idea that they have control over their working hours and are personally liable for balancing the demands of work and home (see also Brannen 2005). For almost half of IT participants (although in a number of cases there was some uncertainty on this issue), this sense of self-determination is reinforced by the absence of set contractual hours, as Alice explained:

[56] Ekman (2014) similarly notes the presence of seemingly conflicting discourses in her study of high-involvement workers in media and publishing companies.

Yeah I mean I think we operate on a kind of fairly flexible basis – that it's up to people exactly when they start and when they finish. I think we're supposed to be in by 10:00 is kind of the latest official start time. So that tends to be when I go in [BOTH LAUGH]. [...] I mean my contract doesn't have a technical number of hours in it, but I think... I mean it's worked out on the basis of – certainly for things like holiday and so forth – a seven and a half hour working day. But I mean I'm sort of also aware that I do things like you know sometimes I will take slightly more than an hour for lunch. And no one seems to mind if I do that. And you know I think basically there's a kind of understanding that as long as the work gets done and within a reasonable number of hours then that's fine.

Alice, training officer

Secondly and relatedly, this flexibility and the friendly, collaborative working environment more generally create an impression of being treated with trust and respect. In turn, this fosters a sense of loyalty and commitment amongst the department's workforce (Kelliher and Anderson 2010). As previously identified by Rubery et al. (2005: 101) in their study of employment change within six large UK-based organisations, for many participants this bond was deepened by an "ideological or philosophical commitment to some sort of public service ethos" (see also Jarvis 2002, Ekman 2014). More specifically, an adherence to the ideals of the University and a sense of pride in working for a world leading institution were clearly evident within the accounts of several participants, as demonstrated by those of Martin, a senior manager, and Chloe, a project developer:

And I like Oxford, I think it's a good university. And the thought that we're... it sounds very worthy, but that you know we're working hard to improve the life of students, researchers and wider society, is fantastic. You know you get kind of a buzz from that. And even though I'm in an admin function, I have sort of a vicarious thrill in the fact that Oxford's a world leading university. And you just can't top that. And I don't think I'd get that working for an insurance company or a car manufacturer or someone like that. It just wouldn't feel the same to me. So underpinning all of what I do is the thought that it's important.

Martin, senior manager

Yeah I mean I feel that's partly working for the University. I mean I don't know if I'd feel like this about a company or something. I feel like the University is sort of a community as well. And my husband and I were both undergraduates at Oxford as well so we've got... I don't know I feel like it's sort of been part of us for quite a long time now.

Chloe, project developer

This commitment to colleagues, 'customers' and the aims of the wider University instils within the department's employees a sense of moral responsibility to not let others down. This secondary strand to the responsibilisation of IT participants at an organisational level is not simply grounded in neoliberal self-governance, therefore, but also in interpersonal relations of care and social contract ideologies (see Trnka and Trundle 2014). Alongside the responsibility to self-manage one's hours, this sense of moral responsibility leads to the potential for participants to overinvest in their work. However, there are two specific sets of issues that result in this potential for long hours becoming a reality.

The first group of issues are organisation-specific, and relate to the operational and cultural environment of the department. Although interrelated, four such issues are apparent from the accounts provided by participants. The first of these concerns shortcomings or inefficiencies around the department's organisational structure and operating procedures. In part this relates to the friendly, collaborative working environment previously described, since the other side of this coin is an organisation in which there is perceived to be little central authority, and where eschewing conflict tends to take precedence over holding individuals to account. It is perhaps also a consequence of the recent merger, wherein the transition from what might be described as a 'divisional' organisational structure (in which there were effectively three separate, autonomous departments) to a more 'functional' structure (in which these divisions have been brought together into a single line management structure) means there is inevitably some duplication amongst teams that has yet to be reconciled. This state of affairs is summarised by Peter, a business analyst approaching his seventh year with the University:

> *The [department's] administration has a very loose structure. And my own personal view is that it's too loose and that there needs to be a bit more... command and control maybe is too strong a term, but there needs to be more accountability for what people do. People need to have a clearer understanding for what they're responsible for and what they need to deliver. There's a lot of blurred lines between whose job – you know: 'Is that my job or their job?'*
>
> *Peter, business analyst*

As noted previously, the merger also coincided with changes to various organisational processes and procedures – partly as a response to the ambiguities inherent in the three earlier departments. However, this work is ongoing and where new systems have been implemented, they remain (at the time of writing) somewhat immature. The result of these shortcomings is that 'responsibilised' employees are overexerting themselves in an attempt to ensure the continued delivery of services:[57]

> *What we're seeing is that individuals are fantastic – brilliant knowledge, very eager to help, very competent – but they are individual heroics that are being used to deliver service. We don't have the organisational mechanism and the process to deliver that consistently and predictably.*
>
> *Damian, senior manager*

The effects of these shortcomings are exacerbated by a second operational factor – a lack of resource. Indeed, there was a sense amongst several managers that staffing levels had failed to keep up with demand in recent years. Whilst partly a University-wide issue linked to the uncertain economic and funding climate following the financial crisis of 2007-08, this shortfall is also connected to the aforementioned merger, which necessitated the creation of an integrated budget and was accompanied by a period of reflection to establish the status of various posts (and where the associated funding for these would come from). As before, the result is that employees – driven by a moral duty to others and without restrictions on their working hours – overstretch themselves in an attempt to maintain service levels, as the following extracts demonstrate:

[57] This is not necessarily to suggest that the organisation is right to move towards a more authoritative or tightly documented mode of working. Indeed, as was noted earlier, there is a perception amongst some participants that these changes have increased the amount of time spent on administration and made the department a less amicable place to work.

There are resourcing issues in the majority of the teams that I have here. The helpdesk and the desktop support team cannot currently cope with all of the demand that is coming into them, and in some areas they are pretty much working purely on the high priority work that's coming through. [...] So there is a sense in those cultures that we are strained, overstretched, but doing the best that we possibly can.

Damian, senior manager

And there is a sort of... I think there's really a chronic under-resourcing in the technical teams, is the core issue. [...] And the budget is tight so we're not recruiting backfills. So we've got... we had a chronic understaffing in the beginning, and now we're just taking on more and more project work, so the pressure is more and more on all of us all the time. And kind of... and I think we've got a very strong work ethic – that we do the best for our customers no matter what. Which I think results in us working voluntarily overtime and not thinking about: 'Oh my god it's 18:30, I ought to go home'.

Laura, team leader

The third organisational issue of note, and one that again relates to the collaborative and consultative working environment within the department, concerns the number of meetings that those in management positions in particular are required to attend. Indeed, almost all managerial participants reported spending more time in meetings than at their desk, as Kathryn's account illustrates:

There can be a lot of meetings in a day. I don't have much time in between meetings. It's a meeting and then a gap and then a meeting and then a meeting and then a gap. It's all meetings – that's all I do is go to meetings.

Kathryn, senior manager

Whist this degree of consultation obviously affords some benefits, it can also have a knock-on effect in terms of hours and result in time spent working at home on evenings and weekends (see also Rutherford 2001). Esther, a senior manager who regularly worked between 45 and 50 hours a week, was particularly affected in this way:

> *My frustration, and the reason why at times it becomes quite stressful, is because there is very little time to do the actions or activities that you end up with out of those meetings – follow up things. And while you're in those meetings emails keep coming. So by the time you get to the end of the day and you arrive at your desk you see that the inbox is full. And somehow you just don't feel that you have the time to do that. So for example last night actually thinking about it, I had some time back looking... dialling in, going on via the internet and checking emails. And responding to some things that I knew I had to respond to – because it was time sensitive.*
>
> *Esther, senior manager*

The volume of meetings is also in some respects a reflection of the fourth and final organisational factor to be discussed by participants – the (perhaps overly) ambitious nature of the department. This ambition is evident both in terms of the sheer number of services and projects the department is simultaneously attempting to deliver, and the meticulousness with which each of these is approached by the majority of staff. Given the academic setting and the extent to which participants bought into the ethos of the University, as discussed previously, this quest for precision is perhaps unsurprising. However, as the accounts of Colin and Damian demonstrate, an unintentional side effect of this ambition is that 'responsibilised' employees again end up working longer hours than they otherwise might:

The culture of the department is not one of you have to work long hours. It's more a culture of we're ambitious about what we want to achieve. So I don't think I could point to external forces driving that, beyond the fact that I think we're doing too much as a department.

Colin, senior manager

You know the nature of academic work, research work – that kind of culture in the University – is often more about exploring things, finding the details and getting to the solution. When you translate that into the supporting roles, for example in IT, it's very easy to lose your focus. [...] When somebody phones up with a fault, what they need is to be able to get back to work. What they don't need necessarily is for somebody to have gone to the n^{th} degree to find out why that particular pen falling off the cupboard 16 weeks ago resulted in a network outage today. [...] People haven't got that across the board here. So you know that's one example of where the University culture means that people work in a particular way.

Damian, senior manager

Whilst the first two organisational factors discussed are (relatively) temporary issues relating to the recent restructure, the department's strong meeting culture and ambitious nature are – as Damian's account suggests – more ingrained characteristics. Indeed, as with the belief that individual employees are responsible for managing their hours, these cultural features have taken the form of accepted norms. Consequently, whilst participants are clearly aware of their existence (as the above quotes illustrate), the fact they are a significant driver of their long working hours is not fully acknowledged. Accordingly – and as I will shortly discuss in more detail – these hours continue to be regarded primarily as a personal choice. This is true also of the second set of issues I wish to discuss, which relate to the nature of professional service work more generally.

Here too four such issues are apparent. Firstly, service provision, by its very nature, is intrinsically relational – that is to say, it involves an implicit understanding that the customer's efforts are heavily dependent upon one's own. This is especially the case for IT staff given the critical nature of this service to the day-to-day running of the modern workplace – a fact that only adds to employees' sense of moral responsibility to others. Secondly and relatedly, because much of the department's work is customer driven, it tends to be reactive (rather than proactive) in nature. This means control and predictability are low, and there is scope for requests to come through outside of traditional office hours (see also Henry and Massey 1995, Rubery et al. 2005). Jack's account of the day-to-day pressures upon his team illustrates these two points, as well as the way in which 'responsibilised' employees end up working long hours as a result:

> *The academics and admissions tutors who work on admissions don't keep to nice 09:00 to 17:00 working hours – they do their work outside of it. They expect to have support. So we you know... on the one hand we're dependent upon staff to provide that support on a good will basis. And we are very lucky within... particularly in my group, who often get called upon to provide that kind of support, we have very professional, capable... and they have a professional culture – they can't help themselves, they want to provide that support. And we do recompense them. […] But my worry is that there are some staff who seem to be always working weekends at the moment, or long hours. […] So it's all very well saying it's all based on good will, but there will be implicit pressures I think or expectations on staff, which is very difficult to get around. You know as soon as you call somebody to say do you know [the email service] is down, you're already... even though you're saying words like good will and all the rest of it, you're already putting pressure on somebody to respond and to do something.*
>
> *Jack, senior manager*

This lack of control over the demands placed upon them is particularly acute for those in management positions, since they must also deal with variable requests upon their time from within their own teams (Perlow 1999, Rose 2015). Additionally, as Damian's narrative illustrates, these requests tend not to be relayed to the managerial level until they have reached a critical stage. The sense of duty he feels towards his colleagues and the wider University, combined with the indeterminate nature of his hours, nonetheless leads him to take work home in the evenings in an attempt to overcome these issues:

> *And because all of my work is on the... you know it's all this priority stuff – these things that are coming in that are calamities that need someone to sort them out – that kind of sense of control and predictability and forecasting is very hard to get. So even where I've allocated a block of time for writing one of these reports, I then have to do it in the evening. What actually happens in the day is someone else says: 'I've got a committee meeting tomorrow, I've got to send a report in on this and I need you to help me – you know, I need you to provide information into that'. And they will turn up at the last minute for these things typically [LAUGHS].*
>
> *Damian, senior manager*

The third feature of note regarding the nature of the department's work (and indeed professional work more generally) is that much of it is open-ended, without clearly defined limits (this is perhaps one of the reasons it is possible – or even desirable – to operate flexible working hours). Even where this is the case, the academic ethos of the University and the fast-changing nature of IT mean there is invariably a more perfect solution that can be pursued or various technical skills that can be enhanced, as noted earlier. Again, this characteristic of professional employment applies particularly to those in positions of seniority, since it is they who are most likely to be involved in the more strategic and reflective aspects of an organisation's endeavours. This point, and the implications it has in terms of working hours, was emphasised by Martin, who regularly worked over 45 hours a week:

> *The trouble is with the kind of work that I do I mean there could be no end to it really. You could work all the time if you set your mind to it because it's not like I've got 70 widgets to produce in a day and when I've made them I can stop. A lot of the work I do is really you know strategic or forward thinking stuff where it's never finished.*
>
> *Martin, senior manager*

The fourth and final point to be made about the nature of professional service work – and a detail that is somewhat exacerbated by the aforementioned lack of limits – is that aspects of it can be stimulating and enjoyable. Thus there is the potential for employees to get lost in their work or to take on more than is manageable because they perceive it to be interesting, as in the cases of Chloe and Toby (see also Massey 1995, Jarvis 2002, Gill and Pratt 2008):

> *There was very much a culture of people doing the work because they're interested in it. That sort of hacker kind of feel. You know people who just couldn't leave code alone and things and would be working until god knows when. And certainly before I had a child I was probably still kind of working into the small hours just because I wanted to fix something and because I was interested in it.*
>
> *Chloe, project developer*

I'm helping a peer of yours who's doing Russian contemporary history and he's got documents in a Russian duma [an advisory council to national or city rulers] about the... he's got the records of emendations proposed to laws and other resulting laws. And he's interested in working out whether more laws are passed by the controlling party – that kind of thing. So it involves kind of text analysis and data manipulation. So I'm doing that kind of... I might do that in the evening for fun. So it's come to me in a work context, but it's kind of fun. So I'll do it in the evening without really... because I haven't got time during the day.

Toby, senior manager

Narratives such as these link back to a love of the job and the idea of achieving self-actualisation through work, as discussed previously. Yet despite this enjoyment, a sense of moral responsibility and desire to help others (as in Toby's account) still typically underpins these periods of additional work. However, since much of their work *is* stimulating and because they perceive they have control over their working time (and given the friendly, supportive nature of the department certainly do not feel pressured into working additional hours), many participants do not fully grasp the manner in which they are 'responsibilised' – and thus that, in effect, they are "governed through [their] freedom" (Rose 1999: 62). Nor do they appreciate how these two sets of additional factors – relating both to the operational and cultural environment of the department and the nature of professional service work more generally – ensure that the possibility for long hours becomes a reality. Consequently, and in keeping with the insidious nature of neoliberal governmentality, these long hours are typically seen as the result of individual failings, leading to a process of self-blame in cases where they contribute to a time squeeze:

You know the fact that I probably come over as a kind of workaholic is true, but not because work asks me to be. [...] So [although] I wouldn't say my work-life balance is very good and my time control is very good, I feel as if it's under my... it's my fault if it's not.

Toby, senior manager

Indeed, it was a noticeable feature of several of my research interviews in the IT department that, in reflecting on the pressures they faced in juggling the demands of work and home, participants ended up blaming their lack of time management skills or personal work ethic rather than the various structural constraints discussed above. This is exemplified by the accounts of Chloe and Stephen:

I think it's been really useful just to try and write down those times [on the timeline]. I think I ought to... I wish I could do that for every day and realise how much time I'm wasting on things. I mean I've been quite interested lately in trying to keep track of how much time I'm spending on some things online and stuff. […] I mean I think it's reminded me that I'm terrible at time management – so thanks for that [BOTH LAUGH].

Chloe, project developer

I genuinely think a lot of it comes from myself – my work ethic. Thinking: 'Oh I should be getting a bit more done than this'. And I think a lot of the pressure comes from within. […] I don't feel that I've had bosses on my back saying you know: 'We need to get more out of you, you've been late on a couple of things recently' – that kind of thing.

Stephen, service manager

It is the second of these issues – the notion of the work ethic – that forms the central focus of the next section of this chapter, wherein I turn my attention to the long working hours of college participants.

4.6. College participants and responsibility as a citizen

As outlined earlier in the chapter, a total of 10 college employees regularly work long hours. In all but three cases, these long hours were the result of participants holding multiple jobs, rather than working overtime in a single position (as in the case of those in the IT department). Indeed, the vast majority of those working in a college environment were able to work within their contractual hours. This is perhaps to be expected for those in low-skilled manual and routine positions in particular, given that these tend to involve set shifts rather than the more open-ended arrangements typical of many professional, office-based environments.

The three exceptions to this rule were all in managerial or supervisorial roles (in IT, gardening and catering respectively). This is perhaps unsurprising given the propensity for long working hours amongst managers within the IT department, as discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. Indeed, these three individuals share a number of similarities with their IT counterparts and their long hours can, to a significant degree, also be attributed to a process of 'responsibilisation' – both in terms of managing their working hours (two of these three are the only individuals not to have set contractual hours amongst college participants) and a sense of moral duty towards students and fellow staff, in this case within their respective colleges. The following two excerpts illustrate this point. The first comes from Graham, the garden and grounds manager in one of the participating colleges, who regularly exceeded a nominal 40 hour week – especially during the summer months. This was partly because of the responsibility he felt to ensure that those who worked under him did not go beyond their own contractual hours:

> *I mean they say that... you know: 'You should delegate more Graham', is what he [the College Warden] says to me – which is fine. But you know I've always been... I've always had like a saying that you know I wouldn't give anyone else something to do that I wasn't prepared to do myself. And a lot of the time I probably do do it myself rather than... because these boys do their hours anyway and get paid less than me. So I'm kind of happy to do the extra. I know they'll do it if I ask them to, but I'm happy to do it.*
>
> *Graham, garden and grounds manager*

The second excerpt comes from Bradley, the IT manager at another of the University's colleges, who previously worked in a range of other IT-related roles within the University. As with a number of those in the IT department itself, Bradley places much of the blame for his long hours on himself – suggesting his sense of time stress is "self-generated":

> *It's probably... you know at some level this job is more stressful even if that stress is sort of self-generated. I think you know before one could always feel well there's someone else in IT who is higher up than me. Whereas you know now, yes although there is someone I report to, they're not the IT person – so it's sort of more the responsibility I feel stops with me. And I think therefore there's a sense that if I'm awake I ought to be trying to do something to try and you know improve things or fix things.*
>
> *Bradley, IT manager*

The last of this managerial trio – Paul – was also imbued with a sense of moral responsibility, particularly towards his staff. As the catering manager within one of the participating colleges he felt it was important to visibly "lead from the front" and to be available should his staff need to "touch base". These staff operate on a split-shift system (with separate morning and evening shifts) due to the nature of catering provision within University colleges, which generally covers all three meals of the day (i.e. breakfast, lunch and dinner). As a result, Paul comes in early and leaves late, meaning he consistently works more than 50 hours a week. However, it would be misleading to paint this as a simple case of cause and effect, as several other narratives were also apparent during the course of Paul's interview. Chief amongst these was his love for the job. Indeed, this was to his mind the principal driver of his long working hours, as the following passage illustrates:

> *It is my passion, so I'm probably not the best person to interview because I have such a passion for it. So I'm probably different – not to everyone – but to a lot of people. A lot of people will go to work... I think 80 percent of people go to work and don't enjoy it – I think that's the figure isn't it? [...] So if that answers the question... I tend to be quite work... you know I've got a Protestant work ethic I'm afraid. And I can't help that, because it's just in your nature. You might have a different nature, other people might have different natures. So I don't really... when I go home I just switch off really – basically.*
>
> *Paul, head of catering*

It is clear from these words that Paul is passionate about his work and that he considers himself fortunate to have a job he enjoys, since he believes the same cannot be said for many others. On one level, then, his long hours could be seen as relatively unproblematic – they being more the result of a 'willing worker' than any significant external pressures or constraints. However, this optimism is tempered somewhat by the latter part of the narrative, which suggests he is not entirely in control of his working hours and that his actions are at least partly directed by the internalisation of a 'Protestant' work ethic. It becomes further problematic when we consider that work dominates his life to such an extent that he is able to do little other than "switch off" during the time he is not working. This 'normalisation' of a strong work ethic – and the way in which it subtly encourages participants to overinvest in their work – is a theme to which I shall shortly return, as my focus now shifts to those whose long hours are the result of holding two or more jobs.

Despite evidence suggesting a significant increase over recent decades in the number of individuals holding multiple jobs, the motives underlying this trend have remained somewhat neglected by academics (Dickey et al. 2011). Perhaps the most prominent body of literature to have engaged with this topic (see, for instance, Allen and Henry 1997, Reimer 1998, 1999, Ehrenreich 2001, Toynbee 2003, Standing 2011, McDowell and Dyson 2011, and Jacobs and Padavic 2015) has focused on those at the bottom end of the labour market. This has been characterised in recent years by a growth in precarious forms of attachment – particularly part-time and temporary positions – which often lack the security of long-term employment or steady hours. Consequently, a growing number of individuals – particularly women, but increasingly also working class men following the decline of traditional industrial and manufacturing jobs (see, for instance, McDowell 2003) – are forced to patch together two or more part-time posts in an attempt to replicate full-time employment. Furthermore, the low-paid nature of much of this work, plus the fact it tends to be offered in discrete blocks of time, means that long hours are inevitable for many individuals. Even those in full-time posts are not immune from these pressures – such employees may deem it necessary to adopt a second job (and thus longer hours) as a form of insurance strategy, as Reimer (1998) noted in her study of manual work in British local authorities.

As mentioned previously, however, the University is a relatively considerate employer and, as a quasi-public sector institution, is at least partially removed from the ruthless excesses of the neoliberal marketplace. Accordingly, amongst the participants in this research holding two or more jobs, only one – Maria – might be described as having something akin to a precarious labour market attachment. An eastern European immigrant, Maria works 45 hours a week across two cleaning roles – 30 hours in one of the participating colleges and 15 hours in a separate evening job. As the following account makes clear, this is because she has found it difficult to find a full-time position since her arrival in the UK in 2011:

> *I would like to have one job yeah. A full-time and yeah... but I think it's difficult because in the colleges they usually give like five or six hours. So yeah to get... I think to get nine hours per day in one job is difficult. It depends what you want to do – like for cleaning I don't think so. […] But anyway I would like to have one job and yeah like nine or eight hours. I think... because I think it's nice to have evenings – free time in the evenings. But now I have no choice – I have to.*
>
> *Maria, cleaner*

In line with the dominant narrative of the studies outlined above, it soon became apparent that financial pressures associated with the cost of living were behind Maria's conviction that she had "no choice" other than to work two jobs. This is a particularly pertinent issue in Oxford, where private sector rents are amongst the least affordable in the country (Oxford City Council 2012). I do not, therefore, seek to dispute the considerable lengths to which an increasing number of individuals in precarious employment are required to go in order to simply make a living. Nor do I wish to deny that a financial motive for taking on extra hours was partially present in the accounts of other participants holding multiple jobs – even amongst those who held a full-time position in one of the participating colleges. Nonetheless, this was not the foremost explanatory narrative to emerge from the interviews with this group of participants.

Returning briefly to the literature, where non-pecuniary drivers of multiple job-holding have been examined, the focus has tended to be on the so-called 'heterogeneous jobs' hypothesis (Dickey et al. 2011). This posits that individuals may take on a second job – one that differs from their primary occupation – in order to enhance their skills or experience, or to derive a sense of job satisfaction that their main post fails to afford them. However, I believe this hypothesis also fails to adequately describe the motives of participants in this study, not least because several of them perform the same type of work in both of their jobs. Instead, I wish to return to the topic introduced towards the end of the discussion of Paul's working hours – namely, the role of a strong work ethic.

Beder (2000) argues that the work ethic has been actively promoted by those in power throughout modern history, but that the meanings ascribed to it have changed over time (see also McGee 2005). From its religious origins as a calling and moral duty to God, the work ethic gradually evolved into a secular quest for social mobility and financial success, in which characteristics such as ambition, hard work and self-reliance would be materially rewarded. More recently, as the maxim of the self-made man has begun to be questioned, efforts have been made to increase employee productivity through the use of participatory forms of management and corporate values (du Gay 1991, 1996, Willmott 1993, Delbridge 1998, Bunting 2004, Kunda 2006). As outlined previously, there have also been attempts to conflate the work ethic with self-expression, enjoyment and play – particularly in professional and creative working environments (Ross 2003, Fleming 2009, Walker 2011). However, arguably the most dominant manifestation of this ethic in recent times – and one that can be seen as an attempt to capture those who have little chance of success or the luxury of a stimulating job – has been that of 'work as responsibility' (see, for example, Beder 2000, Lister 2001, Patrick 2012). Herein, the moral duty to work is tied to one's citizenship, stemming from an "obligation to contribute to the wealth creation of the nation and the maintenance of one's family" (Beder 2000: 175). As such, it increasingly applies to groups traditionally excluded from the responsibility to participate in paid work, including mothers with school-aged children and disabled people (McDowell et al. 2005b, MacLeavy 2007).

Furthermore, Forkert (2014) suggests that in the UK at least, political emphasis on hard work and civic duty has been intensified in recent years in an attempt to normalise the hardship associated with austerity and the need to sacrifice living standards in order to pay off the national debt. Certainly, the present Conservative government (first in coalition and now with an outright majority) has invoked the theme of 'hardworking' people and families with continued regularity. This is in part also an attempt to justify cuts to welfare spending, since those in receipt of benefits are increasingly characterised as the polar opposite of 'hardworking' (as captured by the divisive rhetoric of 'skivers versus strivers' [O'Hara 2014, Valentine and Harris 2014]).[58] Indeed, by framing work as a responsibility – and the absence of employment as a sign of individual choice (i.e. a supply-side issue) rather than a lack of decent, secure, well-paid opportunities (i.e. a demand-side issue) – the idea that those without a job are irresponsible and undeserving of state support has become widely accepted (Newman 2011). Correspondingly, even those at the lower end of the labour market – such as Jamie – tend to direct their frustrations towards the unemployed, rather than the behaviour of political and financial elites or wider structural issues such as growing inequality:

> *I can't understand people... I'm not being disrespectful to them – they're on the dole, they say: 'Oh I can't get work'. There is work out there if you want it. I don't agree with anyone saying they can't work. It's not a case of they can't, it's that they don't want to. Because of society... I would be better off actually on social security than I would working. Because one they pay your rent, your council tax and everything else – you get more money than what I do earning it. But I prefer to get out of bed and go and work for it.*
>
> *Jamie, night porter*

The reduction in welfare spending that is vindicated by this worldview is but one example of an ongoing reversal of social and economic rights under neoliberalism – a process which Standing (2011, 2014) contends is resulting in an increasing number of citizens being converted into 'denizens' (i.e. individuals with only partial rights). Arguably, then, participation in paid employment is now necessary

[58] This is in spite of the fact that (on the basis of 2011-2012 figures) benefits specifically for 'Unemployed People' make up just 3 percent of total welfare spending in the UK (5.2 billion of a total welfare budget of 201.0 billion), whilst those for 'Families with Children' and 'People on Low Incomes' (many of whom are in work) contribute 18 percent (37.0 billion) and 21 percent (41.8 billion) respectively (see Institute for Fiscal Studies figures in Hamnett 2014). Furthermore, the language of 'welfare spending' or 'benefits claimants' (rather than, say, 'social security') is itself part of an attempt to frame this financial support in negative terms (see Massey 2013).

not only to be considered a good or worthy citizen, but to be regarded as a citizen at all.

Returning to the theme of working hours and maintaining the analytic perspective of Foucault's governmentality, it is these twin processes of 'responsibilisation' (that individuals are personally accountable for their labour market participation and performance) and 'normalisation' (of the virtues of hard work) that seemingly underpin the long hours of college participants holding a second job. This becomes clear as we unpick the accounts of Naomi – a full-time college gardener who also regularly works for private clients on evenings and weekends – and Amber – who, in addition to her full-time position as an events manager, typically works three or four evenings each week as a dining hall supervisor at a second college:

> *I like working, I like keeping busy. Like on the weekends if I'm not actually gardening I feel a bit lethargic and urgh – if you're not getting up and being active. So I've never minded doing like three hours on a Sunday morning, like five hours on a Saturday to get some extra pay in.*
>
> *Naomi, gardener, single, no children*

I've always had a second job so I think now it's just normal for me. And I kind of feel if I'm free why not work. I think it's just a mentality that I've kind of grown up with – my brother has two jobs as well. […] And then... and I do find by doing the extra hours, when I do have free time I appreciate it more and I feel like I can relax on my time off because I deserve it – because I've worked pretty hard. So I think I just feel a bit lazy if I haven't got something else to do. So I mean for example over Christmas when all of the colleges are closed – well, where I work anyway – and you know I'll have a complete two or three weeks off, I feel quite... like I should be doing something. So... and I enjoy it. I mean the main factor is I like the people I work with. For me it's kind of a social... you know I work hard but I like hanging out with the people that I work with.

Amber, events manager, married/long-term partner, no children

On one level, these accounts may seem relatively unproblematic. As with Paul, both participants claim to enjoy their work and thus, it seems, willingly take on these extra hours. For both, there is partly also a financial motivation, but this too is apparently a matter of preference rather than borne out of necessity (Amber later revealed that her second job helps to fund regular periods of overseas travel). However, read another way, these accounts indicate just how pervasive has become the mantra that hard work – specifically that undertaken for pay – is virtuous and the sign of a responsible citizen.[59] In fact, so ingrained is this way of thinking – so "normal" does it seem for Amber to have a second job – that these participants find it difficult to enjoy their time off, filled as they are by a sense of laziness or even guilt.

Furthermore, these excerpts allude to the paucity of alternative avenues to which individuals may devote their energy in an attempt to forge both personal meaning

[59] The neoliberal valorisation of *paid* work means that other forms of work – such as care and voluntary work – are afforded secondary status. Indeed, the emphasis on paid employment as the most fundamental of citizenship duties somewhat undermines the Government's concept of 'The Big Society', both in terms of the importance attached to, and the time available for, voluntary work (Patrick 2012).

and social relationships – particularly for those without strong family commitments, as is the case for Naomi and Amber. Indeed, it becomes clear towards the end of her narrative that for Amber in particular the social aspect of her second job is its main appeal. This perhaps ought not to be surprising, since Beder (2000) argues that the relentless promotion (and thus 'normalisation') of the work ethic has resulted in work becoming the central feature of most people's lives – including their main form of social contact and sense of personal identity and self-worth (see also Bunting 2004, Doherty 2009, Pupo et al. 2011).[60] Of course, this only serves to reinforce the idea that paid work offers the primary route to happiness and self-fulfilment, as discussed earlier in the chapter (this in turn means that one's sense of responsibility to the nation ultimately ties in to their sense of responsibility to the self).

Focusing further on the centrality of paid work, the theme of taking on additional work for the social interaction it provides was also evident in my interviews with Sharon and Jamie. A part-time seamstress in one of the participating colleges, Sharon had recently taken on an evening job working in a local shop. Whilst there is a possibility she underplays the financial imperative for doing so, the following exchange makes clear her primary motivation:

[60] Beder's stance (and indeed my own) thus contrasts with that of social theorists such as Bauman (1998), who suggests that the transition from a 'producer' to a 'consumer' society means that paid work now plays a diminished role in the contemporary life experience.

Sharon: Well it's just a basic [convenience] shop. And I always go in there and they wanted somebody to work for a few hours. So I said: 'Yeah OK I'll do it'. Because I get bored in the evenings. But I've only been doing that since January.

Tom: OK. So it was as much kind of something to do as it was financial...

Sharon: Oh no, no it's just basically because I get bored in the evenings sitting there. So I just sort of thought: 'No I'll just go and get myself a little job'.

Tom: OK. [But] you still feel like you have enough free time outside of work to do your own thing?

Sharon: Yeah because I don't actually class that as sort of like work, because you just go there and you have a laugh. There's always somebody who comes into the shop – somebody to talk to. So it takes time away. So you know... yeah I do have enough time out of work, for what I need to do.

Sharon, seamstress, widowed, 2 children (both aged 19+)

Although stating that she enjoys the job to the extent that she does not see it as work, the fact she viewed paid employment as the best means of allaying her boredom is again indicative of a society in which, outside of one's immediate family, work offers the easiest means of social contact (see also Doherty 2009). Indeed, the use of the words "takes time away" towards the end of this exchange – although perhaps linked to her status as a widow – is a rather sad indictment of the value Sharon attributes to her time outside of the economic sphere and suggests a perceived lack of alternative ways in which to derive meaning from this time.

A similar narrative emerged from the interview with Jamie, a night porter working full-time hours in one of the participating colleges. On top of this role, Jamie regularly takes on additional hours – sometimes as many as 60 or 70 a month – providing holiday or sickness cover at another of the University's colleges where he knows many of the staff. Although there is again partly a financial motive for doing so, it was clear from Jamie's account that his actions are also driven by the social interaction the college environment provides. Such contact is largely absent from his life outside of work – a consequence of his 'antisocial' working hours, his relatively recent divorce and, as the following account makes clear, his shy personality:

> *I'm not a very sociable person... well not sociable as such... I'm quite a shy person believe it or not. And working here it sort of brings you a little bit out of your shell because people talk to you. Because I'm not very good at conversations. So they talk to me and I listen, and then I put my comments over to them. So I get a bit of interaction with the students. Also my colleague he's very good – he's always talking.*
>
> *Jamie, night porter, separated/divorced, 1 child (aged 19+)*

Indeed, work seemingly provides a far greater source of meaning in Jamie's life than does his non-work time. It gives him "something to get out of bed for" and a sense of belonging that otherwise seems to be missing from his life. Given this context, it is perhaps not entirely surprising that he takes on extra hours when they are available.

This sense of communality is, of course, a notable and enduring feature of the University's collegiate system. Indeed, Oxford colleges have long been based on forms of 'out-of-hours' collegiality amongst support staff as well as academics, and there are strong familial and social links between college employees, often stretching back several generations (see, for instance, Schwartz 2011, Harrison

2012).[61] As well as potentially encouraging individuals to seek additional work for social contact (as in the case of Jamie), these close ties can strengthen the sense of moral responsibility employees feel towards one another, as discussed earlier in relation to both IT participants and college managerial staff. This was apparent from the interview with Luke – an assistant catering manager who is also employed on a slightly more casual basis as a tour guide for college guests – who stated that "because it's a community I tend to go most probably beyond my job specification... to achieve maybe insurmountable tasks sometimes for people that I care about". There was, however, another narrative in Luke's interview – one that again links back to the notion of the work ethic and the centrality of paid work in contemporary society. Indeed, in addition to his work as a guide, one of the reasons for Luke's long hours is that he occasionally ends up overseeing dinner functions on his days off, as the following passage makes clear:

> *I'm off on [weekday] and [weekday] always, regardless of conference or term time. Unless the Warden has got you know [lists examples of recent high-profile guests] on a [weekday] night – then I have to come in on my night off and work. [...] Because they don't want [colleague] doing it. [...] So through my own sort of... this sounds arrogant but through my own success I'm the only one that they want over there. So I have to... if they want something, whatever it is, I have to do it.*
>
> *Luke, assistant catering manager*

Initially, Luke gave the impression that he viewed such requests as something of an imposition; in fact, the above quote suggests he is powerless to resist them. However, he later admitted he was "not forced" to accept these extra hours.

[61] A number of the participants in this research mentioned that family members or friends also worked in the University's colleges; these connections were often the means through which they had first become aware of the job vacancy they came to fill.

Furthermore, it was clear from the way these words were delivered that he takes a certain pride in the fact he is "the only one that they want" to supervise these functions. It would seem, therefore, that Luke's work is a significant source of status and self-identity, and provides him with a sense of being valued (Doherty 2009, Pupo et al. 2011). It is these factors, I suggest, that primarily persuade him to take up the offers of additional hours.

This theme of work providing a source of identity and sense of self-worth was also present in Naomi's account. Her reputation as a "really hard worker" – not just in terms of the number of hours she works, but also the speed or productivity she displays in these hours – is a significant source of personal pride, as the following excerpt illustrates:

> *I'm a really hard worker. And I know a lot of people in sort of... you can be a bit of a slacker as a labourer sometimes. So yeah I'll go in and get four times as much done as anyone else does. [...] No one works as fast as me – no one. Maybe Usain Bolt works faster than me – that's about it [LAUGHS].[62] And I pride myself on this.*
>
> *Naomi, gardener*

In cases such as those discussed here, long working hours can become a sort of reinforcing cycle, in that the more work becomes the primary source of personal meaning or social contact in one's life, the greater the incentive to devote more of one's time to it. Parallels can perhaps be drawn here with the work of Arlie Hochschild (1997), who suggested in *The Time Bind* that the long hours worked by a growing number of women could be attributed to a reversal of the roles of work

[62] Usain Bolt is a Jamaican athlete and current World Record holder in both the 100 and 200 metres.

and home in contemporary life – with the former increasingly offering a greater source of security, pride and sense of being valued than the latter. However, Hochschild's account has been criticised for the emphasis it places on individual agency and the notion that long hours are the result of a straightforward choice made by 'willing workers' (see, for instance, Southerton 2003 and Jarvis 2005). Indeed, I believe the long hours of multiple job holders such as Jamie, Naomi, Amber, Sharon and Luke ought primarily to be seen as evidence of a perceived lack of opportunities for deriving a sense of meaning from their time outside of work, rather than as any great endorsement of the self-actualising nature of their employment. This is not to denigrate the value of their work, which is crucial to the running of day-to-day college life, or to question the enjoyment they claim to derive from it. Rather, it is to emphasise that their actions are constrained. To this end, a governmentality perspective allows us to see that their apparently free choice to take on second jobs (and thus work long hours) is in fact subtly guided by the contemporary valorisation of *paid* employment and the growing emphasis on hard work as the sign of a virtuous, responsible citizen. In this sense, like their long hours counterparts in the IT department, they are "governed through [their] freedom" (Rose 1999: 62).

4.7. Conclusion

In keeping with growing concern about the prevalence of excessive working hours in certain occupations and sectors, almost half of the participants in this research were regularly working 'long' hours at the time they were interviewed. Drawing on these participants' accounts, I have demonstrated that Foucault's concept of governmentality – and, in particular, the technologies of responsibilisation and normalisation – offer a productive means of explaining these long hours. Specifically, there are three strands to this 'responsibility' thesis, which broadly equate to three different scales. Firstly, there is a sense of responsibility to the self to personally manage one's career trajectory and pursue self-actualisation through work. Secondly, as a result of the friendly, autonomous working environment and a commitment to the ideals of the University, there is a sense of moral responsibility to not let others down (as well as to self-manage one's working hours). Finally, there is a wider sense of responsibility tied to one's status as a citizen and the importance of a strong work ethic. This sense of 'work as responsibility' encourages long hours both directly – by perpetuating the myth that hard work is virtuous – and indirectly – through the way in which it leads to paid employment becoming the primary form of social contact and sense of personal identity in a number of participants' lives. As I have demonstrated, the first two scales relate primarily to the long hours of IT participants, whilst the third is of most relevance to college employees, whose long hours typically result from holding a second job rather than working 'overtime' in a single role.

By bringing together these three strands and focusing on long working hours through the lens of governmentality I have made a novel contribution to the literature and highlighted the need to look beyond the more direct or explicit causal links commonly cited. Indeed, whilst narratives relying on notions of the 'willing worker' (on the one hand) or the calculated exploitation of employees (on the other hand) undoubtedly offer accurate representations of many modern workplaces, the more subtle ways in which individuals may be compelled to overinvest in their work are often overlooked. In particular, I suggest the first of the three strands discussed (that of pursuing self-actualisation through work) is likely to be relevant to those working in intellectually challenging or creative environments, where aspects of one's work are often stimulating and enjoyable. Meanwhile, the second strand (that of moral responsibility to others) may be of most significance to public service and third-sector (i.e. not-for-profit) environments in which employees feel an affinity with the goals and motives of their employer. Finally, the third strand (that of responsibility as a citizen) appears most pertinent to those in less advantaged positions – although the centrality of work as a source of social interaction and personal identity undoubtedly has broader relevance, being a pervasive issue across the social spectrum.

Chapter 5: Tempo

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter my attention turns to the dimension of 'tempo'. In particular, I focus on the widespread perception that the pace of life is speeding up – a phenomenon that a number of social theorists (including Castells 1996, 2010, Urry 2000, 2009 and Hassan 2004, 2009) attribute primarily to the rapid expansion of ICTs over the past three decades. Drawing on participants' accounts, I demonstrate that this dominant narrative of technological acceleration – whilst not without basis – is overly simplistic, for three related reasons. Firstly, it is too deterministic in its treatment of digital technologies and thus presents a picture of all-encompassing acceleration that is not matched by the reality of participants' varied experience of ICTs. Secondly, it underplays the role of other potential drivers of a perceived increase in the pace of life. Thirdly, it is concerned primarily with macro-scale understandings of time and space, paying insufficient regard to the ways in which widespread societal changes link to daily practices and lived experience at an individual level, as well as the role that more personal timescales play in shaping participants' temporal experiences.

The chapter proceeds in six sections. I begin by foregrounding the relative nature of speed and introducing a conceptual framework based on the three-fold temporal distinction in Anthony Giddens' (1976, 1979, 1984) theory of structuration. The purpose is to highlight the limitations of universal, linear accounts of acceleration and to draw attention to the multiple timescales involved in shaping perceptions of speed. I then explore the popular narrative of technological acceleration – which holds that modern ICTs are the primary cause of our increasingly hurried lives – in more detail. Drawing on participants' accounts – particularly those of IT employees – I outline four qualities of digital technologies that may explain this perception. However, I also warn against technological determinism and highlight some of the shortcomings of this dominant narrative. In particular, my research interviews make clear that not all individuals have an equal relationship with technology and, consequently, acceleration is unevenly experienced – with social class and age both important mediating factors. Relatedly, I also demonstrate that ICTs do not only or inevitably lead to increased speed.

In the third and fourth sections of the chapter I move to a discussion of other drivers of the increasing pace of life evident in participants' accounts. In the former I focus on the quantitative aspects of time use and arguments that modern citizens are literally 'doing more'. More specifically, I examine the growth of dual-earner couples and the idea that 'busyness' – particularly in relation to paid work – has become a 'badge of honour' (Gershuny 2005), as well as changing cultural norms and ideals around the pursuit of experiences. In the latter my focus turns to the qualitative or experiential aspects of time and specific episodes that might be described as 'rushed' or 'harried' as a result of a high density of practices. Participants' accounts reveal that such episodes of 'temporal density' (Southerton and Tomlinson 2005) are encountered both within the workplace and the home, but that these experiences are heavily classed and gendered.

In the final two sections of the chapter I turn away from longer term narratives of the increasing pace of life and focus specifically on participants' temporal experiences at shorter, more personal timescales. Firstly, I examine the role of events, including both the mundane happenings of day-to-day life and more major life events. I then highlight the way in which comparisons across the life course also shape participants' perceptions of tempo. What emerges is a more complex temporal patterning of experience, with elements of speeding up and slowing down, and both cyclical and linear rhythms – although social class, age and gender are again important axes of difference.

5.2. Conceptual framework

To help construct my argument, it is useful to lay out a framework that emphasises both the 'relative' nature of speed (see also May and Thrift 2001, Mackenzie 2002 and Wajcman 2015) and the multiple timescales that characterise human experience. Indeed, in stating that something is speeding up, there is an implication it is doing so *relative* to something else (which, by definition, is not undergoing an equivalent transformation): a comparison is thus being made between these two entities. There are, I suggest, two key elements to such a comparison. The first relates to the sense of speed itself. That is to say, any judgement of the speed of the first entity is made relative to the speed of the second entity – hence Mackenzie's (2002: 122) assertion that "we have no experience of speed except as a *difference* of speeds" (emphasis in original). It follows that we are dealing with a two-way process, in that there cannot be a fast without a slow, or a speeding up without a slowing down. Indeed, the very sense of something as having increased in speed makes other entities seem, by comparison, slower than they once appeared. Sticking to the theme of modern technology, this can be demonstrated through the way in which "new and faster computers render the speed of a machine once deemed perfectly adequate apparently obsolete" (May and Thrift 2001: 19). Thus, even if acceleration is the dominant experience of contemporary life, there must be elements too of deceleration (see also Rosa 2003, 2013).

In certain cases, it can be argued that this sense of speed is not only 'relative', but also 'relational' (see, for instance, Laurier 2004 and Adey 2006). The latter is a deeper and more intricate concept, pertaining to situations in which there is a direct relationship between the two entities in question, and in which observed changes in speed are embedded in or inherent to this relationship. Indeed, the relational point of view holds that our very awareness of speed (as with the concepts of time and space more generally) does not exist outside of our relationships with other people, places and objects (Harvey 2004, 2009). Laurier (2004) provides one such example in his study of motorway driving, noting how motorists generally identify themselves as 'fast' or 'slow' drivers and then rely on the traffic around them – rather than their speedometer – to produce a speed that is faster or slower than the average of that traffic. Thinking in relational terms, then, encourages a more contextual and personal understanding of processes and events.

This leads me to the second key element of comparisons underpinning accounts of speeding up, which relates to the interval or time span that separates the two entities in question. Indeed, contemporary concerns regarding the increasing pace of life are ultimately premised upon the idea that one period in time (i.e. the present) is faster relative to some other (historic) moment in time. Whilst the precise point of comparison varies between different narratives of social acceleration (both technological and cultural) – and whilst these accounts may recognise that perceived increases in speed are linked to changing practices and experiences at the level of day-to-day life – their fundamental concern is with what might be described, after French historian Fernand Braudel (1980), as the *longue durée*. This is a term that refers to long time spans of multiple decades or even centuries and is concerned with institutional structures in which – relatively speaking – change is slow. In other words, then, these accounts are built upon longer term historical comparisons, in which today's high-speed society is contrasted with a perceived slower pace of life in some earlier stage of society's development.

However, perceptions of speed are not based solely upon such long-term historical comparisons. Indeed, given the finitude of life these may extend beyond the direct temporal experience of any one person. At an individual level, then, our experiences are also shaped by comparisons made across more personal timescales. In developing this point, I draw on the three-fold temporal distinction in Anthony Giddens' (1976, 1979, 1984) theory of structuration. As well as the Braudelian *longue durée* of institutions, Giddens (1984: 35) identifies two other kinds of temporality, relating to the short and medium term respectively: the first is the *durée* of day-to-day experience, which is grounded in the events and routines of daily life; the second is the life span of the individual.[63] Accordingly, I demonstrate how these timescales also influence participants' perceptions of tempo in the later sections of this chapter. With regards the latter, I am particularly interested in temporal comparisons *within* the life span – that is to say, between the various phases of an individual's life course (see also Jarvis et al. 2011).

It should be emphasised that Giddens does not view these as entirely separate categories; at every moment the *durée* of day-to-day experience intersects with the life span of the individual, both of which in turn interweave with the multi-generational *longue durée* of institutions. Furthermore, he stresses that this is a two-way process, in that the *durée* of day-to-day experience and the *longue durée* of institutions are co-constitutive of one another: the latter "is both the condition and the outcome of the practices organised in the continuity of daily life" (ibid: 36). In the sections that follow, I draw out these connections by first outlining the way in which participants experience and reflect on the role of technology – and indeed other potential drivers of longer term acceleration – within their day-to-day lives, and then demonstrating how these quotidian events are set within the context of individual biographies and the relative changes in speed that accompany different phases of the life course.

[63] Braudel (1980) himself outlined two additional temporalities – analogous to those of Giddens – alongside his *longue durée*. These were the middle time span of the 'conjuncture' – which is concerned with decadal-scale cyclical movements in the economic and social spheres – and the short time span of *l'histoire événementielle* (or the 'history of events') – which is concerned with the events of daily life. Braudel's classification appears more suited to historical analysis, however, and less easily relatable to individual experience than that of Giddens.

Giddens (ibid: 35), however, does stress a distinction between the directionality or 'flow' of these temporalities. Indeed, whilst the life span of the individual is not only finite but irreversible (as captured by Martin Heidegger's (1962) notion of 'being-towards-death'), he argues that the *durée* of day-to-day experience – and the *longue durée* of institutions, given that they are co-constitutive – operates in something akin to 'reversible time' (a concept he borrows from French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss [1968]). This is a term that applies to processes which are in effect 'timeless' – or without clear temporal direction – in the sense that they can be seen to exist in past, present and future simultaneously. Whilst one can critique the use of the word 'reversible' on the grounds that it is not time itself (which is ultimately irreversible and directional), but rather specific events and tasks, that are endlessly recurring (Adam 1990: 25-27), Giddens is ultimately emphasising that daily life is infused with habits and routines, and thus has a repetitive character. Here, then, there is a recognition that the flow of time is not simply a steady linear process, but also contains elements of undulation and circularity. This too becomes clear as I expand upon participants' experiences of tempo in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

5.3. Technological acceleration

As outlined in chapter 2, a number of social theorists – most notably Manuel Castells (1996, 2010), John Urry (2000, 2009) and Robert Hassan (2004, 2009) – have argued that the speeding up or acceleration of life is one of the defining features of our time. So pervasive is this phenomenon deemed to be, that contemporary society is seen to be characterised by an entirely new temporality – one that these scholars have variously described as 'timeless time' (Castells 1996, 2010), 'instantaneous time' (Urry 2000, 2009) and 'network time' (Hassan 2004, 2009). Furthermore, whilst there are differences between these narratives, they share common ground in terms of the emphasis they place on the role of modern technology in this process – that is to say, they "make a direct, causal link between technological acceleration… and the harriedness of everyday life" (Wajcman 2015: 16).[64]

As discussed in chapter 2, the accounts of Castells, Urry and Hassan (and grand narratives of technological acceleration more generally) are also linked to the internal dynamics of the capitalist mode of production and its incessant quest to speed up the circulation of capital – as evoked by the well-known expression that 'time is money'. This drive for efficiency is facilitated by technological innovations that increase the speed of transport and – of perhaps greater significance in contemporary society – communications, which reduce the time and costs associated with increasingly global transactions. Indeed, rapid growth in the availability and capability of ICTs over the past few decades means global trade increasingly occurs in 'real-time' – with the velocity of financial trading now moving from milliseconds to microseconds (millionths of a second) (ibid: 17). The upshot of this process – commonly referred to as 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1989) – is that distance all but disappears and space appears to shrink to a 'global village'. At a more personal level, the growth of ICTs – especially the

[64] As mentioned in chapter 2, it should be recognised that Wajcman is a STS scholar who writes from a social constructionist point of view, and that some of the social theorists she cites may dispute that their work implies a 'causal' relationship.

internet (and with it email and social media) and mobile phone – has also had a significant impact on daily life; by transforming our ability to interact with people who are physically (and even temporally) absent, social relations have been stretched across time and space – part of a process that Giddens (1984, 1990) termed 'time-space distanciation'. Broadly speaking, then, it is these twin processes of 'compression' and 'distanciation' – and resulting changes in our time consciousness associated with an increasingly fluid and ephemeral digital world – that are seen as the driving forces behind the increased pace of life in late modernity.

A number of the participants in this study recited a similar narrative about the role of technology during the course of their interviews. That is, they suggested the pace of life – particularly in terms of paid work – is increasing and that digital technologies – especially in the form of email, social media and mobile phones – are the primary cause of this phenomenon. Such views were particularly common amongst those working in the IT department (with over half of participants expressing this opinion) and, to a slightly lesser extent, office-based college employees (around one third). The following quote from Megan, a senior IT manager, is a clear exemplar:

> *You can do things faster. Technology makes it possible to do things faster. And I suppose the technology makes it leak into all of the different parts of our... I think people do expect you to respond to emails as soon as you get them and stuff.*
>
> *Megan, senior manager*

Megan's quote suggests that modern technology makes it possible to "do things faster" and has raised expectations about the speed with which information is made available. However, like the accounts of Castells, Urry and Hassan, it remains somewhat vague in terms of comprehending the ways in which the growing presence of ICTs in our daily lives might be linked to changing perceptions of time (i.e. how the growth of ICTs over the *longue durée* impacts the *durée* of day-to-day experience). More specifically, then, participants' accounts highlighted four aspects of digital technologies that appear to contribute to a sense of speeding up.

Firstly, as Megan's quote hints, there is a sense that the constant availability and connectivity of ICTs allows work to intrude upon, or "leak into", home life (see, for example, Perrons 2003, Ellison 2004 and Jarvis and Pratt 2006). Indeed, digital technologies are now so pervasive that they arguably create a permanent background rhythm to everyday life – characterised by Nansen et al. (2009) as a 'polyphonic drone' – providing in the process a constant reminder of the possibility for (knowledge-based) work to be done in the here and now. This may result in longer working hours – particularly when employees also feel a sense of moral obligation (as discussed in chapter 4) – and a consequent reduction in free time, which in turn can increase feelings of being pressed for time. This viewpoint was expressed by both Don, a senior IT manager, and Simon, a middle manager:

I think work is more pressured than it used to be. And I think that part of that is to do with technology. You know it used to be that when you left the workplace you left work, whereas now that's not true. The workplace comes with you – having a laptop and a BlackBerry. Even despite my kind of common sense I'll check the BlackBerry in the evening to see if anything has come through. Or you know you'll see a little red light come on and think: 'Oh hell what was that?'

Don, senior manager

And I think the same thing in the last few years with smart phones – you can always be kind of checking in with work. On the one hand that makes things easier – you can kind of be a bit more flexible. You know I think if something important is coming up, I can check on that while I'm in the playground [with his children]. But you know it does tend to... you know it's always there. And you then react to things – you think: 'Oh I'll just do this now'.

Simon, service manager

This blurring between work and home is not necessarily a one-way process. Indeed, the constant availability of modern communication technologies also allows the domestic sphere to be brought into the workplace. Whilst this enables a continued sense of connection and a deepening of relationships with close family and friends through a softening of the boundaries between absence and presence (see, for instance, Licoppe 2004 and Wajcman et al. 2008), it can also increase perceptions of a time squeeze. This tension results from both the lingering feeling that one ought to be continuously available for significant others (Schwanen and Kwan 2008), and, more tangibly, the character of specific mediated interactions – the personal or sensitive tone of which may clash with the more pragmatic and efficient nature of the workplace (Rose 2015). Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is evidence to suggest these pressures are borne primarily by women – particularly those with childcare responsibilities – who are compelled to engage in 'remote mothering' in an attempt to manage family responsibilities at-a-distance (Rakow and Navarro 1993, Schwanen and Kwan 2008).

Secondly, participants also discussed the idea that ICTs (and email in particular) have increased the flow of information and that this too leads to feelings of being rushed for time. In part, this is driven by the ease with which ICTs allow messages to be sent. As Eriksen (2001) notes, this leads to the filling of 'gaps' in time and the sense that life has become a series of saturated moments without a 'before' or 'after' to separate them – a phenomenon he refers to as the 'tyranny of the moment'. Bruce, a senior manager, was one of several to articulate this view, as the following quote illustrates:

> *[Email] as a means of communication is just all pervasive now. But even 15 years ago – well a bit more than that, 20 years ago – it didn't exist really. So you know if you wanted to get something done you would hand write a note, give it to someone to type that up. And you'd think about what you wrote, because you don't want to go back a minute later and say: 'Oh by the way just change that, just change that'. Whereas now people bang out emails without a second thought. So you sort of... there's a danger of drowning under a sea of information, which just gets more. You know things – Facebook, Twitter – I mean we're just drowning under this sea of information, most of which is complete cobblers frankly. Because you can – because it's so easy to push stuff out. And I see it at work – you know people 'reply all' to just about everything.*
>
> *Bruce, senior manager*

This line of thought echoes Castells (1996, 2010) thesis that the modern 'network society' is characterised by the 'space of flows' – in which people, money, commodities and information increasingly flow around dispersed and distributed networks. In addition, it goes some way to addressing the 'time-pressure paradox' outlined in chapter 2 (see Rosa 2003): whilst modern technology allows for faster communication, time is not saved since there is a concurrent increase in the frequency of communication.[65]

Emma, a project developer, also emphasised the role of email overload in contributing to a sense of heightened tempo. In addition, her account highlights a third feature of modern technologies that leads to feelings of being rushed – their 'time displacement' effects (see, for instance, Kwan 2002). This refers to the 'zero-sum' nature of time and limits to our ability to be simultaneously involved in multiple activities, meaning that time spent in one domain (social media use – and specifically Twitter – in this case) must necessarily displace time for other activities (or perhaps encourage attempts to compress these into a shorter time frame, as discussed in more detail later in this chapter). As Emma explains, this leads to a sense of not "getting anything done":

> *I think email is one of the worst things for the whole feeling rushed thing. Just always having more email coming in and always feeling you've got to sort of play Whac-A-Mole with it all day.*[66] *When 90 percent of it is stuff that you could just... if it never arrived you'd never know and never care. [...] And Twitter is terrible for that as well. I mean I love it – I'd spend all day on Twitter if I could. But it's terrible for my sense of getting anything done. There's always something coming in and there's always more stuff to read. And you think god you could go and read this article about something. And I think that makes you feel rushed.*
>
> *Emma, project developer*

[65] There is now increasing empirical evidence to suggest that a similar phenomenon – driven in part by higher standards of cleanliness – may explain why so-called 'labour-saving devices' such as the vacuum cleaner and washing machine have seemingly failed to reduce the amount of time typically devoted to housework (see, for instance, Shove 2003 and Bittman et al. 2004).
[66] Whac-A-Mole is a popular arcade game in which a series of plastic moles pop-up from their holes at random. With the aid of a mallet, the player must hit (or 'whack') the moles back into their holes as quickly as possible.

Consequently, as she states elsewhere in the interview, she is left with a feeling of continually being “behind schedule” – and therefore a sense that she must rush in an attempt to ‘catch up’.

This sense of not making progress is also linked to the distracting nature of ICTs, as well as their capacity to interrupt an individual’s steady working rhythm. Indeed, several participants discussed the destabilising effects of unexpected emails and phone calls, which complicate decisions about what to do when, as the following account from Susan illustrates:

> *I think obviously electronic communication has been fantastic in terms of allowing you to obtain information very quickly, send information very quickly and effectively – send messages. But the downside to it is that you can be interrupted more. You know ping, ping – all these emails keep coming in. […] So yeah I think the downside is this constant interruption. And you know having to decide do I do this little thing now or do I just focus on what I have to do because I have to get it done.*
>
> *Susan, college administrator*

These interruptions also slow progress in that once attended to, time is expended becoming reimmersed in the original task, especially in cases where this is cognitively demanding. Of course, work is frequently of an intellectually challenging nature for many of those in IT (and indeed other fields requiring a highly-skilled workforce), with activities such as coding, programming and report writing demanding sustained periods of concentration (and relying on creative processes which, to a certain extent, must be allowed to unfold at their own pace [O’Carroll 2008]). The repeated interruptions of the workplace can thus result in a ‘can’t work at work’ phenomenon (Nansen et al. 2009: 193), which in turn may compel individuals to take work home at evenings and weekends in an attempt to find periods of undisturbed time. Furthermore, several participants noted that their leisure time is also increasingly characterised by such distractions and attempts to simultaneously attend to several different information streams (in spite of our limited cognitive ability to truly engage in multiple activities at the same time, as previously mentioned):

> *There are more distractions. I mean you know my wife has sometimes joked that she's seen me sitting in front of the television with my mobile phone and my newspaper open and so forth. You know it's far more a multimedia society.*
>
> *Jeremy, senior manager*

There is a sense, then, in which ICTs contribute to a breaking down of linear, sequential temporal routines, encouraging instead the integration of activities and attempts at multi-tasking. This leads to fragmentation as activities are "started, stopped, switched and interspersed" – creating a rhythm of 'polychronic dissonance' alongside the perpetual 'polyphonic drone' (ibid: 191-192).

Underlying these four qualities of digital technologies – that is, their constant availability and connectivity, propensity to increase the flow of information, time displacement effects, and capacity to interrupt, distract and fragment temporal routines – is a general perception of a lack of control. Indeed, it appears participants whose lives are heavily infused with ICTs feel they are no longer 'in charge' of their own time. However, in emphasising this point, we should not lose sight of individual agency. This agency is apparent, for instance, in the various ways that participants attempt to gain a sense of control over the role that digital technologies play in their lives. This includes temporarily removing themselves from the constant connectivity and interruptions of ICTs by restricting email to certain periods of the day or, as in the case of Lucy, instigating technology-free zones or times:

> *And in our house I've imposed a self-restricted rule that there's no computers in the lounge after 21:00. Except when I want there to be [BOTH LAUGH]! But by and large it's a rule – it's like you know don't have a computer by the sofa.*
>
> *Lucy, team leader*

It also includes attempts to reduce the flow of incoming information and avoid the time displacement effects of ICT use – for instance, by closing social media accounts and unsubscribing from mailing lists, or indeed refusing to sign up to these in the first place:

> *And this is why I sort of ward off Twitter. And I know everyone keeps telling me I should be doing Twitter if you're in research etc. etc., but it's this sort of awful fear of having to deal with so much stuff coming in.*
>
> *Kate, researcher*

This focus on agency and the capacity for resistance leads to a more general point about how the relationship between technology and society is conceived. As others have argued – particularly from the perspective of Science, Technology and Society Studies (see, for example, Thrift 1996a, Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006, Wajcman 2015) – straightforward accounts of technological innovation leading to the speeding up of everyday life (as tend to underpin the grand claims of society entering an entirely new temporality) often suffer from a form of 'technological determinism'. That is to say, they tend to conceive of technology as an autonomous external force which 'impacts' upon people and society from the outside. In so doing, they ignore the attribute that all technologies are inherently social and that feelings of being rushed are as much about norms or values relating to the use of ICTs – for instance, email response times (see Barley et al. 2011) or recipient selection (witness Bruce's lament about his colleagues' tendency to 'reply all') – as they are about the material properties of devices themselves. Indeed, there is now a growing body of literature examining the ways in which digital technologies are 'domesticated' (see, for instance, Haddon 2006, 2011), and how the meanings we ascribe to them and the effects they generate co-evolve with the practices in which they become integrated.[67] Accordingly, the relationship between technology and society is more usefully thought of as symbiotic, with outcomes dependent on the ways in which the former is incorporated into the continually changing institutional rhythms and routines of the latter.

Two important points stem from such an understanding. Firstly, not all individuals have an equal relationship with technology. Indeed, as alluded to previously, ICTs seemingly play a less prominent role in the lives of those in manual and routine college occupations; this is perhaps unsurprising given the nature of these roles, which are predominantly based on physical (rather than virtual) forms of interaction and are restricted to specific settings (such as an accommodation block, kitchen or garden). Consequently, when the topic of technological

[67] Further support for the social nature of technology (and technological acceleration) comes from Francis Green and colleagues, who argue that there has been an intensification of paid work in the UK over recent decades, and who primarily attribute this finding to the fact that technology increases management's ability to track workflows, improve coordination and monitor employees' performance (Green 2004, Felstead et al. 2013).

acceleration was broached by this group of participants, the discussion often centred upon their observations of others rather than their own personal use of ICTs. This was particularly true of older participants – including both Derek, a head porter, and Margaret, a domestic supervisor – highlighting the way in which social class and age intersect:

> *I just think it's today's technology. I mean everybody is on their... well let me give you an example. You know we get a lot of requests when people are staying in college – the bed and breakfast guests and conference guests – and of course the first thing they ask for when they check in is: 'Can I get Wi-Fi?' So you know... and that seems to be the thing these days – everybody wants access to everything – to emails. It's almost everything has got to be instantaneous. […] Everything is almost... you know at the press of a finger everybody wants the information. Whereas before people would just say: 'Ah no I can do that later on'. But no it doesn't work like that now.*
>
> *Derek, head porter, aged 50-59*

> *I think the pace is a lot faster. You know everybody wants... it's like my daughter you know they all want everything there and then. I don't think the youngsters can sort of wait. They need... oh I've got to have this new thing, I've got to have this you know. And I think that's the way it is. And I don't think all these games and these... everybody is on their phone... I don't... I'm not very good at that. I mean I have my phone – that's all I have.*
>
> *Margaret, domestic supervisor, aged 60+*

Thus, whilst both Derek and Margaret subscribe to the idea that the pace of life in general is increasing, this is not necessarily an accurate description of their own personal temporal experiences. Indeed, Margaret makes it clear that she rarely uses digital technologies herself: unlike the majority of participants from the IT department, therefore, her life does not appear to be characterised by Nansen et al.'s (2009) 'polyphonic drone'. Rather, it is based upon the slower and more episodic rhythms associated with the occasional use of her mobile phone. Far from being a universal phenomenon, then, technological acceleration is unevenly experienced – with a 'digital divide' existing between those social groups that make extensive use of ICTs (typically the affluent, young and urban) and those for whom they are a less ingrained feature of daily life (typically the more marginalised, old and rural) (see, for instance, Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006, Warf 2013).

Secondly and relatedly, the presence of digital technologies does not only or inevitably lead to acceleration. Indeed, ICTs can help to free up time – and thus potentially contribute to a slowing down (or deceleration) – for instance by allowing specific processes to be completed more quickly or by helping people to coordinate more efficiently, thus reducing 'wasted time'. This is demonstrated by the following excerpt from Derek's interview, in which he describes how the implementation of a computerised check-in system has made this process more efficient and helped to offset the increased volume of guests his college now caters for each year:

> *But as I said the technology makes things easier – it enables you to cope with the extra volume. Whereas in the old days a lot of it was basically just paper based – you know you had to print out the room list for that day or a particular conference, or the people who were due to check in. And you literally just used to highlight them when they arrived you know. So it is a lot... it's got a lot busier but at the same time yeah the systems we've got in place now actually help us.*
>
> *Derek, head porter*

ICTs may also contribute to perceptions of reduced speed in other ways. Returning to one of the earlier interview excerpts, Bruce reported a sense of receiving not just *more* information, but *too much* – of being overloaded with emails and social media posts, many of which he deemed unnecessary. This results in him feeling as if he is "drowning", suggesting that the increased speed of communications can, ironically, actually bring about a sense of paralysis or stasis. Similarly, Virilio (2000) highlights the irony that in the highly mobile, fluid world of the 'network society', the human body is in fact increasingly stationary – sitting in front of a screen. It would appear, therefore, that "the chronoscopic time of the ICT revolution – a temporality of instantaneous and continuous connectivity – is, paradoxically, accompanied by new forms of inertia" (Wajcman 2015: 24).

The role of deceleration is a theme to which I return in the final two sections of this chapter. First, however, I explore other possible drivers of the increasing pace of life, which scholars such as Castells (1996, 2010) and Hassan (2004, 2009) – and grand narratives of technological acceleration more generally – tend to overlook. In particular, participants' accounts provide support for two additional strands of thought regarding feelings of being pressed for time. The first of these concerns the quantity of activities within contemporary life, whilst the second relates to the qualitative experience of time and specific episodes of high intensity. I now discuss each of these in turn.

5.4. 'Doing more' and the quantitative experience of time

In this section my focus turns to substantive changes in the duration of time spent on particular tasks. In particular, I am interested in the idea that modern citizens are literally 'doing more' – and that this mounting number of activities and experiences is partly responsible for the perceived increase in the pace of life. This is what Southerton and Tomlinson (2005) refer to as the 'substantive sense of being harried'.

I begin by focusing on the role of paid work. As noted in earlier chapters, the rise in women's participation in paid employment over the last four decades has led to a significant increase in the number of dual-earner families. Alongside this trend, there is evidence to suggest that working hours have become increasingly polarised over this period, between those working long hours (as discussed in chapter 4) and those classed as underemployed (Gershuny 2000, 2005, Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Bittman 2004, Burger 2015).[68] Significantly, it appears that both a dual-earner family structure and long workweeks are more common amongst those with higher education levels and in high-status professional and managerial roles. There has, then, been a real increase in the combined (paid and unpaid) working commitments of this social group, particularly for those with children (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Bittman 2004). It seems reasonable, therefore, that dual-earner families may be particularly susceptible to feelings of being pressed for time, and that the difficulties of reconciling paid work and parental responsibilities – the onus for which, it should be noted, principally falls on women – may also be contributing to the perception that life is speeding up. The accounts of participants in this research certainly provide some support for this hypothesis – with the majority of those in dual-earner couples reporting an increase in the pace of life

[68] As noted in chapter 2, there is some uncertainty as to the net impact of the financial crisis of 2007-08 on the distribution of working hours. However, whilst the crisis may have reduced overtime hours amongst long hours workers, the level of underemployment has also risen significantly in the UK (Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Warren 2015a), suggesting a high degree of polarisation continues to exist within the labour market.

(even if, as described above, many attributed this to the impacts of modern technology), whilst those in traditional breadwinner arrangements, or who were single, provided a more mixed response regarding changing experiences of tempo. Although the contrast was not always this stark, the accounts of Nina and Edward – one a mother of two young children in a dual-earner family, the other a single man – illustrate this:

> *Because you know these days it's very difficult if you want to cover all life... how to say... all the parts of your life you know. And you want to cover... to be good in... to be a good Mum, and employee, and to have your friends and you know like you want to finish everything. And you have to... if you want to catch time for yourself a little bit. I think it's very difficult – it's always a rush.*
>
> *Nina, married/long-term partner, 2 children (both aged 5-11)*

> *For example if you have a professional job, small children, active social life and you're engaged with social media and have many outside interests, then yes I imagine the pace of life would seem breakneck. But as I say I think that's individual circumstances which by and large don't affect me. You know I've got my little routine and I quite like it.*
>
> *Edward, single, no children*

Linked to the growth of dual-earner couples and associated feelings of being rushed for time is Jonathan Gershuny's (2005) proposal that 'busyness' has become a 'badge of honour' in contemporary society. This reflects a reversal of the arguments of Thorstein Veblen, who suggested in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* that the upper classes could be defined by their conspicuous leisure consumption (Veblen 1899). Indeed, Gershuny suggests that those who work long hours now garner the most prestige in society. Here we see a link with the notion of the 'work ethic' and its associated attributes of virtuosity and self-worth – as discussed in chapter 4 – the rise of which, according to Boltanski and Chiapello (2007: 155), has led to a premium on 'activity': "to be doing something, to move, to change – this is what enjoys prestige, as against stability, which is often regarded as synonymous with inaction". Accordingly, certain individuals may feel inclined to increase their workload in an attempt to project themselves as a success story.

Gershuny's (2000, 2005) own time use data, however, provides little objective evidence of an increase in behaviour that might be expected to contribute to busy feelings: although higher-skilled groups have increased their paid work time relative to lower-skilled groups since the 1960s – consistent with the polarisation identified by Jacobs and Gerson (2004) and others – there has been an overall decline for both men and women.[69] Consequently, he posits that individuals are now more likely to report being busy, irrespective of whether they are actually working longer hours. This notion of busyness as a perceived sign of status was shared by several of the participants in this research, particularly those with backgrounds in professional work. They include Emma, a project developer in the IT department, and Trevor, who had a career in consultancy prior to taking early retirement and then subsequently found temporary employment in one of the University's colleges:

[69] As noted in chapter 2, here Gershuny's data is at odds with that of scholars such as Schor (1992, 2006), who argue that average working hours have actually increased in recent decades in countries such as the US and UK.

And I think some of it is probably kind of rooted in it makes people feel important if they're doing things and they're very busy. I mean there are some people who I work with who you know you can't book them for a one hour meeting anytime in the next six months – 'because they're very, very busy'. 'Oh I don't have time to have lunch'. And I mean that's just... well I won't say what that is, but it's just nonsense.

Emma, project developer

You know guys that I sort of play golf with – you know we'll be on the golf course and their phones will be on. It isn't necessary. And I also think it's a little bit of... it's a question of where they see their importance in the scheme of things as well – 'I have to be available 18 hours a day'. 'No you don't'.

Trevor, housekeeping assistant

Consistent with Gershuny's thesis, both Emma and Trevor are clearly somewhat sceptical about their colleagues' portrayals of busyness, intimating that these individuals are not as pressed for time as they make out, or that they at least have an element of choice in the matter. However, as Wajcman (2015: 72-73) notes, this orientation rather overlooks the extent to which structural forces may compel people into working long hours (as discussed in detail in chapter 4). Indeed, societal pressures to lead a busy lifestyle can be read as a form of structural constraint in their own right. Furthermore, Gershuny's focus on the symbolic status of busyness gives insufficient attention to the role of unpaid work and the tension that women in particular experience in attempting to balance the demands of career and family life (as discussed above in relation to dual-earner families). Thus, whilst individuals may embrace the high-speed, status-filled lifestyle, it may not be entirely of their own choosing. This state of affairs is exemplified by Matthew, a senior manager in the IT department. Although he clearly enjoys and indeed gains a sense of identity from his fast-paced work life, he equally has little control over it, or the feelings of stress it generates:

> *You'll have probably noticed by now I talk quite quickly. I eat quite quickly, I cycle quite quickly, I write emails quickly. I had a training course that I undertook last week in the evening – an OLI [Oxford Learning Institute] recruitment course. And we had to write a response to it, so it was about a side of A4. And when I completed it, my wife – who works in a professional capacity – just turned around and said: 'That was fast'. Everything I do has to be very productive, very rapid, but also quite accurate. [...] I need to be working at the top level right the way through the day or else I go home at the end of the day knowing that there are people who cannot progress important things because I haven't managed to do it. And I physically feel it – I'm working far faster than I used to in any of my previous roles. It's good [LAUGHS] – but stressful.*
>
> *Matthew, senior manager*

Nonetheless, changing perceptions and norms around busyness are an important part of the discussion concerning a perceived increase in the pace of life. This applies to time spent outside the workplace, including leisure activities, as much as it does to paid work. Indeed, a number of participants talked about the role of growing expectations around living a 'full life' in creating feelings of a heightened tempo. This includes engaging in more social interactions, travelling to different places, learning new activities and experiencing diverse forms of art and culture, as is demonstrated by Sally's account:

But I think the pace of what everybody wants to do now and everyone working and wanting to do a lot more and want a lot more out of life – their expectations of what they want from life is a lot more. I think you put more pressure onto yourself really and sometimes you think well did you really need to see three people in one evening? [...] I just think things... yeah I think people just expect more from life now and they want more things. There's more things perhaps to do. And you feel if you haven't done them then you're not living life to the full sort of thing. And you want to travel, you want to do lots of things.

Sally, project administrator

Sally's narrative chimes with elements of Hartmut Rosa's conception of social acceleration, as introduced in chapter 2. Rosa (2003, 2013) argues that in addition to the technological acceleration discussed previously, the increasing pace of life is driven in part by the cultural ideals of modernity. The rise of the idea of progress and the related sense that society itself is in motion, alongside the growing secularisation of society and a collective loss of faith in the promise of an 'after life', has led to a dominant conception of the 'good life' as one that is rich in experiences. Living at an increased pace thus appears to be the natural solution to ensuring a fulfilled life. However, Rosa (2003: 13-14) suggests this is ultimately self-defeating, since the very same techniques, methods and inventions that permit an accelerated realisation of options simultaneously increase the number of options at an exponential rate (as Sally notes, there are now "more things... to do"). Consequently, we are caught in a self-perpetuating cycle of acceleration, in which the ratio of actual to possible experiences continually diminishes.

Not all social groups may be equally seduced by this narrative of the good life however. Building on the work of Linder (1970), Sullivan (2008) suggests that in time-poor contemporary societies, leisure consumption can (as with devotion to paid work [Gershuny 2005]) also act as a source of status distinction (see also Schor 1992, 1998). Indeed, she finds evidence to suggest that those employed in high-status roles – and particularly professional, dual-earner couples with dependent children – display a more 'voracious' pattern of leisure participation (see also Petersen and Kern 1996, Southerton 2006). That is to say, they engage in a higher frequency and diversity of leisure activities (such as going to the cinema or theatre, eating out and participating in sporting activities) than do those in low-skilled jobs – even when controlling for income and total time spent in leisure (one might also think of the rise of low-cost airlines, which although theoretically offering air travel to the 'masses', appear to have increased the frequency of flying amongst the more affluent [Adey et al. 2007]). In addition to the factors already discussed, this voracious pursuit of leisure experiences may also help to explain why those participants in professional roles (particularly IT employees) and in dual-earner couples are seemingly more prone to feeling that the pace of life has increased.

This comparative, or even competitive, edge to the pursuit of 'experiences' can perhaps be linked to the celebration of difference and individualism that sits at the heart of postmodern (or 'reflexive' modern) thinking. In conjunction with the rise of neoliberal governmentality over the past three decades or so, these postmodern ideals have placed a growing onus on individuals – freed as they are from traditional responsibilities and expectations – to construct (and indeed re-construct) their own identities and biographies (see, for example, Giddens 1991, Beck 1992). Whilst potentially empowering, this 'freedom' may also be accompanied by increased uncertainty and insecurity as individuals engage in a continual process of self-evaluation. This applies as much to the workplace as it does to leisure consumption, particularly in professional working environments where there is an expectation upon employees to be well-versed in their discipline. This in turn can lead to a fear of not knowing enough and a feeling that one must continually work to better themselves, as Emma's account illustrates:

> *Yeah every New Year I kind of think: 'Right, I'm going to unsubscribe from everything'. And then by about June I'm kind of going: 'I'm going to subscribe to all this stuff because I want to learn more things'. I think there's this terrible feeling that you ought to know what's going on.*
>
> *Emma, project developer*

Moreover, since individuals are increasingly liable for managing their personal career trajectory within a competitive labour market, they may also deem it necessary to engage in further training and professional development in order to enhance their employability, as discussed in chapter 4. The pursuit of additional experiences – and the sense of acceleration that this can engender – is not driven solely by efforts to live a 'full life', then, but also by attempts to gain affirmation from, or advantage over, others.

Such behaviour is not restricted to those in waged work, but is also increasingly evident within higher education, wherein students face pressures to both 'fit in' and 'stand out' (Reay et al. 2010). Whilst the former applies especially to participation in social activities and embracing the 'student lifestyle', the latter is evident in the way students are encouraged to boost their chances of finding a job through the acquisition of extracurricular experiences. Indeed, opportunities such as volunteering, work experience, internships and travel are increasingly marketed to young people as a means of distinguishing themselves from their peers, rather than as rewarding activities in their own right (redefining and undermining the meaning of these endeavours in the process) – a phenomenon Holdsworth (2015) refers to as the 'cult of experience' (see also Holdsworth and Brewis 2014). These pressures – which are arguably amplified in the high-achieving, intimate collegiate environment of an institution such as Oxford – can also contribute to a sense of heightened tempo, as evidenced by Jessica's account of her experience as a graduate student at the University, prior to beginning work in one of the participating colleges:

> *As a graduate student [there] was this sort of pressure and expectation of oh you're going to do absolutely everything – you're going to be on five different committees and do a social night every single night and get a First on your degree and do x, y, z. And there were some people who seemed like they were doing it, everybody else I know they were just pretending they were doing it. [...] But I would say that it is... in terms of your overall interest in whether the expectations and pace of life are increasing I would say that they are. And it's sort of this... in many ways I feel like it's driven by younger people trying to keep up with the pretending.*
>
> *Jessica, development assistant, aged 20-29*

It is not simply the economic motor or technological innovation that drives social acceleration, therefore, but also substantive changes in the amount of activities or experiences that characterise contemporary life – both in terms of paid and unpaid work. Professional dual-earner couples appear particularly susceptible to these changes, although the individualistic pursuit of experiences associated with postmodern thinking seemingly also stretches to younger generations.

5.5. 'Temporal density' and the qualitative experience of time

Other researchers have suggested a need to go beyond straightforward accounts of a shortage of time due to an increased quantity of activities, and to focus instead on the qualitative aspects of paid and unpaid time. Whilst these accounts tend to retain an element of the 'doing more' thesis (for instance around the role of changing expectations), they are principally concerned with specific episodes of time that might be described as 'rushed' or 'harried'.

Southerton and Tomlinson (2005), for example, introduce the notion of 'temporal density', suggesting that this was one of the primary causes of harriedness amongst the respondents in their study of 20 British suburban households. This concept relates to the allocation of activities and specifically describes periods of time in which the density of social practices is high. It accounts for experiences of time that can be described as 'juggling' or 'multi-tasking' and is also linked to the erosion of the boundaries that separate practices, such that these become fragmented. The accounts of several of the participants in this research provide support for Southerton and Tomlinson's thesis, with temporal density seemingly being experienced in both the workplace (particularly amongst IT participants) and the home (particularly by women with dependent children). Evidence of the former is provided by the following quotes from the interviews with Michelle, a personal assistant to one of the senior managers within the IT department, and Edith, herself a member of the senior management team:

Yeah the morning was quite hectic. Because I was juggling several things at once. So I think the morning was fairly busy. I'd say in between sort of 10:00 and 12:00 was a fairly... the busiest time. And that's because... really I usually always have lots of things going on in my head – that I'm completing, I've completed, they're sort of on their way to being completed but they're not quite finished yet. So there's always a fair amount whirling round that is going on at the same time. And things never happen one thing finishes, start the next – it just doesn't happen.

Michelle, personal assistant

My biggest challenge is just the breadth of things that I have to think about. It's almost like all too consuming – there are too many strands at work. You know if I number the number of subjects that I'm thinking about and working on, then well into 50. You know and to just keep them all in your head and think about what that next step for each of them is as they progress. And then of course there's all the aspects of your own personal life as well that have to weave into that. So for me it's just the complexity of thoughts that are going on all the time in my head. There are some times when I wish I could just switch them off.

Edith, senior manager

Three particular aspects of working life within the IT department (and indeed other professional working environments) may help to explain such accounts of temporal density. Firstly, as Michelle and Edith's quotes clearly demonstrate, the nature of professional, project-based work means there is pressure upon employees to engage in multiple work tasks simultaneously, such that time becomes fragmented and is experienced as speeded up – a phenomenon Nowotny (1994) refers to as the 'extended present' (multi-tasking also closes holes between tasks, reducing the number of genuine breaks from work [O'Carroll 2008]). Secondly, this fragmentation is accentuated by the frequent interruptions that result from a heavy reliance on ICTs, as discussed in the opening section of this chapter. Finally, the high degree of autonomy afforded to most of the department's employees means they are generally free to manage their own workloads and switch between tasks as they see fit. A distinction can perhaps be drawn here with certain manual and routine occupations, in which Taylorist principles mean workers are assigned indefinitely to a specific task – although it should be noted that fewer such jobs exist today. The number of people employed in professional, high-skilled positions has increased significantly over the past few decades, however: if such jobs are a source of regular periods of temporal density, this may partly explain perceptions of the increasing pace of life.

Edith's account also touches upon the demands of the domestic sphere. Several other participants – like Edith, predominantly women with caring responsibilities – also discussed their attempts to compress domestic activities into specific windows of time, and the feelings of being harried that can result from this. This includes both Kate and Emma, as the following excerpts illustrate:

> *Well also thinking: 'I can't go out until I've done this, this, this and this'. Can't go out until I at least put the washing on because... so it will be done by the time I get back. So I'm always sort of thinking... I'm always full of planning ahead to be organised. And I'm just constantly trying to cram more than you... than is realistic. And particularly when I'm going round to see my mother – I think: 'Well I'll leave by 10:30'. Well if I'm lucky it's 11:00 by the time I'm gone.*
>
> *Kate, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 17-18 and 19+)*

And you end up doing this thing where you think: 'Oh I'll just sort of slide this other task in between these two things'. And you think that if you do that enough you'll just be able to make infinite time. It's like sort of Hilbert's Hotel kind of thing – you put an extra room in... and it doesn't work because at some point you have to sleep and eat and do boring things like that.[70]

Emma, married/long-term partner, 1 child (aged 0-4)

Parallels can be drawn here with the findings of Arlie Hochschild's ethnographic study of the lives of employees in an American Fortune 500 company. On the basis of this research, Hochschild (1997) argues that, for dual-earner couples in particular, rising work hours (what she terms the 'first shift') are putting a squeeze on time for domestic matters (the 'second shift'). In response to this pressure and in an attempt to create 'quality time' for their loved ones, mothers increasingly apply Taylorist principles – in which tasks are fragmented and re-sequenced in an attempt to maximise efficiency – to the domestic sphere. Somewhat ironically, Hochschild (ibid: 214) argues that this forces women to engage in an unacknowledged 'third shift' – "noticing, understanding, and coping with the emotional consequences of the compressed second shift".

This quest for efficiency through the re-sequencing of tasks is clearly present in both Kate and Emma's accounts. However, since neither currently works what might be described as 'long' hours (indeed, Emma dropped down to four days a week upon the birth of her child), the causal mechanism in Hochschild's thesis – rising hours of paid work – does not fully explain their experiences of temporal density (although they do still face a 'double burden' of both paid and unpaid

[70] Hilbert's Hotel is a thought experiment created by German mathematician David Hilbert about a hotel with an infinite number of rooms. The experiment proceeds by examining what happens when all the rooms are occupied but an increasing number of new guests arrive wishing to check-in.

labour that many of their male colleagues and their housewife counterparts do not). An alternative explanation, therefore, may come from growing expectations regarding unpaid labour – particularly around good parenting and the need to spend more time with children. Support for this thesis comes from Bianchi et al. (2007), who find that almost half of American parents feel they spend too little time with their children, despite time use data suggesting mothers and fathers are devoting as much – if not more – time to their offspring than ever before. This discrepancy may be the result of widespread nostalgia for a mythical past of more quality family time, as well as changing cultural ideals of intensive parenting, which imply that one can never devote enough time or resources to their children (Wajcman 2015: 67-69). The latter is premised on the assumption that children's life chances are determined primarily by the quality of their upbringing and can thus be viewed as part of the broader neoliberal project, with its emphasis on individual responsibility (Hoffman 2010, Shirani et al. 2012). These trends are not necessarily restricted to childcare. As alluded to in the passage above, Kate has recently introduced a new routine into her life – a monthly visit to her mother, who lives on the south coast. The need to free up an entire weekend in order to make this trip leads her to "cram more... than is realistic" into the period before she leaves, thus generating a sense of rush.

Linked to the notion of intensive parenting is another cause of temporal density for dual-earner families – 'domestic outsourcing'. As Lareau (2000a, 2002) has illustrated, there are increasing pressures on middle class parents in particular to provide their children with forms of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1986) – especially in the shape of extracurricular activities such as tutoring, music lessons and sports or exercise classes – in an attempt to ensure they stand out from the crowd in the competition for lucrative educational and employment opportunities (here we see an overlap with the 'cult of experience' in higher education, as discussed previously). These types of activity were once largely provided in the home, but with the growth in female employment in recent decades now increasingly take place outside the private sphere (Hochschild 1997, 2012).[71] Parents are therefore required to transport their children to and from such commitments, which rarely take place in a single location and thus may necessitate multiple trips. Additionally, these activities tend to begin and end at specific times, with the result that family life is "chopped into pieces" and the time that remains seems like filler between one appointment and the next (Hochschild 1997: 49). The juggling of responsibilities involved, as well as anxieties about being 'on time' (see Schwanen 2006, as well as chapter 6 for a further discussion on the topics of timing and coordination), thus create a sense of being harried, as demonstrated by Julia's account of a typical weekday evening:

> *Yeah the period that's really rushed for me is always this sort of period – 18:00. The sort of 18:00 till 19:00 slot is probably my busiest time of the day because I need to get home and I need to make a meal and there's almost always somebody leaving the house at 19:00 or 18:45 to go to an activity. Because my husband does things, my daughter does things in the evening.*
>
> *Julia, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 12-16 and 17-18)*

As with housework and domestic chores, these parental responsibilities are borne primarily by women. Even where fathers contribute equally to tangible acts such

[71] Alongside anxieties about children's safety when playing unaccompanied in the local community, the rise in women's labour market participation is itself an additional reason why parents increasingly make use of such institutionally provided activities (Valentine and McKendrick 1997).

as providing transport, it is invariably mothers who take on the unseen planning and worrying involved in keeping children's schedules – and family life more generally – running smoothly (see, for example, Lareau 2000b and McKie et al. 2002). This too contributes to women's qualitative experience of harriedness (see also Wajcman and Bittman 2004). Fiona's efforts to manage her son's various evening activities, which leave her feeling as if she is "constantly juggling time", are illustrative of this. Ironically, even attempts to resist such feelings and free up time – for instance by setting up a transport rota with fellow parents – necessitate a degree of organisation:

> *My son's in explorer scouts – not in our village, it's in [nearby town]. I actually organised a rota of parents so we're not having to take our kids there every week – we take it in turns to do that. But there is a lot of driving around because his girlfriend doesn't live locally. So I do spend quite a lot of time at home organising him. […] Yeah, so it's just constantly juggling time really.*
>
> *Fiona, married/long-term partner, 1 child (aged 12-16)*

As much as any increase in the quantity of activities, then, it is the qualitative aspects of paid and unpaid time that account for contemporary feelings of harriedness. With regards the former, it is professional working environments (such as the University's IT department) in which experiences of 'temporal density' appear most common. However, these high intensity episodes are arguably a more dominant feature of domestic life and thus it is women – and mothers in particular – for whom they are a primary cause of time pressure.

5.6. The *durée* of day-to-day experience and major life events

In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have demonstrated how technological and cultural changes unfolding at the scale of the *longue durée* intersect with the *durée* of day-to-day experience to create a sense of the increasing pace of life. In the final two sections of the chapter I turn away from these longer term narratives and their exclusive emphasis on acceleration, and focus specifically on participants' temporal experiences at shorter, more personal timescales. I begin by focusing on the cyclical and undulating elements of day-to-day experience, as well as the role of major life events, which can lead to significant step changes in speed.

Focusing initially on waged work, I have already highlighted the ways in which knowledge workers in particular – with the multi-tasking and fragmentation that can result from juggling multiple responsibilities and a heavy dependence on ICTs – are susceptible to periodic episodes of 'temporal density'. Numerous other cyclical temporal rhythms are also evident within participants' accounts of paid labour – driven, for example, by the daily rotas, weekly meeting timetables and monthly reporting deadlines that variously structure working life. Within the IT department, project cycles are also a significant influence on the pace of work for those in particular job roles. This includes business analysts such as Edward:

So I think as a role BA [Business Analyst] is more varied in terms of both pace and content than many other roles would be. And it very much depends as I say on where we are in the project cycle, how it's going, what else is going on, whether we're waiting on people or everything's landed back on my desk. That can happen sometimes. I mean as I say I've got four or five things to work on and they're all out with other people and then half an hour later they all appear in my inbox at the same time and all need doing by the end of the day. So there's a very large variation in tempo.

Edward, business analyst

At a slightly longer timescale, the annual academic cycle also contributes to fluctuations in the tempo of working life within the University. This was particularly the case for many of the college employees in this study, especially for those involved in roles such as cleaning, catering and events management, which are geared around the service of those living within college. In particular, these participants drew a distinction between the fairly predictable routine and steadier pace of term time (when students are the primary focus), and the less predictable and more hectic nature of periods outside of term time (when they are catering primarily to conference guests):

So in term time it's pretty straightforward really. It's when the conferences are in – that is the... because the students have their own linen so they don't have bed linen. But once conferences are in we have to bring out duvets, pillows and make the beds. [...] You know so the conference ones are a bit... you know especially if it's a quick turnover. You know you've got bed and breakfast for 30 one night and they go the next morning and then the next lot are coming in. You know we have to... so that is a bit manic.

Margaret, domestic supervisor

Extending our focus beyond waged labour, day-to-day life in the home is similarly characterised by variations in tempo, particularly for women. Indeed, as I discussed in chapter 2, feminist scholars have long argued that the domestic sphere – and the unpaid reproductive work which takes place here – is dominated by a cyclical relationship with time (see, for instance, Davies 1994, Odih 1999 and Bryson 2007). The relational and contextual nature of care work, for instance, means that the demands placed upon caregivers are often highly variable and unpredictable, particularly in the case of elder care. This is illustrated by the account of Fiona, who in addition to caring for her teenage son also has to cope with the fluctuating demands of her elderly father, who suffers from dementia:

> *And my father's demands have... they go through peaks and troughs. And at the minute it is just you know sort of ten minutes in the evening. But if he's... he goes in and out of hospital, then that's much more demanding that time. And then like next week he's got an appointment which will take up three hours. So yeah it's constantly changing.*
>
> *Fiona, married/long-term partner, 1 child (aged 12-16)*

In addition to these quantitative fluctuations in demand, the qualitative aspects of care work are also a source of variable tempo. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the day-to-day management of children's schedules – including the cooking of meals, cleaning of clothes, and provision of transport to and from outsourced activities – often results in periods of high intensity and feelings of being harried for time. Conversely, however, periods spent physically interacting with or supervising (younger) children frequently involve slower, less intentional chunks of time. Transitioning between the faster pace of domestic chores – or indeed paid work – and these slower periods of direct care can thus result in marked and potentially unsettling changes in tempo. For instance, Simon – alone amongst the male participants in this research in being the primary carer for his children –

described the way in which these types of transition used to leave him feeling "jittery" and could even cause him to get "cross at [his] kids":

> *I used to find it very difficult swapping between the two. Because I would leave and I'm pointing to the 15:00 mark [on the timeline]... I would leave [work] at 15:00 having been absolutely flat out and especially if it's you know summer months take the kids to the playground next to the school and have literally nothing to do for a while. And going from that transition from one to the other was just quite... almost makes you jittery really. [...] And the downside with children is you can get cross at them. And it's really not their fault. So I feel bad about myself sometimes you know getting cross at my kids.*
>
> *Simon, married/long-term partner, 2 children (both aged 5-11)*

Alongside the routine, everyday events of paid and unpaid work, it is important to acknowledge the temporal impact of major life events that are less universal. Such moments – in which once relatively stable, harmonious rhythms are interrupted – are replete with transformative potential and can thus result in noticeable changes in tempo. Relocating to a new area (which is itself often driven by a change in job) is a case in point; such a move is likely to result in changed living and working arrangements, and impact upon established social networks – all of which may contribute to an altered sense of pace. Moreover, beyond these changing individual circumstances, places themselves are often seen to have an inherent tempo (see, for instance, Shaw 2001, Jarvis 2005 and Levine 2006). Indeed, this association between place and pace can itself be one of the motivations for relocating. For instance, whilst young professionals may be attracted to the high-speed lifestyle associated with global cities such as London, others – particularly given contemporary concerns around a time squeeze – may move in the hope of realising a slower pace of life. This is illustrated by Edith's account of her family's recent decision to relocate to Oxford: keen to escape the "rat race" and leave behind the extremely long hours and extensive foreign travel associated with her previous job based in the Midlands, this move was seen as offering the chance to live at a slower pace. One manifestation of this was the opportunity for Edith and her husband to walk to and from work:

> *You know one of the drivers for us moving to Oxford was to give us time to do that walk – as part of a daily routine. And it's not kind of taking time out of work and it's not... it's just the same time being used in a different, more efficient and healthy way. So yeah I think it's those kinds of decisions that we need to reflect on and make, rather than just be caught up in the rat race and not stop to think how I can change that.*
>
> *Edith, senior manager*

As with attempts to manage the impact of ICTs, Edith's experience can be viewed as an act (or 'tactic') of resistance against the increasing speed of life (de Certeau 1984). By emphasising the relationship between place and pace, her account also reinforces the contextual and relational nature of our temporal experiences. It should be noted, however, that the opportunity to deliberately 'manage' one's life course through such major transitions is not equally accessible to all (Shaw 2001, Jarvis et al. 2011). Indeed, this type of internal migration is largely absent in the accounts of participants working in manual and routine positions within the University's colleges, almost all of whom grew up in the local area (there are, however, accounts of external – or international – migration amongst those working in these roles).

As well as deliberate events such as this, there are also major life events that are less planned or predictable. Whilst such moments can lead to a sense of heightened tempo, they are seemingly more prone to inducing feelings of deceleration – perhaps because they are often associated with some sense of loss or disruption (Shirani and Henwood 2011). This was the case for Emily – an events manager in one of the participating colleges – who at the time of her interview had recently undergone a major operation, significantly reducing her mobility:

> *I've just been off sick for two and a half months. I had to have an operation on my hip – so time in that sense went very slowly. But also now I'm... I can't drive at the moment. I used to cycle to work – I can't do that anymore. [...] I used to be… I used to run. So I can't walk very far any more – so that's unfortunate. But yes because I have had to rest a lot more that's driven me mad.*
>
> *Emily, events manager*

Whilst Emily was hopeful that this enforced period of inertia would be temporary and that she would soon be able to return to her previous pace of life, other events can have a more lasting impact. For example, Gareth – a night porter in another of the University's colleges – described the enduring effects of the breakdown of his marriage several years ago:

> *Well it's dragged since I've been divorced. But I don't think... you know we used to go out all the time. Now if we go out it ends up in an argument, so I don't invite her out anymore. So I go out on my own all the time. And my style of life now from what it was years ago, it's really slowed down. The pace of it has slowed so much. I'll go out and have a few bevies, talk to my friends and then I'll go back home and just sit there and chill out – or vegetate virtually.*
>
> *Gareth, night porter, separated/divorced*

Gareth's experience again points to the relational nature of time, with the pace of his life intimately bound up with that of his now former wife. It also supports the notion that life tends to feel busier as part of a (dual-earner) couple, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Moreover, as with Emily's narrative, it demonstrates that anxieties around tempo are not only generated by what hurries people up, but also by what slows them down (see also Jarvis 2005).

Taken together, these three examples highlight the way in which perceptions of tempo are linked to a combination of bodily (Emily), inter-personal (Gareth) and local (Edith) rhythms. As much as long-term institutional and societal changes, then, it is the cyclical rhythms of day-to-day life and more significant step changes in pace associated with specific, personal life events that dictate people's experience of speed.

5.7. The life course

Both the ordinary, repetitive actions of daily life and more significant, specific life events are of course set within the wider context of an individual's life course – and I now expand further on the influence of this middle time span on participants' temporal experiences. I begin by focusing on some of the more established stages of the life cycle (particularly marriage and parenthood), before recognising that a strict adherence to this traditional life path is far less common in the reflexive modern age of do-it-yourself biographies (Giddens 1991, Beck 1992).[72]

Whilst there are no universal rules as to the relative pace of various life cycle phases, some common trends can nonetheless be identified. For instance, there is a notion that younger adults eventually reach a point where they begin to 'settle down' and lead less active social lives – with a concordant reduction in the pace of life. Traditionally, this may coincide with the twin commitments of marriage and a mortgage (although the latter is increasingly beyond the reach of many would-be first-time buyers given the state of the UK housing market [see, for example, Dorling 2015]), as well as perhaps increased responsibilities in the workplace. Changing bodily rhythms may also play a part, as in the case of Ellie:

> *Well I've definitely noticed as I get older... I mean I used to go partying quite a lot as well. And you know would stay up until stupid hours and then go to work the next morning. I don't do that anymore. But I think that's just a case of getting older and getting a bit more settled. So I guess over the last couple of years that's... you know I used to perhaps go out drinking on a week day and then go to work the next day and I wouldn't find it such a struggle. Whereas if I did that now I think I would really struggle. God I'm getting old [BOTH LAUGH]!*
>
> *Ellie, aged 20-29, married/long-term partner, no children*

Conventionally, parenthood will soon follow for the majority of individuals. As discussed previously, the challenges associated with balancing the demands of

[72] Whilst lacking universally agreed definitions, and although often used interchangeably, the terms 'life cycle' and 'life course' ought to be regarded as distinct. Whereas the former is commonly employed in demography and population studies to refer to established and even biologically determined life stages (e.g. schooling, entry into the labour force, marriage, parenthood, retirement), the latter has a more personal or individual connotation, and recognises aspects of agency and reflexivity in the development of a person's life trajectory (see, for instance, Elliot 2005 and Verd and Lopez 2011).

work and family life mean that those with children are amongst the most likely to feel rushed for time. Within this phase of life there are nonetheless discernible undulations in tempo, with participants' accounts (especially those of women) focusing on three distinct periods in particular. Firstly, as Justin alluded to during the course of his interview, there is the heightened pace associated with the birth of a child and the "24/7" nature of the care they are seen to require (see also Everingham 2002):

> *When they're babies it's 24/7. Now the eldest one it's like having another adult in the house.*
>
> *Justin, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 5-11 and 12-16)*

Whilst there is not necessarily a significant drop in pace over the years following infancy, several participants – including Fiona – identified a second peak in tempo coinciding with the late primary to early secondary years of schooling. This is seen to be driven by children's social lives becoming more active and increased participation in various after school and weekend activities (thus increasing the logistical demands placed upon parents, as discussed previously):

> *Well I think there's a lot more demand you know particularly with a teenage son – there's a lot more... now he's got a much more active social life, which has got a lot more complicated. So yeah it's constantly juggling... you might have a plan to say: 'Well alright we're going to do this' – 'Oh but I need to get somewhere else'. And so I think that's changed.*
>
> *Fiona, married/long-term partner, 1 child (aged 12-16)*

Finally, there is perceived to be a gradual reduction in tempo – at least in terms of parental responsibilities – as children become more independent and ultimately leave home, as Julia's account attests to:

> *I'd say there was a slight slowing down, which I attribute to my daughters just getting that much older and just needing a bit less support. And they're just you know doing more and more things for themselves.*
>
> *Julia, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 12-16 and 17-18)*

There is, then, a cyclical element to this phase of life, as the pace eventually returns to the relatively slower tempo of the period prior to parenthood. This is captured by Susan's sense of "getting back to" a position she has not experienced for 20 years, wherein the rhythm of her life is dictated more by her own needs than those of her children (see also Green 2010):

> *What happens now is that I can do the things that I'm interested in doing and would like to do. I actually have time to think: 'What would I like to do?' Because in the early years of looking after the children we never even thought about it you know [LAUGHS]. Or where would we like to go on holiday – we're now getting back to the point where we think: 'Well actually, where would we like to go on holiday?' You know after this sort of 20 year tunnel that you've been going through. It's quite an interesting position to get back to.*
>
> *Susan, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 17-18 and 19+)*

For some, however, this reduction in childcare duties may be offset by increased working hours or the emergence of elder care responsibilities (Henz 2009), meaning a drop in pace is not inevitable. This includes Kate, who – as mentioned previously – now feels a responsibility to visit her mother on a more regular basis:

I mean this is actually quite interesting having this conversation because I'm in this time of actually having to recalibrate my life – because the children have gone and also with this new responsibility coming in. You get rid of the children and then... [LAUGHS].

Kate, married/long-term partner, 2 children (aged 17-18 and 19+)

Consistent with the traditional gender division of labour, the above quotes suggest that these undulations in tempo through parenthood are a more dominant feature of women's temporal experiences (as with cyclical episodes of temporal density at shorter timescales). Indeed, for male participants the temporal rhythms of this middle section of the life course appear to be determined primarily by the world of (paid) work. In keeping with the notion of a career path and the increased responsibility that typically comes with job progression, the dominant trajectory is seemingly one of increasing pace (although it should be noted this is perhaps more stepped than smooth) – particularly for those in professional and managerial positions, such as Matthew:

There has been a variation over the years. I would say – and this is going to be anecdotal – that in part that has been because my role has changed. [...] When I came to [the IT department] there was a lot more pressure during the working day and I had to up my game in terms of efficiency and productivity during the day. But provided I did that I never took any work home from that role – or it was very, very rare. Moving into the director role, it was immediate. As soon as I moved into that, there was so much stuff going on with the merger and the re-organisation – enabling teams to get together and sort out the administrative and practical things they needed – that there started to be work that came home. And that has increased and increased.

Matthew, senior manager

Not all coupled participants fit such traditional gender patterns however. For instance, as mentioned previously, Simon – a service manager in the IT department – has taken on the role of primary carer for his children (and thus could be classed as a 'high-responsivity' father [Matta and Knudson-Martin 2006]). This decision led him to reduce his working hours – a change which has resulted in "a better work-life balance", but which has seen "the potential for promotion [go] away". Accordingly, his temporal experiences are shaped as much by domestic life as the workplace, and thus more closely resemble those of many female participants (rather than his male counterparts).

Furthermore, not all participants have followed such a conventional, stylised life course. Indeed, focusing solely on the influence of traditional life cycle stages disregards the experience of those who are partnerless, whether temporarily or permanently (see, for example, Wilkinson 2014), or who do not have children (which is increasingly a conscious lifestyle decision in the reflexive modern age).[73] At the time the interviews were conducted, 15 of the participants in this research were not in long-term relationships (9 single, 4 separated and 2 widowed), whilst 21 were childless (of which 11 are aged 40 or above). Accordingly, for many of these individuals, perceptions of tempo across the life course deviate from the traditional patterns outlined above. Megan, for example, does not have any family commitments, and thus enjoys a high degree of control over her time and a relatively consistent pace of life. She therefore likens her situation to that of a single man, noting in the process that the University's collegiate system was originally designed to cater for this demographic:

---

[73] It also overlooks the rise of other 'non-standard' lifestyle arrangements such as LAT ('living apart together') relationships (see, for instance, Duncan and Phillips 2010 and Duncan et al. 2014).

> *I think it's always been about this shape. I've always had a lot of autonomy in looking after the shape of the day. [...] I mean my reflection on this is that Oxford is designed for people who have time to spend at college and such. Because the system is designed for single men who live in college and didn't have families and such. So I think I fit into that shape.*
>
> *Megan, single, no children*

Meanwhile, Doug and his wife "didn't have any luck with a family" and so do not have children. Consequently, and in contrast to those participants with parental responsibilities – for whom the pace of life is typically high and in many cases perceived to be increasing, Doug feels their tempo has slowed over the past two decades as they have become more settled in their house:

> *I think when you first get your house you have a lot to do – you know you've both got work and then when you come home, unless you've been lucky enough to buy a new one which we didn't, you've got work to do when you get in. You know you think: 'Right out comes the paint brush, what are we going to do?' So it's very, very busy I found – really busy and very tiring. But now we've... you know our house is quite nice – it's OK now. There's always stuff to do but we now having worked... you know we've got a little bit of money behind ourselves so it's less. You slow down because stuff is done.*
>
> *Doug, married/long-term partner, no children*

Thus, whilst it is important to emphasise the influence of different life cycle phases and to draw a distinction between men and women's (or at least 'masculine' and 'feminine') experiences of time across the life course, it should be noted that a variety of other factors – including family status, social class and individual values, as well as local context – may be equally influential in shaping temporal experiences. Although beyond the scope of this study, life course trajectories also vary significantly across nations, particularly between developed and developing countries (Katz and Monk 1993).

Nonetheless, for the majority of participants (both men and women), there is a sense that the middle phase of the life course is relatively fast-paced. Thus, alongside societal changes over the *longue durée*, the increased responsibilities at work and home that typically accompany middle age may also explain popular accounts of the increasing pace of contemporary life, since it is this demographic (rather than the young or old) who are most likely to shape the terms of public discussion and debate (Jacobs and Gerson 2004: 39).

Age may also be influential in another respect, in that perceptions of speed may themselves change over the life course (Jarvis et al. 2011). For instance, it seems part of the reason Alexander feels the pace of life has increased is that his attitudes towards work and subjective sense of speed have evolved over the course of his life, alongside a changing worldview:

> *So I would say time is a precious commodity and I think the older you get... I find when I was younger I had no qualms about doing fourteen hour days and pushing the midnight oil just to get the job done. But now I'm thinking life is not just about work and the balance element is just as important. [...] I think also I have a strong faith as well. So that's been part of the thought process and transition in life. So the worldview has changed slightly from when I was younger.*
>
> *Alexander, systems administrator, aged 40-49*

Accordingly, what once seemed like an acceptable working pattern and relatively comfortable pace of life now seems troublingly fast. Whilst this change in outlook is partly the result of his growing faith, it could also be related to the bodily effects of ageing – both physiological and cognitive. Indeed, psychologists have long been interested in the concept of an internal clock or 'pacemaker' that slows down as people age – with the result that objective time appears to pass faster than subjective time (see, for example, Wearden 2005).

Relatedly, recent studies in the field of cognitive psychology have demonstrated that our limited ability to recall and reconstruct past events may also influence our judgments about the subjective passage of time (Friedman and Janssen 2010, Janssen et al. 2013). In particular, it appears that we are prone to a form of 'memory bias' when estimating changes in time pressure over periods of several years. Indeed, whilst it is relatively easy for people to reflect upon the various everyday demands they have been juggling in recent weeks and months (i.e. within the *durée* of daily life), it is often harder to recall the presence of such mundane events in more remote periods of time. This can give the impression that one is currently experiencing more time pressure than in the past and hence that the pace of life has increased. Thus, regardless of any quantitative changes in activity levels over the life course, shifting mental processes of perception and memory may also contribute to feelings of a heightened tempo.

5.8. Conclusion

The popular account of contemporary life is one of increasing pace. For a number of social theorists, technological innovation and the rapid growth of ICTs are seen as the primary cause of this phenomenon. Drawing on participants' accounts – particularly those of IT employees – I have outlined four qualities of digital technologies that may explain this perception. However, it is also clear from my research interviews that technological acceleration is unevenly experienced – with a 'digital divide' existing between IT participants and (particularly older) manual and routine college employees.

Furthermore, participants' accounts make clear that straightforward narratives of technological acceleration are too one-dimensional: to the extent that life is speeding up, a range of other factors are also behind this process. These can be divided into quantitative changes in the number of activities that characterise contemporary life and qualitative changes in the experience of time as a result of the allocation of practices within specific periods of 'temporal density'. Whilst the former is particularly relevant to professional dual-earner couples, the latter is overwhelmingly a feature of female experiences of harriedness.

However, perceptions of speed are not based solely upon such long-term historical comparisons. Indeed, by foregrounding the relative nature of speed and introducing a conceptual framework based on the three-fold temporal distinction in Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, I have extended the existing literature by drawing attention to the multiple timescales involved in shaping our temporal experiences. In particular, I have shown that perceptions of speed are also shaped by comparisons made across more personal timescales – including the *durée* of day-to-day experience (which includes both the mundane happenings of everyday life and more major life events) and the various phases of the life course. Focusing on these timescales reveals that, far from straightforward accounts of linear acceleration, participants' experiences of tempo contain elements of speeding up and slowing down, and both cyclical and linear rhythms – although social class, age and gender are again important axes of difference.

Chapter 6: Timing

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter I focus on the dimension of ‘timing’, and associated issues of scheduling and coordination. Specifically, and with the aid of Henri Lefebvre’s (2004) ‘rhythmanalysis’, I examine how the timings of paid work interact with the rhythms of participants’ personal (bodily), family and social lives – focusing in particular on the contrast between the flexibility enjoyed by IT participants and the non-standard working hours that a number of college employees are required to work. In contrast to much of the existing literature, which tends to regard the former (i.e. *employee* control over scheduling) as advantageous and the latter (i.e. *employer* control) as disadvantageous in terms of balancing the demands of work and home, I argue that both sets of participants are in fact vulnerable to experiences of time stress, but that the precise nature of this anxiety differs between these two groups. This leads me to propose the existence of a ‘temporal divide’ between those at the upper and lower ends of the occupational ladder.

The chapter proceeds in four sections. I begin by building on the overview of ‘rhythmanalysis’ provided in chapter 2, arguing in the process that Lefebvre’s rhythmic framework is well suited to an examination of timing and coordination. Specifically, I draw out the multi-dimensionality of workplace timings by outlining five dimensions – ‘flexibility’, ‘typicality’, ‘continuity’, ‘consistency’ and ‘predictability’ – that together combine to determine an individual’s particular working rhythm; I then situate these working rhythms within Lefebvre’s wider notion of the individual as a 'bundle' of diverse, interacting rhythms, which includes physiological, psychological, natural, social and technological rhythms.

It is the entanglements between these various rhythms, and the way in which these shape participants' temporal experiences, that form the focus of the subsequent two sections of the chapter. In the first of these sections, I focus specifically on the flexibility dimension (which can be seen as an employee-led form of variability) and the (albeit limited) control that IT participants enjoy over their timings of work. In particular, I examine how this dimension interacts firstly with participants' bodily rhythms, and then with the institutional timings of childcare. Participants' accounts of the former demonstrate that whilst flexibility allows for the adjustment of schedules to suit personal *physiological* rhythms, it may also contribute to employees' *psychological* rhythms becoming 'entrained' by their employment (Parkes and Thrift 1979, 1980) and to a blurring of the boundary between work and non-work – thus increasing the potential for overinvestment. Accounts of the latter, meanwhile, point to a similarly paradoxical outcome: indeed, whilst schedule control seemingly allows parents to 'have it all' (i.e. to combine highly-skilled and fulfilling employment at traditional times of day with a rewarding relationship with their children), it may ultimately lead to an increasing sense of time stress as bundles become stretched in several directions at once.

In the second of these sections, meanwhile, I turn my attention to the remaining four (employer-led) dimensions, and college participants' accounts of atypical (and in some cases also discontinuous, inconsistent and unpredictable) employment. I begin by examining the consequences of such employment for participants' social lives; here their accounts help to extend existing (largely quantitative) research by demonstrating that atypical schedules not only strain personal relationships, but also lead to a wider sense of (temporal) exclusion as individuals are segregated from the communal rhythms of society. I then turn to the implications of atypical employment for childcare commitments. Here participants' accounts present a more mixed picture at first glance, with certain individuals – particularly those working opposing shifts to their partners – seemingly regarding their atypical schedules as enabling. However, a deeper analysis casts doubts on the benefits of such 'tag-team' arrangements (Hattery 2001) – due both to the separation they impose between spouses, and their reliance on schedule predictability (which for many at the lower end of the labour market is lacking).

In the final section of the chapter I bring these themes together and expand my focus to the collective level. In particular, I outline how (alongside other socio-economic and technological developments) the growth of both employee-led and employer-led forms of flexibility over recent decades has contributed to a weakening of society's collective rhythms – and how this desynchronisation of schedules only serves to exacerbate perceptions of time stress, as individuals are increasingly dependent upon, yet struggle to coordinate with, the rhythms of others. There are important social differences to this process, however, which ultimately serve to reinforce the themes discussed in the previous sections of the chapter. This leads me to propose the existence of a 'temporal divide' between those at the upper end of the occupational ladder – whose time stress results from the way in which discretion over scheduling can, somewhat paradoxically, lead to a loss of control – and those towards the lower end – whose sense of anxiety stems primarily from the imperfect arrangements they are forced into as a result of their lack of agency, which in many cases entail an element of (temporal) exclusion.

6.2. Rhythmanalytical framework

As outlined in chapter 2, Henri Lefebvre's (2004) 'rhythmanalysis' offers a productive means of comprehending the multiplicity of time, as well as the interrelations between the temporal and spatial dimensions of everyday life. Without abandoning the richness of Lefebvre's notion of rhythm (which is present "everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy" [ibid: 15]) or descending into a narrow clock time analysis, I argue in this chapter that a rhythmic lens holds particular promise for investigating the temporal dimension of timing, and associated issues of scheduling and coordination (see also Schwanen 2008, Schwanen et al. 2012, Shove et al. 2009, Kärrholm 2009, Simone and Fauzan 2013). There are two aspects of Lefebvre's writings that lead me to make this claim, and which I now draw on to develop a conceptual framework for the remainder of the chapter.

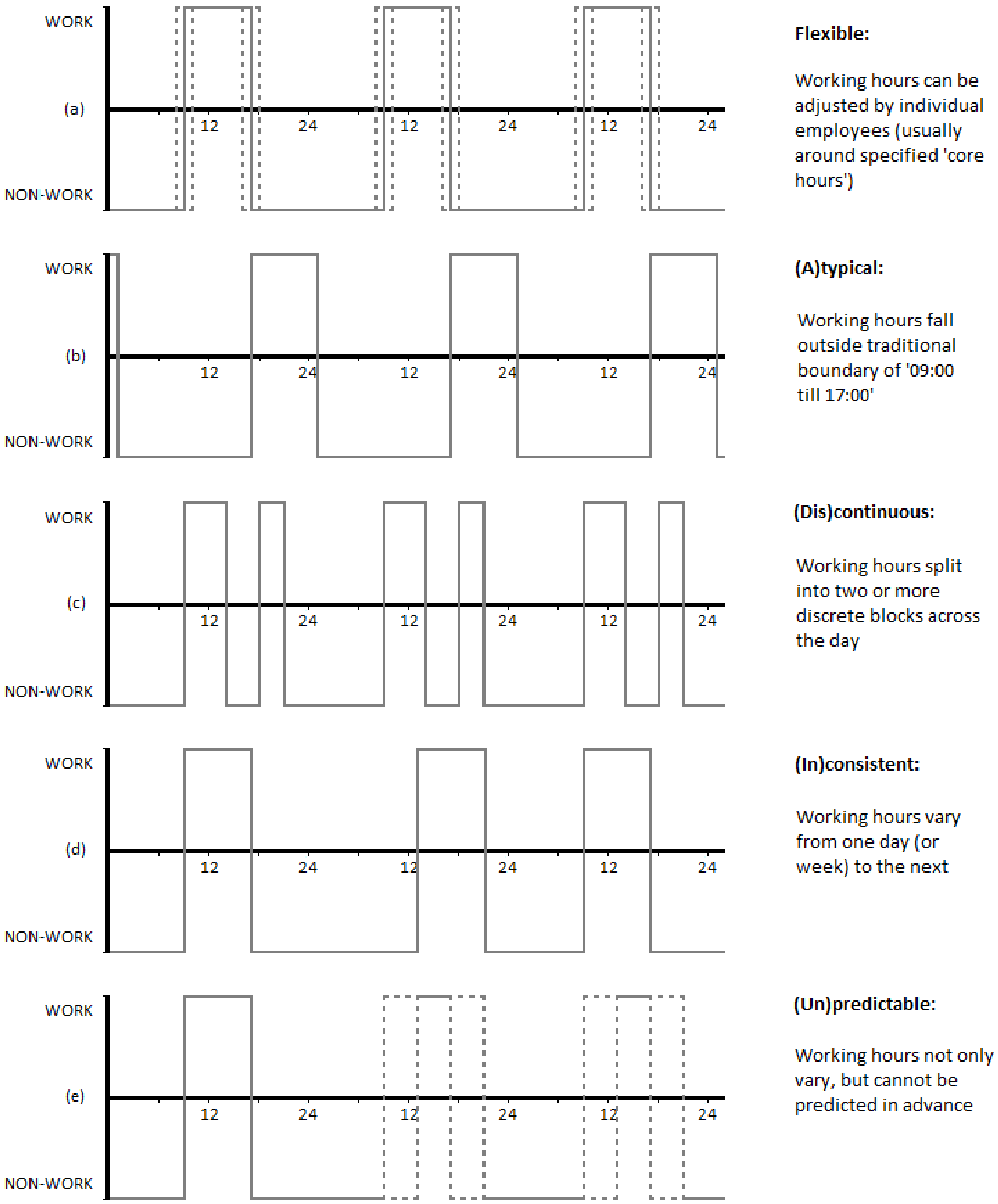
Firstly, as outlined in chapter 2, Lefebvre (2004: 6) stresses that the repetitive nature of rhythms is one of their defining features, and that this repetition implies a 'measure' or beat. In other words, rhythms have a certain duration or periodicity and reoccur at particular intervals or *times*. One might think, for instance, of the ebb and flow of tides and the repetitive *timings* of 'high' and 'low' tide at a particular coastal location. It is important to note, however, that repetitive does not imply unchanging. Indeed, Lefebvre (ibid: 6) emphasises that "there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely"; hence, "there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference". Accordingly, the precise measure or timing of a rhythm may fluctuate from one period or cycle to the next. Returning to the example of tidal rhythms, this is evident in the way tide times slowly migrate across the 24 hour grid from one day to the next.

Nonetheless, despite this emphasis on difference, Lefebvre can be seen to privilege the regular or the every-day in his writings – both in the sense that he focuses on rhythms that are commonplace or widespread (i.e. 'everyday'), and those that repeat relatively continually and consistently from one day to the next (i.e. 'every day') (Elden 2004a: 196). By contrast, Parkes and Thrift (1979, 1980) draw a distinction between regular (or 'oscillatory') rhythms and irregular rhythms (or 'markers'). Whilst their focus is principally on the 'density of occurrence' (i.e. frequency) relative to the daily or circadian scale (with oscillatory rhythms typically repeating on a daily basis and markers producing signals at more distant intervals), at a more fundamental level their discussion helps to clarify that rhythms may be more or less common (or typical), may be more or less continuous, and may display a more or less consistent (and hence also predictable) pattern over longer time frames. As such, it points to the multi-dimensionality of rhythms – and hence of the timing dimension as well.

Focusing specifically now on waged labour – which, in the words of Lefebvre (2004: 74), "remains to a large extent essential..., the reference to which we try to refer everything else back" – and combining Parkes and Thrift's insights with an analysis of participants' working schedules, I suggest the rhythm (and hence also timings) of paid employment can be disaggregated into five component dimensions, as follows: 'flexibility'; 'typicality'; 'continuity'; 'consistency'; and 'predictability'. Inspired by Lefebvre's (ibid: 78, 82) invocation of the 'wavelike' properties of rhythms (see also Parkes and Thrift 1979, 1980, Palmer 2011, Wunderlich 2013, Muliček et al. 2015), these five dimensions, around which the remainder of this chapter is structured, are displayed graphically in Figure 3.[74] I now also provide an accompanying description for each, drawing a distinction in the process between the first dimension (i.e. flexibility) and the remaining four.

[74] Whilst many natural and bodily rhythms (such as tides and circadian rhythms [see, for instance, Palmer 2011]), and indeed human behaviour at an aggregate level (such as pedestrian movements and traffic flows [see, for instance, Muliček et al. 2015]), display a sinusoidal waveform, a square waveform is deemed a more accurate representation of *individual* behaviour in this instance. This could still be considered a slight simplification, however, particularly if the 'non-work' dimension of Figure 3 were conceived of as a specific physical location (such as the home). In such a case, the below waveforms could be regarded as space-time paths analogous to those employed in time-geography; given the need to travel between the separate locations of work and home, the rising and falling edges of each cycle – which would represent this commute – would thus in reality be graded. Furthermore, it should be noted that the strict dichotomy between 'work' and 'non-work' displayed here is not always tenable in reality, especially given contemporary concerns around the blurring of these two domains (as discussed in previous chapters).

Figure 3: Schematic representation of (a) flexible, (b) (a)typical, (c) (dis)continuous, (d) (in)consistent and (e) (un)predictable working rhythms across a three day period



Although often used in employment studies, ‘flexibility’ remains a rather ambiguous term, with different connotations in different national settings (Perrons 1999, Haas and Wallace 2004). To this end, a useful distinction can be made between ‘employer-led’ and ‘employee-led’ flexibility. The former is typically associated with the general deregulation of modern capitalist labour markets over the past three to four decades and a consequent increase in the diversity of working time patterns as businesses have sought to enhance their ability to adapt in what is an increasingly competitive and changeable global marketplace (see, for instance, Bosch et al. 1994, Garhammer 1995, Sennett 1998, Beck 2000, Gray 2004, Rubery et al. 2005). In this chapter, however, I reserve the term ‘flexibility’ for the latter – that is, to refer to whether or not individual employees enjoy some (albeit typically limited) freedom to adjust the timing (and in some cases also location) of their work.[75] The terms ‘autonomy’ and ‘sovereignty’ are also occasionally used within the literature in this context (see, for instance, Breedveld 1998, Brannen 2005, Hildebrandt 2006, Lott 2015, Rose 2015).

I seek to capture ‘employer-led’ flexibility, meanwhile, in my four remaining dimensions. The first of these – ‘typicality’ – is concerned with the temporal location of paid work within the 24 hour daily cycle (and indeed the seven day weekly cycle). More specifically, it relates to whether employment falls within the traditional boundaries of the ‘09:00 till 17:00’ working day (and Monday to Friday working week), or outside of these times, such as at mornings, evenings, nights and weekends (and could thus be classed as ‘atypical’ or ‘non-standard’ [see also

[75] My focus on day-to-day *timing* means I am less concerned in this chapter with other employee-led ‘flexibility’ policies such as part-time working and parental leave (which, although clearly related, are primarily concerned with the dimension of *duration*).

Presser 2003]).[76] The next dimension – 'continuity' – refers to whether working hours fall in an uninterrupted sequence, or are split into two or more discrete blocks across the day (i.e. 'discontinuous'). The 'consistency' dimension, meanwhile, refers to the extent to which an employee's official timings of work differ from one day (and one week) to the next (and thus unlike the first three dimensions is concerned with the inter- rather than intra-day scale). Finally, the 'predictability' dimension refers to whether the nature of any *in*-consistencies (since a consistent pattern is by definition also predictable) can be foretold by an employee in advance. In practice, these final three dimensions can be seen as specific types of atypicality, since they necessarily entail that working hours extend beyond the traditional confines of '09:00 till 17:00'.

These five dimensions should be seen as additive rather than mutually exclusive and together combine to determine an individual's particular working rhythm. However, as the contrast between employee-led and employer-led scheduling suggests (and as the accounts of participants in this research also attest to), there is typically a distinct relationship between the flexibility dimension and the remaining four dimensions. More specifically, flexibility tends to be a feature of employment that is otherwise typical, continuous, consistent and predictable, whilst inflexible employment may or may not entail a combination of atypicality, discontinuity, inconsistency and unpredictability.

The additive nature of these five timing dimensions leads me to the second aspect of rhythmanalysis I wish to draw upon in this chapter – Lefebvre's (2004: 8-10,

[76] Given the rise of employee-led flexibility, the boundaries of 'typical' work might now more realistically be regarded as 08:00 and 18:00 (rather than 09:00 and 17:00).

16) emphasis on the interactive nature of rhythms, and the way in which multiple rhythms combine to form a ‘polyrhythmia’ (or, in the words of Crang (2001), a ‘polyrhythmic ensemble’). Continuing with the previous theme by way of example, Jones (2010) – drawing on the work of Young (1988) – outlines how the fortunes of commercial fishermen are intimately linked to the ways in which tidal rhythms interact with numerous other natural, societal and economic rhythms, including local weather patterns, daily fluctuations in trade prices, the weekly rhythm of commercial markets and the seasonal migration of marine life. *Timing* is also of central importance here, then, with regards to the degree of coordination or synchronisation between rhythms.

More specifically, this chapter explores how the rhythms and timings of paid work (as outlined above) coordinate with various other rhythms in participants’ day-to-day lives. To this end, I draw on Lefebvre’s (2004: 20, 80) suggestion that each individual can themselves be thought of as a ‘bundle’ of diverse, interacting rhythms – that is to say, as a kind of polyrhythmia. As outlined in chapter 2, this bundle most obviously includes the rhythms of the human body – both physiological (such as those relating to hunger and thirst) and psychological (such as those relating to memory or habit, as well as the imagined or expected) (ibid: 18). However, it also incorporates rhythms of the wider environment in which the individual is situated, including natural rhythms (such as the diurnal cycle of night and day), social rhythms (such as the annual calendar of celebrations and ceremonies), institutional rhythms (such as the opening and closing times of offices, shops and schools) and – increasingly in contemporary society – technological rhythms (such as the variable flow of mobile phone calls, text messages and emails) (see also Parkes and Thrift 1980, Zerubavel 1981, Nansen et al. 2009). In this way, the boundary between the micro (individual) and the macro (environment) – as well as the natural and the social (and cultural) – is dissolved, and lived experience can be regarded as an 'emergent' phenomenon of these multiple rhythms.

Such a conception can be seen as part of Lefebvre's wider attempts to overcome the dichotomous or dualistic thinking that hampers much social theory (as discussed in chapter 2), and to challenge the modernist notion of the individual as a sovereign actor, separated from the (human and non-human) world around them (see Elden 2004a for an overview of Lefebvre's thinking in this regard).[77] Lefebvre is thus advocating a relational perspective and encouraging us to move beyond a simple focus on discrete, static material entities, privileging instead the complex and continually evolving (or 'becoming') interactions and interrelationships between them. To this end, he contrasts the term 'presence' (i.e. the underlying rhythms of lived experience) with 'present' (i.e. what is visible at first glance) (Lefebvre 2004: 22-24) – with the aim of rhythmanalysis being to move past the latter to access the former. As Lefebvre (ibid: 23) himself puts it, "the act of rhythmanalysis integrates these things – this wall, this table, these trees – in a dramatic becoming, in an ensemble full of meaning, transforming them no longer into diverse things, but into presences" (see also Elden 2004a, Chen 2012, Drakopoulou 2013).

[77] Recent work on the theme of 'nature-cultures' similarly seeks to move beyond humanistic perspectives by breaking down the boundary between human and non-human, individual and society, and nature and culture (see, for example, Haraway 1991, 2003, Latimer and Miele 2013).

That presence is seen to lay hidden beneath the surface of everyday life underlines that Lefebvre's notion of rhythmicity belongs in part to the domain of the non-conscious or unconscious – being entwined with taken-for-granted habits, routines and events (Chen 2012: 48-49).[78] Indeed, Lefebvre (2004: 21, 27, 77) stresses that the relations between rhythms often only become apparent when they break down or begin to suffer from some irregularity – that is to say, in moments of 'arrhythmia'. Such moments – which, as outlined in chapter 2, pertain to situations of conflict or discord between rhythms – thus provide a starting point for exposing and understanding the concealed rhythms of daily life, and for facilitating the shift in perspective that Lefebvre advocates (see also Schwanen 2008, Chen 2012). This I demonstrate in the later sections of this chapter by drawing on arrhythmic episodes within participants' accounts.[79]

By combining the micro and macro scales, Lefebvre's polyrhythmic 'bundle' also helps to foreground the interplay between individual agency and wider contextual or structural forces, and the relative influence of these on lifeworld experience (as has been called for by scholars such as Pratt 1996, Ellegård 1999, and Jarvis 1999, 2005). As noted in chapter 2, Lefebvre himself was particularly concerned with structural factors and the extent to which the linear beat of capitalist modernisation has come to dominate the cyclical rhythms of nature (including the body and human subjectivity) (Lefebvre 1991: 206). Whilst there is perhaps a certain romanticism in his view of the natural world, Lefebvre's emphasis on how

[78] In this way, Lefebvre (2004) moves beyond phenomenological accounts such as that of Buttimer (1976: 289), which are primarily concerned with the rhythms of conscious experience.

[79] I place rather less emphasis on Lefebvre's (2004: 16) contrasting concept of 'eurhythmia' – a state of health or harmony between rhythms – since the dualistic opposition between these two terms (i.e. eurhythmia and arrhythmia) is arguably rather simplistic, and in some ways even compromises his broader attempt to move beyond dichotomous or dualistic thinking (as mentioned in chapter 2).

certain rhythms come to manipulate others (what he refers to as 'dominating-dominated' rhythms [Lefebvre 2004: 18]) is nonetheless an important and illuminating element of his rhythmic framework.

Parallels can be drawn here with Parkes and Thrift's (1979, 1980) 'chronogeography' and, specifically, their notion of 'entrainment' – a process of synchronisation wherein an element (known as a z*eitgeber* or 'pacemaker') impels others to take over or adjust to its rhythm. As Schwanen et al. (2012: 6) explain, the stronger the entraining capacities of the element in question, "the more its effects will ripple through a polyrhythmic ensemble as an 'accordion effect' and the greater the rhythmic conformity that will ensue" (see also Parkes and Thrift 1975, 1980). Importantly, however, entrainment should not be seen as a deterministic and top-down or hierarchical process emanating from a single or limited number of elements (Schwanen et al. 2012: 6). Indeed, whilst lifeworld experience may to a significant extent be shaped by the various rhythms of one's social and material context, individuals themselves may in turn shape and re(produce) such external rhythms through their day-to-day choices and routines (see also Jarvis 2005, Shove et al. 2009, Smith and Hall 2013). To this end, de Certeau's (1984) notion of 'tactics' – the creative ways in which individuals or groups cope with and resist the wider 'strategies' imposed on them from above – offers a useful conceptual tool. Furthermore, it should be noted that this interplay between structure and agency is mediated by one's personal circumstances, including axes of class and gender. It is these variations that I bring to the fore in the remainder of this chapter, as I examine the ways in which the multiple dimensions of paid work interact with the variety of other rhythms that feature in participants' bundles. I begin by focusing on the flexibility dimension, before later turning to the impacts of atypicality (including discontinuity, inconsistency and unpredictability).

6.3. (Employee-led) flexibility

As noted above, I use the term 'flexibility' in this chapter to refer to situations where individual employees enjoy some (albeit generally limited) control over the day-to-day timing of paid work. Discretion of this kind is generally considered an attractive benefit for employees, affording them freedom to tailor their schedules to individual needs (see Präg and Mills 2014 for an overview). A range of studies have shown flexibility to have a strong class dimension, however, becoming more likely as one moves up the occupational ladder (see, for example, Garhammer 1995 and Breedveld 1998). This pattern is borne out in the present research: whilst those working in the University's IT department (and, to a slightly lesser extent, certain office-based college roles) generally have some freedom to shift their start and finish times around specified 'core hours' of 10:00 till 16:00, the majority of college participants – particularly those working in (lower-skilled) manual and routine roles – typically have set shifts and hence more rigid timings.[80]

As suggested above, the significance of the flexibility dimension (and of this discrepancy between IT and college employees) as regards participants' temporal

[80] On top of this, several IT participants have been able to negotiate personal 'flexible work arrangements' with the department, which may allow them some additional flexibility over timings, as well as the option to work from home on certain days.

experiences can be illuminated by adopting a polyrhythmic perspective. In particular, there are two themes where the flexibility dimension came to the fore in the present research: firstly, in relation to participants' bodily rhythms; and secondly, in relation to institutional rhythms (especially those relating to childcare facilities). Adhering to Lefebvre's belief that the rhythmanalyst should seek to employ "the body as the first point of analysis" (Elden 2004b: xii), I begin by focusing on the former.

6.3.1. Bodily rhythms

As noted in chapter 2, the human body is regulated by various inherent physiological rhythms – particularly in relation to daily (or 'circadian') functions such as sleeping, eating and excreting. For Lefebvre, these biological rhythms are "more and more conditioned by the social environment and our working lives" (ibid: xii), thus leading to the potential for discord (or arrhythmia). This is illustrated by Elle's account, which highlights a sense of conflict between her body's sleep-wake cycle (which is itself linked to her daughter's (interrupted) sleep rhythms [see Burgard 2011]) and the clock time rhythms of the workplace:

> *Basically up to getting into work I feel like I'm behind schedule. Even waking up I always think maybe I should be waking up earlier, but I can't bear it because my daughter is still waking up once or twice in the night. And I couldn't bear to get up any earlier – it would just kill me.*
>
> *Elle, project developer*

The flexibility afforded to IT employees such as Elle, however, provides some scope for adjusting working patterns in order to accommodate personal bodily rhythms. Indeed, several participants from the IT department discussed how they shifted their working routine earlier or later than the standard '09:00 till 17:00' pattern depending on whether they perceived themselves to be a 'morning' or 'evening' person (see also Schwanen 2006). This included Sheila, who tends to arrive at work comparatively early – typically around 08:15 – because she feels she is "much better in the morning" (relative to the afternoon):

> *I think I'm much better in the morning – I'm more of a morning person than maybe an evening person. I'm definitely a bit better. I prefer... I feel more productive before that lunchtime period rather than afterwards. [...] So I prefer to get in and get going with things.*
>
> *Sheila, project administrator*

By contrast, the majority of college participants (particularly those in manual and routine roles) are unable to adjust their working routines in this way, and thus have less scope to attend to individual biological rhythms. Consequently, it is these participants' non-work schedules that must be adapted in order to accommodate episodes of bodily arrhythmia. For instance, Sandra – a gardener in one of the participating colleges – discussed how she includes a 30 minute contingency period within her usual morning routine (by aiming to arrive half an hour before her official start time of 07:00) in order to allow for the possibility that she wakes up with low blood sugar as a result of her diabetes:

I'm a diabetic so it [i.e. arrival time] ranges a little bit because if I wake up with a low blood sugar I'll shift it along half an hour so I can sort myself out before I get in. [...] Which is why I probably get up so early and aim to be there at 06:30, so that if I have a diabetic wonky issue I've still got that half hour leeway to not be late for work.

Sandra, gardener

The upshot is that Sandra actually arrives to work early on most days, which effectively extends her working day. This is true also of several other college participants, who similarly incorporate a 'safety margin' into their morning routine to allow for variable traffic conditions, as well as the possibility for delays or cancellations in the case of those travelling by public transport (see, for instance, Knight 1974, Noland and Polak 2002, Schwanen 2006). Such premature arrivals are thus a somewhat hidden cost of many lower-skilled (and inflexible) jobs: an inequality that existing studies of travel behaviour, which typically focus on the 'average' commuter, have not brought to the fore (although see Standing's (2013) notion of 'work-in-waiting', as well as Jacobs and Padavic's (2015) discussion of the various forms of 'time theft' associated with low-skilled and precarious employment).

Nonetheless, even for those who do enjoy some control over their timings of arrival and departure from work, the ability to attend to bodily rhythms is often constrained during the working day itself. Indeed, whilst these cyclical fluctuations may dictate precisely when an individual chooses to start or finish work, it is the linear (clock time) beat of the workplace that typically dominates the intervening period (Thompson 1967). This is demonstrated by the accounts of Geoff and Ruth, which highlight how bodily rhythms are routinely adjusted or suppressed in order to meet the demands of work:

> *Everyone always has a dip in the afternoon I think – and hence I don't eat lunch. Because I always think to aid digestion you should actually relax after a meal. You shouldn't just go out doing this, that and the other. [...] So I eat at the wrong end of the day which is the evening, but you know that's life. And my body has obviously got used to it.*
>
> *Geoff, head of catering*

> *I always feel that in between meetings it's always very rushed. And even the bits in the middle where you don't have a gap, I mean that's even worse because even going to the bathroom sometimes you know there is no time left.*
>
> *Ruth, senior manager*

Indeed, Geoff's account, and the way in which he has trained his body to "[get] used" to eating at certain times of the day (i.e. outside of working hours), can arguably be seen as a form of entrainment known as 'dressage' – a term Lefebvre (2004: 38-45) uses to describe how, much like an animal being 'broken-in', our biological rhythms are conditioned by our family and social existence through the repetition of various acts, gestures and movements (see also Elden 2004a: 197, Evans and Franklin 2010).

It should be noted, however, that those who enjoy sovereignty over their times of arrival and departure from paid employment often also possess some freedom over the timing (and duration) of breaks within the working day itself. This opens up the possibility for resistance, meaning that – contrary to Lefebvre's (2004) insistence – the linear beat of the workplace (i.e. industrial production) need not always prevail over the cyclical rhythms of the body (i.e. nature) (see also Simpson 2008, Borch et al. 2015). This is demonstrated by Sam's 'tactic' of going for a half hour walk after lunch in order to aid his digestion (de Certeau 1984):[81]

> *I do find I like to have a half hour walk around [area of parkland] or something after lunch. The disadvantage to getting free food – well getting food essentially as part of your salary – is that it's quite hard to pass up a nice cheesecake or a nice chocolate cake, thinking that's part of my salary. So lunch can be a bit heavy sometimes. So getting out and getting some air… in a sense sometimes it's sort of work time as well because usually you will be thinking through whatever is on your mind.*
>
> *Sam, IT manager*

Nonetheless, that Sam still regards this walk as "sort of work time" indicates that this sovereignty does not preclude individuals from remaining mentally engaged with work during supposed breaks – and periods outside the workplace more generally. The linear beat of paid employment (particularly where this is cognitively demanding) can not only entrain individuals' physiological rhythms, therefore, but also their psychological rhythms. Indeed, even if not purposefully focusing on a specific task (i.e. making a conscious decision to 'work from home'), several IT participants – including both Rebecca and Ruth – reported that they frequently remained engaged in work at a more preconscious level outside of the

[81] In a similar manner, Camilla discussed how she and several colleagues in the IT department had begun going for a weekly lunchtime walk during the winter months in an attempt to bring the cyclical rhythms of nature back into the working day and counteract the feeling that "we were coming into work in the dark, going home in the dark and we never actually went outside".

temporal (and spatial) confines of the workplace (see also Brannen 2005, Jarvis and Pratt 2006, Deery 2008, Middleton 2009):[82]

> *I don't know whether you sort of find this even with your own research – that you can be thinking about it at odd times? And actually sometimes your biggest insights come when you're doing something completely different. And for me most of my real hard thinking is done [whilst cycling home] in the half mile between the [village] turn off at the bottom of [road] and half way up [road] where the steep bit ends. [...] And ditto when you're sort of doing the washing up – washing the dishes. That you'll find that things... so in fact there is no... it's a long... well I would say it's probably 20 years since I had a job where you could leave it behind mentally.*
>
> *Rebecca, researcher*

> *It's very blurred. I mean I think about it the whole time and wake up in the middle of the night and write notes of things I've got to do or things that come to mind – or you discover a solution.*
>
> *Ruth, senior manager*

Moreover, as Ruth's account suggests, such involuntary contemplation may ultimately lead to a period of more conscious work (for instance, writing notes or working on a solution), as individuals fret that a new insight may be lost, or feel unable to 'switch off' until they have investigated various ramifications. Somewhat paradoxically, therefore, the temporal (and spatial) flexibility that accompanies many professional and creative roles can actually contribute to a *loss* of control over the boundary between work and non-work. As outlined in previous chapters, a sense of moral commitment to colleagues or one's employer (see also Alves et al. 2007, Kelliher and Anderson 2010), as well as the permanent background rhythm

[82] These accounts demonstrate that the time devoted to work activities is not always easy to quantify and thus the inadequacy of studies which rely solely on numerical or statistical data on work hours to evaluate levels of time stress.

of ICTs (see also Perrons 2003, Ellison 2004, Jarvis and Pratt 2006, Nansen et al. 2009), may only serve to exacerbate this process. Overinvestment in work, and the sense of arrhythmia it typically induces, thus represents a potential downside to employee-led flexibility (see also Lewis 2003, Brannen 2005, Schieman and Young 2010, Hofäcker and König 2013, Lott 2015).

The entraining influence of linear clock time rhythms is not restricted to waged labour, however, with the timings of various other 'institutions of coordination' (Pratt 1996) also interwoven into individuals' rhythmic bundles. This includes public transport timetables, the opening and closing times of shops and services, and – at least for those with parental responsibilities – the start and finish times of schools and nurseries. It is the last of these to which I now turn, as I examine the ways in which the flexibility dimension interacts with the timings of childcare facilities in participants' lives.

6.3.2. Institutional rhythms (of childcare)

In keeping with Hägerstrand's (1970, 1982, 1989) concept of 'coupling constraints', the (on clock time based) beginning and end of the school (or nursery) day can act as significant pressure points in the daily schedules of dual-earner couples with parental responsibilities.[83] This is especially the case for mothers, since – in keeping with the traditional gendered division of labour – they tend to retain primary responsibility for attending to (and often physically

[83] See Glennie and Thrift (2009) for a discussion of clock time's historical function as a technique and device for timetabling – some might even say disciplining – polyrhythmic ensembles.

chauffeuring) children at these times (see, for instance, Dyck 1990, Skinner 2003, 2005, Schwanen 2007, Barker 2011). Accordingly, those with childcare commitments are often seen as the prime beneficiaries of flexibility. Indeed, regardless of the potential for overinvestment in work, numerous recent studies – stemming from organisational psychology in particular – have credited discretion over the timing (and in some cases also location) of employment as being of significant assistance in terms of juggling the (often competing) demands of work and family life (see, for instance, Hill et al. 2001, 2010, Halpern 2005, Shockley and Allen 2007, Kelly et al. 2011, Pedersen and Jeppesen 2012). This is undoubtedly the case for Marcus, one of several IT participants to have negotiated a personal 'flexible work arrangement', which allows him some additional leeway beyond that facilitated by the core working hours arrangement available to all the department's employees (as well as the option to work from home two days a week):

> *I have the flexible work arrangement. I was actually the first one in the department, so I was a bit of a guinea pig – about 2003 I guess. So when the legislation was first being talked about... because if I wasn't able to a) work at home for a couple of days a week and b) be a bit flexible about this timing [i.e. to arrive at work around 10:15 after dropping his son at school (and then commuting to Oxford)], I didn't see my kids from Sunday night till Saturday morning basically.*
>
> *Marcus, project manager, 2 children (aged 5-11 and 12-16)*

In fact, Marcus goes as far as to suggest that prior to negotiating such flexibility he was simply unable to reconcile his chosen career with his parenting commitments. In keeping with this thought, it was noticeable that accounts of meeting childcare obligations in the time windows at the margins of the traditional working day were largely absent from the narratives of college participants, particularly those working in manual and routine positions (whose schedules are of course relatively inflexible). This absence is in part linked to the atypical hours of some college jobs – which can in certain cases allow parents to alleviate, or at least shift, the pressure points associated with childcare schedules (as I discuss in more detail in the next section of this chapter). Nonetheless, that only 1 of the 9 manual and routine college participants consistently working traditional daytime hours had nursery- or school-aged children (compared to 10 of 25 IT participants), suggests that the fixed timings of such roles may ultimately be less compatible – and hence a possible deterrent to those – with childcare responsibilities. This represents a further potential inequity between those with and without the skills necessary to apply for professional (and hence flexible) job roles.

Nonetheless, a polyrhythmic lens reveals that the benefits of workplace flexibility are not necessarily so straightforward for those with caregiving commitments. In part, this is because there are often various other rhythms woven into the bundles of working parents when meeting such obligations, beyond the clock time rhythms of childcare institutions and the workplace. Evidence for this comes from Camilla's narrative, which reveals a sense of discord (or arrhythmia) between the rhythms of work and home, the source of which relates to emotional or moral (i.e. psychological) rhythms. Indeed, although Camilla's flexible schedule allows her to attend to her son upon his return from school, this convenience is offset by a sense of guilt at leaving the workplace before the majority of her colleagues (despite working a comparable number of hours overall):

> *I think because there aren't the fixed hours and because I start so early in the morning I have always felt a little bit guilty at leaving before everybody else. [...] Because you know they don't know that I started at... I think that can be funny sometimes – people don't know when you arrived and think you're always skiving off at 16:30, 16:45. But the fact is I was at my desk at 07:45.*
>
> *Camilla, business analyst, 1 child (aged 12-16)*

The desire to avoid such guilt and a sense of commitment to colleagues may ultimately compel those with childcare responsibilities to stay later than their planned (clock) departure time; however, this may only serve to heighten the time pressures associated with collecting or meeting children (Schwanen 2006). Parents may of course seek to reduce such anxieties by attempting to increase the compatibility of their employment and childcare commitments – for example, by (re)shaping the hours or location of their work, or making use of extended nursery opening hours and after-school clubs (see, for instance, Pratt 1996, Kwan 1999, McDowell et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2006). Nevertheless, participants' accounts of chauffeuring in particular draw attention to an additional set of dynamics, which these tactics may do little to alleviate. This is demonstrated by William (who speaks largely on behalf of his wife) and Elle's accounts of collecting their children in the late afternoon (from after-school club and nursery respectively):

> *Thankfully the school he's at offers free after-school care. And so that runs until about 16:30, 17:00. Well I think 17:00 is the absolute deadline but we don't like him to be the last kid there. So often my wife is picking him up around 16:30.*
>
> *William, web developer, 1 child (aged 5-11)*

> *If I'm doing the earlier shift which I'm normally doing I'm leaving... I've absolutely got to leave by 16:30 to try and get to nursery to pick my daughter up. Now this is sort of a self-imposed kind of time thing because the nursery is open until I don't know 20:00 at night or something because some people just want end-to-end care. And when my daughter was a lot smaller... she started when she was a lot smaller and we didn't want her to have this amazingly long day away from us. And also a lot of the other people in her bit of the nursery are not there very late so she's kind of on her own if she's there any later than 17:30. So I really wanted to try and pick her up at sort of 17:00ish – because she's kind of been quite clingy and found it quite hard anyway.*
>
> *Elle, project developer, 1 child (aged 0-4)*

Indeed, it appears these mothers' chief concern is with collecting their child before all other children have left the physical space of the school or nursery, rather than by a specific (clock) time (see also Schwanen 2006, 2008). Like Camilla, then, they are governed primarily by emotional or moral rhythms – in this case relating to what they perceive to be appropriate parental behaviour.

It should be emphasised, however, that such moral rhythms ultimately stem from interactions between people and their socio-physical contexts, rather than individuals' inner worlds: this, then, is a situated and relational sense of emotion (see Bondi 2005, Bondi et al. 2005, Schwanen 2008). Indeed, participants' perceptions of appropriateness are seemingly influenced both by concerns for their children's welfare (witness Elle's worry that her daughter has "been quite clingy and found it quite hard"), and the wider (local and national) moral climate. The latter includes discourses and norms regarding the household division of paid and unpaid work (and the merits of different forms of childcare), as well as more general conceptions of what constitutes good or bad parenting (with being the last parent to arrive perhaps considered a sign of the latter) (Duncan and Smith 2002, Duncan et al. 2003, McDowell et al. 2005b). On top of this – and returning briefly to an earlier theme – Elle's vignette also hints at the role of her daughter's biological rhythms (in particular, the likelihood of her getting tired in the afternoon), with the importance Elle attaches to the timing of the nursery pick-up seemingly also linked to ensuring her daughter "didn't... have this amazingly long day" when she first started. Thus, although at first sight the flexible schedules of professional employees such as Camilla, William's wife and Elle provide considerable scope to fulfil childcare commitments, Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalytical lens helps to reveal the presence of other – more contextual and relational – rhythms, which significantly complicate the process.

In attempting to straddle the multiple temporalities of work and care, parents (especially mothers) may therefore find themselves 'betwixt and between' – doing all they can to juggle these competing responsibilities and yet not feeling entirely on top of (or in sync with) either. Accordingly, their sense of guilt may stretch in both directions and result in them feeling as if they are falling short both as an employee and as a parent (see also Pocock 2003, Guendouzi 2006):

> *What happens is that the home tasks bleed into work, and then the work tasks bleed into home and before you know it, it's all a kind of enormous morass of fail [BOTH LAUGH].*
>
> *Elle, project developer, 1 child (aged 0-4)*

Furthermore, William's narrative highlights the additional sense of arrhythmia that can arise between spouses (rather than between work and care at an individual level) when the flexibility of both allows daily chauffeuring responsibilities to be split (with one performing the morning drop-off – typically the father amongst the participants in this research (see also Schwanen 2007) – and the other performing the afternoon or evening pick-up). Indeed, whilst this arrangement allows William and his wife to manage their childcare commitments without significantly compromising their chosen careers (and thus, on the face of it, a relatively equitable sharing of responsibilities), the staggering of schedules it necessitates places a squeeze on their time together in the evening (which, as with Elle's nursery pick-up, is further exacerbated by the biological rhythms of their son, who would "ideally... have dinner earlier"): [84]

> *[Wife] tries to start... tries to leave before I'm back from dropping him off in the morning, so that she's in a bit earlier into her office and then can leave early as a result. It is tricky for her to get to his school from where she works – so it's added stress. Yeah and stress on me because my day starts late and ends later and she wants the family meal together – time together. So... but because she's coming home early and he's you know having a snack after school, but he's up... ideally he'd have dinner earlier. So it's a bit of a stress.*
>
> *William, web developer, 1 child (aged 5-11)*

The accounts of participants such as Camilla, William and Elle thus indicate that – for those with parental responsibilities at least – the flexibility afforded by the IT department is not some sort of panacea for preventing clashes between the rhythms of work and home (see also Wharton 1994, Brannen 2005, Schwanen 2006, Rose 2015). Indeed, whilst schedule control seemingly allows parents to – in the words of Nockolds (2015) – 'have it all' (i.e. to combine highly-skilled and

[84] It is also exacerbated by the location of their son's school relative to both their home and places of work – as highlighted by William's mention of his wife's "tricky" afternoon journey. This lack of proximity can be attributed to William and his wife residing "in an area where we're both not comfortable with his local school" – an orientation which can in turn be linked to the neoliberal emphasis on parental choice and personal responsibility with regards to the quality of children's education (see, for instance, Butler et al. 2007). As William's interview demonstrates, a neglected cost of this transfer of responsibility is the time (and energy) spent processing imperfect information on school standards and travelling further afield (Pratt 1996, Jarvis 2005; see also Standing's (2013) concept of 'work-for-state').

fulfilling employment at traditional times of day with a rewarding relationship with their children) in a way that is less open to many of those with more rigid working hours (such as manual and routine college participants in this study), the reality is often rather less harmonious. This is not simply due to the potential for flexibility to encourage overinvestment in work, however (as discussed above). Rather, schedule control may lead to parents' bundles becoming stretched in three directions at once (i.e. in relation to their work, their care commitments and their partner) – and thus a sense of not being entirely in sync with any of these rhythms. Far from helping to reduce temporal anxieties between work and family life (as the majority of existing (mainly quantitative) studies conclude), therefore, employee-led flexibility may in certain cases actually help to *exacerbate* parents' (especially mothers') sense of arrhythmia.

6.4. (Employer-led) atypicality

If participants' accounts suggest the flexibility dimension may have more ambiguous effects than indicated by previous research as regards perceptions of time stress, what of the other four (employer-led) dimensions (as displayed in Figure 3) – that is to say, interviewees' experiences of atypical (including discontinuous, inconsistent and unpredictable) work schedules?

Whilst there is a large body of research linking such variability (and the disruptions to circadian rhythms caused by night and rotating shifts in particular) to greater individual physiological and psychological health risks (see, for instance, Jamal 2004, Suzuki et al. 2004, Scheer et al. 2009, Archer et al. 2014 and Marquié et al. 2015), there exists a shortage of studies (particularly qualitative, in-depth accounts) examining the impacts of atypical employment on the temporal nature of personal and family life. However, as noted in chapter 2, the select group of researchers (mostly sociologists and psychologists) to have engaged with this latter topic generally find atypical employment to be associated with various negative outcomes relating to the quality of personal relationships and the functioning of family life (Presser 2003, 2006, Strazdins et al. 2004, 2006, Davis et al. 2008, Kalil et al. 2010, Craig and Powell 2011, Craig and Brown 2015, Verhoef et al. 2015; although see Mills and Täht 2010).[85] These findings are made further problematic by empirical data demonstrating that non-standard work is heavily classed, featuring predominantly in low-skilled and low-waged occupations (see, for example, Breedveld 1998, Presser 2003, Warren 2003, Mills 2004).

In line with these studies, there is a strong class dimension to the incidence of atypical scheduling amongst participants in this research. Indeed, whilst the formal work schedule of all IT participants closely resembles the traditional '09:00 till 17:00' day (notwithstanding the fact that some remain mentally engaged with work outside of these hours, as previously discussed), many college staff are employed on morning, evening and night shifts (as well as at weekends). This is particularly true of those involved in catering, which operates on a split-shift (i.e. discontinuous) system in many Oxford colleges, as well as those employed as porters in college lodges, which are typically staffed 24 hours a day, seven days a

[85] As highlighted in chapter 2, it should be noted that beneath this broad-scale trend, findings are complex and vary – both within and between studies – by gender, household division of labour, parental status, and type of shift worked (i.e. morning, evening, night, weekend or rotating). National context has also been shown as important (Mills and Täht 2010, Verhoef et al. 2015).

week. Specifically, at the time of the research interviews, 12 college participants (out of 25) were regularly working atypical hours (7 in their primary college job and 5 in their second job) – although others had also done so historically.[86] In addition, several college participants who themselves worked regular daytime hours had partners employed on atypical schedules (which was generally not the case with IT participants).

The in-depth narratives of these college participants can thus help to contextualise and extend existing quantitative accounts of atypical employment. To this end, the task of bringing these narratives to life is again aided by adopting a polyrhythmic perspective. Such a perspective reveals two themes where atypical scheduling is of major significance in shaping participants' temporal experiences: firstly, in relation to social rhythms; and secondly, in relation to the rhythms of childcare. I now discuss each of these in turn.

6.4.1. Social rhythms

As touched upon in the preceding section of this chapter (when discussing William and his wife's staggered schedules), a lack of alignment between work rhythms can create difficulties for people who wish to spend time together. For many employees with non-standard schedules, therefore, this is a particularly significant

[86] In this research, I regard participants as working 'atypical' hours if any part of their formal work schedule extends beyond the traditional (extended) daytime working hours of 08:00 till 18:00. This is a broader classification than the 'majority hours' (i.e. at least 50 percent of weekly working hours occur outside traditional daytime hours) definition conventionally used in the academic literature (see, for example, Presser 2003). However, there are good reasons to believe this definition both underestimates and oversimplifies the impacts of atypical scheduling (Henly et al. 2006, Minnen et al. 2015).

issue. This includes Bobby – an assistant catering manager in one of the participating colleges – whose hours are not only atypical, but often also discontinuous. Indeed, Bobby usually works a split-shift comprising of an early shift overseeing both breakfast and lunch (typically stretching from 07:00 till 14:00) and a later shift covering the dinner service (typically running from 17:30 till 21:00 or 22:00) – an arrangement that severely limits the extent to which he can socialise with his partner or friends, who for the most part have more traditional work schedules:

> *I hate having to break because you've got to come back. And you know in a normal week I can't do much after I finish work in the evening because I have to get up so early in the morning. So for my five day working block, despite the fact that I'm not maybe technically here… you know I can't go and meet a friend for a drink at sort of 21:00 at night. Well I could but I would have to stop having a drink with them at 22:00 because I have to be up at 06:00 to come in to be functional at 07:00. So for those five days I find it can sometimes be a bit of a pain on my social life.*
>
> *Bobby, assistant catering manager, married/long-term partner*

This arrhythmic situation is further compounded by the fact Bobby usually works at weekends, with his two days off falling during what is traditionally regarded as the 'working week'. Taken together, this lack of both daily and weekly synchronicity is significant given the importance of intimate relationships for one's sense of personal wellbeing, and the fact that shared time is necessary for maintaining and enjoying such relationships (Sullivan 1996, Parris et al. 2008, Pedersen and Lewis 2012).

Of course, it is not only the individual working atypical hours that is affected by such a lack of synchronicity. This is demonstrated by Richard's account (in which he reflects on his wife's former job), which highlights the tension that may be experienced by the partners of those employed on such shifts. In Richard's case, however, it was not simply a lack of shared time that contributed to his sense of arrhythmia; this also stemmed from concerns about his wife's safety late at night (see Sheard 2011), which resulted in his sleep rhythms becoming entrained by the timings of her work (Parkes and Thrift 1980):

> *When we first got together she did what I call sort of dining hall waitress work. And that's a nightmare because she used to go out earlier than me and then come home in the middle of the day on a split-shift. And then just as I was coming in she was going out to do the second shift sort of thing. [...] And it's not nice because I couldn't go to sleep at night when I knew she was still cycling home at 23:00, 23:30. I would wait until she was in do you know what I mean. And that's not a good recipe for starting off a relationship.*
>
> *Richard, gardens and grounds manager, married/long-term partner*

In the context of Bobby and Richard's accounts, then, it is not difficult to see how atypical work schedules may contribute to relations with family and friends becoming strained over time (see Presser 2003, Davis et al. 2008, Kalil et al. 2010). In addition to confirming this insight from previous research, however, participants' narratives demonstrate that it is not only the quality of personal relationships that may be affected by non-standard employment, but also the scope for forging such relationships in the first place. Indeed, it is not simply that atypical schedules are likely to result in a lack of alignment with certain close relations, but that the structure they impose – particularly in terms of the temporal location of leisure periods – may hamper individuals' ability to participate in the communal rhythms of wider society. This I demonstrate by first drawing on my interview with Scott, and then returning to Bobby's narrative.

A night porter in one of the participating colleges, Scott's standard daily schedule is almost the complete inverse of the traditional '09:00 till 17:00' working day – with him waking at 18:00, beginning work between 20:30 and 21:00, finishing his shift at either 06:00 or 08:00, and going to bed around midday. Accordingly, his main period of free time on work days falls during the morning. Out of step with the majority of society, many of Scott's leisure activities therefore deviate from their 'normal' temporal context (and thus, in the words of Zerubavel (1981: xiii), could be described as 'pathological' situations), as the following excerpt illustrates:

> *I go to [pub] now and again when I finish work at 09:00 and I have a pint. And the amount of people that look at you and say: 'It's only 09:00'. And I say: 'Well when you finish work at 18:00 at night do you go out for a drink?' And they say: 'Yes'. 'Well I've just finished work – a 12 hour night shift – this is like my night even though it's morning for you'. Then they understand. And they say: 'Oh I'm ever so sorry, it just looked a bit funny'. And it's not.*
>
> *Scott, night porter, separated/divorced*

As Scott explains, this deviation is considered "a bit funny" by many of those he encounters and marks him out as something of an outsider. However, even on his three days off – when he tries to revert to a more typical sleeping pattern – Scott's choice of social contacts is restricted to those who are free to meet at lunchtimes (i.e. other shift workers or those who are unemployed or retired) by a combination of tiredness and the fact that these non-work days typically fall during the week (see also Pedersen and Lewis 2012):[87]

> *Even when I'm not working, I still... on the... because I have three nights off, the first night... the first day off is not a day. So you get the [second day] off virtually. The [third day] you're trying to revert back onto the night shifts. So I don't go out at nights, because there's no point going out on a [weekday] night anyway. So my friends I meet... I associate with people older than myself. So I meet them in the pub at lunchtimes – because they go out lunchtime drinking.*
>
> *Scott, night porter, separated/divorced*

Scott is far from alone in suffering this fate. Returning to Bobby's account, for example, it is evident that his main period of free time (on work days) falls during the middle of the traditional working day. Although "sometimes… really glad of that break" on busy days, this means there are significant restrictions on with whom he can share his leisure time (beyond immediate colleagues). Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, Bobby is often left "looking for things to do" during this time window.[88] Like Scott, Bobby also tends to work at weekends (with his days off falling during the working week). As he noted with some despondency, this has resulted in him missing a number of important social events in recent years, including weddings and birthday parties (such celebrations routinely being scheduled for weekends, and their one-off nature meaning they cannot be compensated for on other days [see Craig and Brown 2015]):

[87] Such constraints on leisure time may serve to reinforce the position of paid work as the primary source of personal meaning or social contact in one's life – and thus potentially contribute to longer working hours (as discussed in chapter 4).

[88] Regardless of his (in)ability to coordinate with others, the knowledge he has to return to college after his break means Bobby also struggles to wholly detach himself from the rhythms of work during this period. It is not only professional employees (such as Sam, Rebecca and Ruth), therefore, who may find their psychological rhythms entrained by the institutional rhythms of the workplace.

> *And usually when there are weddings or parties… you know because there have been a lot of 50th birthday parties with my friends recently and some of them I have not been able to go to because of the demands of my work. I couldn't take every other weekend off in summer to go to my friends' parties.*
>
> *Bobby, assistant catering manager, married/long-term partner*

It is clear from Scott and Bobby's accounts, then, that the quality of free time "depends a great deal on its position in the course of the day or the week" and, correspondingly, that "irregular or scattered time… is not experienced fully as leisure" (Garhammer 1998: 341). Indeed, both at a daily and weekly scale, Scott and Bobby's atypical (and, in Bobby's case, discontinuous) schedules place them out of sync with the dominant rhythmic beat of society and established times of working, sleeping, eating and celebrating – what Zerubavel (1981) termed the 'socio-temporal order'. This not only impacts the quality of their personal relationships, but also their very ability to forge such relationships and to participate fully in the life of society. In this way, they can be seen as suffering a form of temporal segregation or exclusion – a phenomenon that has attracted considerably less attention than its spatial equivalent (although see Shove 2002, Nespor et al. 2009, Schwanen and Kwan 2012, Schwanen et al. 2012), but which is arguably just as significant.

6.4.2. Childcare rhythms

In addition to their largely detrimental impact on the quality of personal relationships, existing research links atypical work schedules with various negative outcomes relating to the functioning of family life and the provision of care, including less frequent parental involvement in evening meals with children and more complex (and thus potentially less stable) childcare arrangements (see Presser 2003, Strazdins et al. 2006, Verhoef et al. 2015). The in-depth (and polyrhythmic) accounts of college participants again help to enrich and extend these findings, particularly with regards to the complexities of childcare arrangements. This includes Rosie – a college nurse – who described the difficulties she experienced in her previous employment with the National Health Service, which entailed regular shift work, including morning shifts beginning at 07:00:[89]

> *Because what do you do between 07:00 and school starting at 08:45? So those gaps become very, very challenging to fill. Sometimes you can find someone who will come round to the house and do that bit of the day – I've got friends who've managed to find people to do that – but it's not easy, that's very challenging.*
>
> *Rosie, college nurse, 3 children (one aged12-16 and two aged 19+)*

As Rosie's account hints at, such complexity stems in large part from the arrhythmic relationship between the rhythms of atypical employment and institutional childcare in most contemporary societies. Indeed, in the UK there is little formal (and especially public) childcare provision outside of traditional daytime hours, meaning those with non-standard schedules are often forced to rely on more informal networks (i.e. family members, friends and neighbours) and to package together multiple offers of care. Whilst such arrangements are typically

[89] Rosie's account demonstrates how the 'majority hours' definition used by Presser (2003) and others may underestimate the impacts of atypical scheduling: indeed, although only a minor part of her shift stretched beyond standard daytime hours, this did not prevent Rosie from experiencing a sense of temporal anxiety.

more flexible than formal childcare provision as regards arrival and departure times, they can impose significant time constraints on close relations, which may lead to feelings of guilt and potentially further strain relationships (beyond a lack of shared time). In addition, the often precarious nature of such informal arrangements, and hence the constant threat of disruption, can place a recurring mental burden on parents (typically mothers) (Le Bihan and Martin 2004, Henly et al. 2006). An alternative, therefore, is to purchase a more customised solution – a place at a high-quality private nursery (which may have longer opening hours) or nanny, for example – from an expanding range of market-based providers. However, this is typically a very costly option, especially in the UK where childcare costs (relative to average incomes) are amongst the most expensive in the developed world (OECD 2011). As such, private arrangements of this type are beyond the reach of many in lower-skilled and lower-paid jobs (and hence the majority of those in atypical employment): a distinction that highlights the differential capacity of social classes (in spite of similar preferences) to overcome constraints (see Perrons 2000, McDowell et al. 2005a, 2005b, Datta et al. 2007).

However, in spite of these challenges (and whilst acknowledging that the majority of individuals work such schedules primarily because it is a job requirement rather than for personal reasons [Presser 2003]), it should be noted that certain families may actually regard atypical arrangements as enabling (rather than constraining). Couples who work divergent schedules, for example, may be able to reduce anxieties associated with childcare timings (such as school or nursery drop-offs and pick-ups) as well as their dependence on external support by engaging in what Hattery (2001) refers to as 'tag-team parenting' (see also Mills and Täht 2010). This is illustrated by the accounts of Stanley, a porter who now has regular daytime hours but historically worked night shifts, and Imogen, a dining hall assistant currently working evening shifts:

> *I mean I had days when I was off anyway, which meant I could either do the school run or collect the kids from school depending on what my wife was doing. On the days when I was doing the night shift obviously I'd get back home in the morning, go straight to bed, I'd be up by just after lunch time. So by the time we needed to pick the kids up at 15:00 I was already up and about, so I could go and collect the kids from school. So we worked it... we organised it that it worked out quite... it fitted quite well with our own family life at the time.*
>
> *Stanley, head porter, 2 children (aged 17-18 and 19+)*

> *[Colleague] said to me did I want to come back and I said: 'I don't mind doing a couple of evenings'. But only evenings that [husband] wasn't working, because you know I didn't want to send my kids here, there and everywhere. So then I did that. And then I just kind of crept in and did a few more hours and stuff. But it was always opposite... usually opposite shifts to [husband]. So [colleague] understood that – I would do more hours but it had to be opposite shifts to [husband] because I always want someone to be there with my children.*
>
> *Imogen, dining hall assistant, 2 children (aged 12-16 and 19+)*

Discontinuous working hours can also seemingly help in this regard. Indeed, although her college is in the process of moving away from split-shifts, Imogen's interview highlights that these may also be viewed positively by those with caregiving commitments, particularly where the break between shifts allows individuals to collect children from school or nursery, or tend to them upon their return home:

Imogen: Because obviously a lot of the staff if they've got a split-shift they're just hanging around in the staff room – so it is a long day. So [colleague] tried to... well she's introduced a 12:00 till 21:00 or the 07:30 till 14:00. And all the staff love it, but I still quite like my... I've got used to them now, but I quite liked...

Tom: Doing the split-shifts?

Imogen: Yeah I did, because I think I used to go home, get my daughter's tea, make sure she got home from school alright and blah-de-blah.

Imogen, dining hall assistant, 2 children (aged 12-16 and 19+)

As implied by Stanley's narrative, tag-team arrangements may also have the added benefit of increasing fathers' level of involvement with their children, relative to (professional) dual-earner couples working standard daytime schedules (Presser 2003, Warren 2003 and Barnett and Gareis 2007). On that note, the importance that Stanley and Imogen (and their partners) seemingly attach(ed) to personally providing care for their children (witness, for example, Imogen's desire to not "send my kids here, there and everywhere") raises questions about which form of work – that is, paid or unpaid – takes precedence in their lives (see also Le Bihan and Martin 2004). Whilst most government policy – and indeed academic research – in the UK (and other modern capitalist economies) apparently assumes it is (and should be) the former, these participants' accounts arguably challenge this view (as of course have feminist scholars over several decades; see, for instance, Dyck 1990, Davies 1994, Everingham 2002, McDowell et al. 2005a, 2005b, MacLeavy 2007, McDowell 2014). Indeed, although far from immune to the clock time rhythms of paid employment (and their children's schools), these couples' schedules are (or at least *were* in the case of Stanley and his wife) seemingly as equally attuned to the more relational rhythms of caregiving. Tag-team parenting arrangements can perhaps be seen as a form (or tactic) of resistance (de Certeau 1984, Datta et al. 2007), therefore, and a challenge to Lefebvre's (2004) insistence that the linear inevitably prevails over the cyclical (see also Simpson 2008, Borch et al. 2015).

Nonetheless, whilst often linked to attitudes towards external care and what constitutes good parenting, a strict reliance on parental care may also be driven by financial necessity (as touched upon above) or the absence of support networks, and thus should not necessarily be seen in purely positive terms (see also Perrons 2000, McDowell et al. 2005a, 2005b, Datta et al. 2007). Furthermore, divergent work schedules tend to reduce shared couple time and periods of joint parenting – both of which may be detrimental to family functioning, as mentioned previously (Hattery 2001, Presser 2003, Davis et al. 2008, Jacobs and Padavic 2015). Thus, even if relatively harmonious (or eurhythmic) from a caregiving perspective, such schedules may ultimately be arrhythmic with regards to the family unit as a whole. Indeed, this separation between spouses can arguably be seen as another form of temporal exclusion (as with Scott and Bobby's exclusion from the communal rhythms of society more generally).

In addition, it should be recognised that – to the extent that these participants' atypical (and discontinuous) working schedules are seen as enabling rather than constraining – this is largely due to the relative stability of these schedules. Indeed, what is not sufficiently brought to the fore by existing (quantitative) studies is the extent to which inconsistent work schedules can add an additional layer of complexity to family functioning – and childcare arrangements in particular – as Monica's account illustrates:

> *Every day is a different time on the shifts. And plus we... I do sometimes in the hall, some days in the SCR [senior common room]. So if I do the hall morning shift, my shift is from 07:00ish till 14:30 let's say – around 14:30. If I do morning in the SCR it's 07:30 till 15:00. [...] If I do the afternoon shift in the hall it's from 13:30 till... it depends on the number of students... till let's say 21:00, 21:30. Yeah 21:30. And if I do SCR it's from 12:00 till 20:00, 21:00. It depends on the day. But this is really changeable – so one day... sometimes... yesterday I did morning... no yesterday afternoon, today morning, tomorrow afternoon. [...] So obviously my days are different every day. So this is maybe sometimes giving you more rush and stress because if it's not steady it can be... but it's fine.*
>
> *Monica, deputy steward, 2 children (both aged 5-11)*

Such inconsistency can occur not only from one day to the next within a given week, but also from one working week to the next. Indeed, a distinction can be drawn here between college porters, who may face within week variability but typically have relatively consistent schedules across weeks (i.e. a repeating shift pattern), and catering staff – such as Monica – who (particularly in conference season) are more susceptible to inconsistency both within and across working weeks (with the latter obviously being more challenging for family functioning).[90]

Nevertheless, in Monica's case, her inconsistent schedule is not as significant a constraint as could be the case (as hinted at by her concluding remark – "but it's fine"). In part, this is because she is able to call upon the regular support of her mother-in-law, who helps with childcare at times when she and her husband are

[90] Although I do not focus on race or ethnicity in this research, it is interesting to note that the greater inconsistency (and hence precarity) of catering work might be one of the reasons why – at least from casual observation over my time in Oxford – this subset of college employees typically has a higher proportion of migrant workers (of both genders), whilst porters and cleaners are more likely to be white British men and women respectively.

both unavailable. In addition, and although she does not generally have input into her schedule, Monica stressed that her college is “really adaptable” if she has a particularly pressing commitment to meet outside of work (failing this, she is sometimes able to swap shifts with a colleague – an additional tactic employees can utilise [de Certeau 1984]). Finally, Monica typically receives notice of her shifts around two weeks in advance, which allows her some (albeit limited) time to plan ahead. This last point emphasises that whilst inconsistent schedules pose challenges in and of themselves, it is the predictability of such variability that is of crucial importance, particularly for those with caring commitments (see also Le Bihan and Martin 2004, Henly et al. 2006, Jacobs and Padavic 2015). Indeed, where predictability is lacking, parents are unable to map their future rhythms and sustained effort is required to find a workable childcare solution from one week – and even one day – to the next. This is illustrated by returning to Rosie’s account of her previous employment with the NHS, which outlines the heightened sense of time stress (and possible financial penalties) that can materialise as a result:

> *Shift work in a hospital setting you feel as if you’re owned 24 hours a day, seven days a week. You can be asked to do nights, earlies, lates – in a totally random way and often at relatively short notice. So planning anything is very difficult. [...] Because you just feel as if you have no sense of sort of personal control over your time. And if you’re trying to juggle that with childcare, it’s very, very difficult. And very expensive – because you know you might well be booking childcare for times when you don’t need it. I mean I did negotiate working Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and a weekend shift, so at least then I knew I employed the nanny for three days. But they could be earlies or lates – so it was always difficult. So this [i.e. working at a college] is much better.*
>
> *Rosie, college nurse, 3 children (one aged12-16 and two aged 19+)*

Whilst the atypical (and in some cases discontinuous and inconsistent) timings of many college roles present significant challenges for those with caregiving responsibilities, therefore, it should be recognised that such challenges are even greater for many others at the lower end of the labour market – particularly those working for less considerate employers or in sectors prone to more variable demand (see Ehrenreich 2001, Le Bihan and Martin 2004, Henly et al. 2006, Jacobs and Padavic 2015). Indeed, for the most precariously positioned, it is not only the day-to-day timings of work that cannot be predicted in advance, but also (owing to arrangements such as zero-hours contracts) the very availability of work itself (Jacobs and Padavic 2015, Rubery et al. 2015).

6.5. Weakening of collective rhythms

In bringing the preceding sections of this chapter together, my focus now turns to the collective scale. Here, the growth in both employee-led (i.e. flexibility) and employer-led (i.e. atypicality, discontinuity, inconsistency and unpredictability) forms of schedule variability over the past three decades or so means contemporary society is characterised by an increasing diversity of working rhythms (Lesnard and Kan 2011, Minnen et al. 2015). Alongside the simultaneous rise in female participation in the labour market and consequent shift from male-breadwinner to dual-earner society, this has led to a gradual erosion of the once relatively stable and ordered rhythms of day-to-day family life, as captured in Bobby's recollection of his childhood:

I mean my father used to come in at 17:35 every night. He was a [job role] for the [public service] when it was government owned. And you know it was a good job… but you know he got on the 17:05 from [station] and was home at [town], walked home from the train station and he was in at 17:35. And dinner was on the table at 17:40 – every single night. And you know Friday was cod and parsley sauce with sweetcorn. And you know we might… we got a cake if Dad got a promotion.

Bobby, assistant catering manager

It is not only in relation to paid work, however, that there has been a weakening of collective routines over recent decades. As noted in previous chapters, the reflexive modern period is seen to have been characterised by the disintegration of traditional social roles (along with the expectations and constraints that these entailed), with citizens increasingly able to narrate their own identities, in part through their styles of consumption (see Bauman 1988, Giddens 1991, Beck 1992, 1994, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). As such, individuals are both free to experiment with and feel compelled to sample a variety of cultural and leisure experiences, with the consequence that time outside of the workplace is now also characterised by an increasing diversity of rhythms (see Urry 1994).[91] This is illustrated by the following interview excerpt, in which Rebecca reflects on the way she and her husband fell "into... separate tracks" as a result of differing social commitments:

[91] Of course, this increased demand for leisure experiences (particularly at evenings and weekends) is itself partly responsible for the growth in atypical working patterns (Urry 1994, Presser 2003).

I think what had happened was we'd got into our own separate tracks. And it's very easy to do that – you've got your own... each of you have got your own routine and they can easily take over. […] And in fact we made a conscious decision on Saturday we would go out [cycling] together in the afternoon: a) because he'd renovated the tandem and we needed to see if we could ride it; and b) because I'd been out the preceding three nights. In fact I'd been out four nights last week, he'd been out two. And we just had not seen each other.

Rebecca, researcher

In summary, then – and although the extent of this transformation should not be overstated – recent decades have seen a shift from a state of near identity between personal and collective rhythms, to a more individualised and desynchronised set of daily schedules (see also Shove 2002, 2009, Rosa 2003, 2013, Southerton 2003, 2007, Southerton and Tomlinson 2005, Woodman 2012). In Lefebvrian terms, we might say there has been a shift from an industrial state of collective eurhythmia, to a more polyrhythmic post-industrial era that "no simple list of dominant rhythms can define" (Muliček et al. 2016: 119). It is not simply that certain individuals (such as Scott and Bobby) are now excluded from Zerubavel's (1981) socio-temporal order, therefore, but that this order has itself become a less dominant or entraining element of contemporary life.

As a consequence of this loss of collective, preordained structure, 'temporal technologies' such as diaries and personal organisers (often in digital form nowadays) have become an increasingly important feature of modern society, as individuals seek help in managing their personal trajectories both at work and in their social and domestic lives (see Symes 1999). Indeed, it was a noticeable feature of the present research that several interviewees – particularly those from the IT department – felt it necessary to consult their diary when asked to recount their previous working day, as the following excerpt from Liam's interview illustrates:

> *Well what do you need? I can do this for yesterday or [weekday], or any day in the last four months. [...] So yeah let me pull up the diary for yesterday. [...] In fact I'll just pull that over so I've got it right in front of me [participant moves diary]. My day starts at 06:30 in the morning, when the alarm clock goes off and the girls run into the bedroom.*
>
> *Liam, senior manager*

Of course, this dependence is in part linked to the nature of contemporary waged work itself (and not simply its timing), with modern professional employment in particular generally more open-ended and varied in nature, and entailing a greater number of meetings and appointments (often outside the workplace itself), than did the majority of employment in the industrial era (Symes 1999). To this end, it should be noted that senior managers within the IT department are assigned joint use of a personal assistant to help with the management of their day-to-day schedules. The PA's role is not simply to passively record and remind managers of their individual obligations, however: it also extends to actively arranging meetings and coordinating interactions with a variety of other contacts. This coordination can be very challenging, though, since each of these individuals has their own particular set of commitments to meet and is running to their own personalised schedule, as Heather's account illustrates:

I was following up some more diary stuff between 11:30 and 12:00 – also for [senior manager] but on a different meeting, which is external people so it's massive coordination. Looking at the pro-vice-chancellor's diary for next year – that and another 15 dairies. It's challenging sometimes.

Heather, personal assistant

Indeed, there is something of a paradox here in that "systems and devices that promise to increase autonomy and allow individuals greater discretion over the timing and scheduling of activity will, if successful, generate multiple idiosyncratic schedules which in turn increase the problem of coordination" (Shove 2002: 6). The issue of orchestration thus extends beyond organising oneself, and beyond individual and personal planning, to the necessity of organising one's schedule in relation to those of others (Nansen et al. 2009). This applies equally to social activities and life outside the workplace, as demonstrated by Yvonne's account of attempting to coordinate diaries – and particularly dinner arrangements – with her husband:

We do diaries on a Saturday as to who's doing what when each evening. [...] And I think we're both fairly engaged in community activities. [...] So we have to kind of think quite carefully how we prepare food and take turns in cooking. And who's going to be cooking. So for example tonight, which is... I think we've got another meeting outside of work. Is there? I can't even remember. Oh yeah, we're having a [review meeting]. So we run [small social enterprise]. And we're having a directors' review and so [husband] is cooking. So I shall get home at probably 18:00, 18:30 and he will have cooked. Because after work I'm going to a meeting outside of work for me – in [ward in North Oxford]. And so I shall meet up with some friends. And then I shall go straight back home and then tea will be on the table. And it's his turn today and yesterday, and then I'll do [weekday].

Yvonne, team leader

In contrast to the relatively predictable and structured nature of the industrial (or Fordist) era, contemporary temporal management is thus a more 'reticular' affair, in which "the times, routines and schedules of life... are composed of more emergent, relational and negotiated dynamics" (ibid: 198). Lefebvre's (2004) emphasis on dissolving the boundary between the individual and their surroundings appears increasingly pertinent, therefore, since at the same time as our personal rhythms are diverging and seemingly of increasing significance, we have actually become more dependent upon, and exposed to, the rhythms of others.

Participants' accounts suggest this (inter)dependence may exacerbate perceptions of time stress in (at least) two ways (in addition to the continual need for negotiation with others being time consuming in own right). Firstly, dependency entails an element of precarity or vulnerability, since a change to one individual's schedule (particularly if this occurs at relatively short notice) can have a significant knock-on effect, which may ripple through the schedules of colleagues and family members (and, in turn, *their* colleagues and family members, and so on) in a manner akin to Parkes and Thrift's (1975, 1980) 'accordion effect'. As much as the wider socio-temporal order, therefore, individuals themselves may nowadays act as pacemakers, if perhaps somewhat intermittently (see also Muliček et al. 2016). Secondly, greater rhythmic diversity across society means individuals may experience a tension between different networks. Indeed, attempts to ensure synchronicity *within* a specific network (for instance, the family unit) may have the unintended consequence of making coordination with individuals or groups external to this network more problematic (see also Nansen et al. 2009). This is illustrated by the narrative of Hermione, who uses the flexibility afforded by the IT department to start work around 10:00 (as well as to work regularly from home). Although this "shifted" schedule allows her to synchronise with her partner (in addition to her own bodily rhythms, as discussed earlier in the chapter), its side-effect is to place her out of sync with various other networks, including friends and neighbours:

> *I suppose one of the things I have noticed in comparison to a lot of people I interact with is that my day is shifted. It's like I'm two hours behind them. [...] And sometimes people say to me: 'Oh come up in the afternoon when you're going to finish work'. And I say you know: 'Won't be this afternoon'. And they can't... you know they finish work at 17:00 and they're thinking about doing stuff and I'm not. [...] So yes I'm working when everybody else has finished and that is a bit sort of... sometimes you think: 'Urgh' – you know you hear the TV go on next door and you think: 'Urgh'. But then I think yeah but you know it's... if I have to get up at 06:00 in the morning I'm a horrible person [BOTH LAUGH]. So I acknowledge that I'm shifted, but it suits me and it actually suits my partner as well because he's like that as well. So between us it works OK.*
>
> *Hermione, information manager*

It is in this context that individuals may utilise modern (digital) technologies in an attempt to alleviate some of the coordination challenges they encounter in their day-to-day lives. Indeed, by removing (or at least relaxing) the temporal constraints associated with particular activities, the likes of online shopping and 'catch-up' or 'on demand' media services (such as BBC iPlayer) provide the possibility for time-shifting and hence the resequencing of schedules (see Crang and Graham 2005, Crang et al. 2007, Simons 2009, 2015).[92] This in turn affords individuals greater flexibility to tailor their schedules to personal needs – as evidenced by Patrick (who speaks on behalf of his wife) and Scott's accounts of television viewing – and to free up periods of time for coordinating with others (Southerton 2003):

> *My wife works in media and she won't read a newspaper – she'll read articles that have been tweeted, because they are the interests of... she follows people who have got similar interests. And she won't sit down and watch TV – she'll watch programmes on whatever media player that... you know as she sees fit.*
>
> *Patrick, senior manager*

> *The only technology I deal with is my laptop – which is handy because I can watch my films on the laptop instead of the TV. [...] So I like TV series and things like that, so when I get home I catch up with what I haven't watched.*
>
> *Scott, night porter*

As such, time-shifting technologies represent a tactic of sorts in attempting to overcome the difficulties of managing one's schedule within a desynchronised society (de Certeau 1984).

The use of such technologies is arguably double-edged, however. Indeed, like diaries and personal organisers, they are ultimately "individual responses to a collective problem" (Southerton 2003: 22). Whilst often beneficial from a personal perspective, therefore, at a communal level they may only serve to further

[92] Here, too, Lefebvre's (2004) attempts to challenge the modernist notion of the individual as a discrete entity appear increasingly pertinent. Indeed, modern ICTs allow individuals to transcend not only the body's immediate boundaries in a spatial sense, but also increasingly in a temporal sense (by allowing past events to be relived in the present, or current commitments to be shifted into the future, for example) (see also Giddens 1990, Haraway 1991, Adams 2005).

fragment the socio-temporal order and induce greater desynchronisation – thus increasing the collective challenge of coordination and peoples' reliance on the schedules of others (see also Shove 2002). In this sense, time-shifting technologies can be seen as a solution to a problem they have in part helped to create (Southerton 2007) – with their growing uptake representing a third process that may help to exacerbate perceptions of time stress within a desynchronised (yet increasingly interdependent) society.

6.5.1. Temporal divide

It should be noted, however, that there are important social differences in terms of how these three processes practically play out, which ultimately serve to reinforce the themes discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. The first such difference is that those in professional roles and from higher social classes generally suffer from having a greater number of networks with which to attempt to coordinate – both inside the workplace due to the more diverse and collaborative nature of their employment (as discussed earlier in this chapter; see Symes 1999), and outside due to a tendency towards more voracious leisure consumption (as discussed in chapter 5; see Southerton 2006, Sullivan 2008). This implies that it is those at the upper end of the occupational ladder who may be most susceptible to experiences of time stress in a desynchronised society – although this thought must be balanced against the knowledge that professional employees typically possess greater control over their schedules (as noted in the previous sections of this chapter when contrasting employee-led and employer-led forms of variability [Garhammer 1995, Breedveld 1998]), which would appear to make the juggling of multiple networks more feasible.

Two further differences point to a slightly different conclusion, however, suggesting that professional classes may actually hold a relative advantage over those from lower social classes (and in more manual and routine employment). Firstly, it is not only that those in positions of power tend to enjoy greater agency over their personal schedules, but that they also typically possess greater ability to subordinate the schedules of others to their own (Warde et al. 1998). In other words, they are more likely to entrain the rhythms of others than to have others act as pacemakers for them. This hierarchical state of affairs applies even to those who are themselves relatively senior, as illustrated by Nathan's account of a recent early morning meeting:

> *It was a meeting with one of the pro-vice-chancellors and with [colleague], my boss. And typically their dairies are very full and so sometimes you can only get a meeting – or they can only get a meeting – at sort of 08:00 in the morning or 08:30. Or maybe at the end of the day. So I've had meetings with her in the evening – from 18:00 until 20:00 – in the past. It's the only time you can get it.*
>
> *Nathan, senior manager*

Secondly – and returning to the theme of 'digital divides' from chapter 5 (see, for example, Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006, Warf 2013) – those for whom digital technologies are an ingrained feature of everyday life have greater capacity to exploit the latest time-shifting devices, and hence to adapt their schedules to suit their own ends (even if, as discussed above, the use of such devices is ultimately double-edged). Here, too, it is typically the more affluent and highly-skilled (such as IT participants in this study) who possess this advantage (and in fact we get anecdotal evidence of this from Patrick and Scott's earlier quotes regarding digital television: whilst Patrick's wife seemingly utilises a variety of ICTs, "the only technology" Scott deals with is his laptop).

The crucial point here, however, is not simply that those from lower social classes have reduced capacity to dictate their own (and others) schedules, or to exploit the latest time-shifting technologies, but that these constraints become *more* significant as collective socio-temporal rhythms are eroded. Indeed, in a temporally fragmented society, "power is exemplified not so much by the presence or absence of 'free' time,... as by the capacity to respond flexibly and change plans at short notice"; "those who are unable to exploit contemporary technologies, systems and infrastructures of mobility are at a greater social disadvantage in such a society than they would be in other more proximate, more collectively scheduled cultures" (Shove 2002: 7, 9, emphasis in original).

Pulling together the various threads of this chapter, therefore, it appears that both those towards the upper and lower ends of contemporary society are susceptible to feelings of time stress, but that the precise nature of this anxiety tends to differ between these groups. On the one hand, then, we find professional employees with (apparent) agency over their personal schedules (and to a certain extent those of others), but who are in many cases lured by this sense of control into trying to 'have it all' (Nockolds 2015) (i.e. to combine the demands of highly-skilled and fulfilling employment with both childcare commitments and an active social life); they therefore find themselves caught in a cycle of increasing individualisation and fragmentation (that may, somewhat paradoxically, be perpetuated by temporal technologies), in which coordinating with a variety of networks remains tantalisingly possible, but comes to require increasing time and effort (and thus results in a growing sense of time stress). On the other hand, meanwhile, we find those in low-skilled (and hence often inflexible and atypical, as well as discontinuous, inconsistent or unpredictable) employment, whose sense of anxiety stems not so much from the escalating fragmentation and rush experienced by professional employees, but from the imperfect arrangements they are forced into as a result of their lack of agency (and which their limited use of technology does little to alleviate), which in many cases entail an element of (temporal) exclusion. Thus, whilst the former group's sense of stress stems from 'playing the game', the latter's comes from being unable to participate in the first place. We might think, therefore, not just in terms of a 'digital divide' and the impacts this has for temporality (see Crang et al. 2006), but rather (by extending our focus to include the rhythms of both paid and unpaid work) a broader 'temporal divide' – one that may well grow over coming years if there is a continuation of recent labour market polarisation between so-called 'lovely' and 'lousy' jobs (Goos and Manning 2007; see also Kalleberg 2011).

Returning to the discussion from the previous sections of this chapter, this temporal divide is apparent in the accounts of many of the participants in this research. The sense of simultaneously being in control and yet out-of-control (see also Brannen 2005), for example, is evident in the accounts of IT employees such as Sam, Rebecca and Ruth (who have discretion over their working times and yet find their psychological rhythms entrained by work), as well as those with parental responsibilities such as Camilla, William and Elle (who are able to combine their childcare commitments with professional employment and yet experience a resulting sense of arrhythmia). A sense of temporal exclusion, meanwhile, is evident in the accounts of manual and routine college employees such as Sandra (who is unable to vary her start time to accommodate the arrhythmic potential of her diabetes), Scott and Bobby (who are excluded from the communal rhythms of society by their atypical employment), and Stanley and Imogen (who harmoniously combine work and care with their partners, but at the expense of being segregated from them).

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined how the timings of paid work interact with the rhythms of participants' personal (bodily), family and social lives. In so doing, I have made four related contributions to the existing literature. Firstly, I have demonstrated the potential of Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis – and in particular his concepts of polyrhythmia and arrhythmia – as a means of exposing and understanding the scheduling and coordination challenges at the heart of everyday life. Secondly, by drawing on participants' accounts, I have added weight to those few existing studies (see, for instance, Wharton 1994, Brannen 2005, Schwanen 2006, Rose 2015) which question the perceived wisdom that schedule control represents an unbridled benefit to employees as they seek to balance the demands of work and family life – since it may lead both to overinvestment in work and, especially for mothers, encourage the belief that it is possible to 'have it all' (thus causing their bundles to become stretched in multiple directions at once). Thirdly, and turning at this point to employer-led forms of variability, I have helped to enrich and extend existing (largely quantitative) research by highlighting the negative impacts of atypical scheduling on college participants' temporal experiences. This includes the finding that atypical employment can not only strain personal relationships, but also lead to a wider sense of (temporal) exclusion as individuals are segregated from the communal rhythms of society. It also includes an improved understanding of the complexities of childcare for those with atypical schedules – including the segregation that occurs between parents relying on 'tag-team' arrangements and the difficulties imposed by a lack of schedule predictability. Finally, by drawing together the above findings and integrating these with a broader examination of the weakening of society's collective rhythms over the past three decades or so, I have proposed the existence of a 'temporal divide' between those at the upper and lower ends of the occupational ladder, based on their differing experiences of time stress. Whilst there is a danger of oversimplifying matters by making such a straightforward division, and although the contrast may not always be as stark as between the participants in this research, if recent labour market polarisation (and the growth of flexible, professional jobs on the one hand, and atypical, precarious employment on the other hand) continues, this concept may nonetheless provide a fruitful line of future enquiry.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

7.1. Introduction

In contemporary capitalist societies such as the UK, it is commonly held that an increasing number of people and households experience anxiety over time and symptoms of 'time squeeze'. Such concerns are therefore attracting increasing interest amongst academics in the social sciences. In this regard, the majority of existing studies relating to notions of a time squeeze can be divided into three broad groups: the first focusing on the number of hours spent in paid employment and, specifically, the impacts and causes of 'long' working hours; the second concerned with the accelerating effects of modern technology and globalisation, which are seen to have increased the pace of modern life; and the third concerned with the straining (and constraining) effects of 'non-standard' work schedules.

Although these studies provide useful insights into how and why people may experience time stress, I have argued here that they suffer from a number of interrelated shortcomings: firstly, the role of unpaid work in the domestic sphere is frequently ignored; secondly, there is a tendency to resort to grand generalisations that neglect the diversity of lived experience in terms of class, gender and age (and their intersections); thirdly, the importance of place and the context-dependent nature of experiences of working time is often overlooked. Furthermore, existing working time studies tend to explore a single dimension of time in isolation. That is to say, they focus either on the *duration* of work, the speed (or *tempo*) of modern life, or the *timing* of employment, without considering the need for a more holistic approach that examines how these dimensions are interrelated. This leads to a broader criticism about the way in which time is conceptualised in much of the literature relating to notions of a time squeeze. Indeed, despite an explicit focus on the topic of time, the majority of existing studies lack any substantial theoretical engagement with this concept – assuming it to be synonymous with the abstract, neutral, decontextualised time of the clock.

It is with these criticisms in mind that I set out to provide a more nuanced and contextual account of experiences of working time (both paid and unpaid), and to investigate how and why experiences of time squeeze vary between a particular group of individuals. Specifically, my aim was to explore the qualitative and subjective aspects of participants' temporal experiences, and the ways in which occupation, social class, gender, age, family status, and institutional and local context impact perceptions of time stress. This was achieved through an instrumental and comparative case study built around 50 semi-structured interviews with Oxford University IT and college employees – an approach that allowed for the inclusion of individuals in both high-status managerial and professional positions at the upper end of the labour market, as well as those in low-skilled, less-well-paid manual and routine occupations at the lower end.

In the remainder of this concluding chapter I summarise my findings and draw links between the three preceding empirical chapters, outline the key contributions this research has made to the time squeeze literature, discuss the policy implications of my findings and offer my recommendations for future research, before finishing with a final reminder of the original contribution to knowledge made by this thesis.

7.2. Empirical findings

Keeping in mind the rationale and aims of this research, I now provide a synthesis of the main findings by drawing links between the three empirical chapters on duration, tempo and timing. To this end, I structure my discussion around the following cross-cutting themes, which were expected to function as key determinants of participants' experiences of working time, and time squeeze more specifically: social class and occupation; age and family status; gender; and institutional and local context.

7.2.1. Social class and occupation

Amongst the participants in this study, it appears in many respects that those in professional employment – which I consider synonymous with middle class status (Roberts 2011) – are the most prone to popular understandings of time squeeze, such as a shortage of time and accelerated pace of life. In chapter 5, for instance, I outlined how narratives of technological acceleration were particularly common amongst IT participants (and, to a slightly lesser extent, office-based college employees). I also highlighted how the sense of speed associated with these participants' heavy reliance on ICTs is exacerbated by the diverse, fragmented nature of professional, project-based employment more generally, which contributes to regular episodes of multi-tasking and 'temporal density' (Southerton and Tomlinson 2005). In chapter 4, meanwhile, I highlighted how over half of IT participants were regularly working long hours at the time of the research interviews. These two themes came together (along with issues of timing) in chapter 6, wherein I discussed how, alongside the stimulating, ICT-infused character of their employment, its flexible, open-ended nature also contributed to many IT participants remaining mentally engaged – and ultimately overinvesting – in their work at evenings and weekends (Brannen 2005, Jarvis and Pratt 2006).

Furthermore, for a number of IT participants, the time squeeze resulting from this entanglement of the duration, tempo and timing of their employment is exacerbated by the 'voracious' nature of their leisure consumption outside of the workplace (Sullivan 2008), which – as noted in chapter 5 – is seemingly driven in part by growing social expectations or norms around the pursuit of experiences and living a 'full life' (Rosa 2003, 2013). Indeed, such consumption not only entails a greater number of activities (relative to those who consume less), but also increases the number of networks with which these participants must attempt to coordinate. Whilst the degree of agency these participants possess over their day-to-day schedules (alongside their greater exploitation of temporal technologies) helps to make this level of activity tantalisingly possible, it comes to require mounting time and effort in what is an increasingly desynchronised society, and thus adds to a growing sense of time stress (Shove 2002).

However, whilst the working class participants (i.e. manual and routine college employees) in this study are seemingly less prone to conventional experiences of time squeeze – particularly as regards the tempo dimension and the increasing pace of contemporary life – it does not necessarily follow that they endure less temporal anxiety. Indeed, as outlined in chapter 4, as many as 10 college participants (of which 6 are manual and routine employees) regularly worked long hours at the time of the interviews, typically as a result of holding a second job. Furthermore, this additional employment generally falls at evenings and weekends, which alongside the non-standard schedules of those working in catering and as porters in college lodges, means that almost half of all college participants (including 9 of the 15 manual and routine participants) work at atypical times. As noted in chapter 6, such scheduling (and the lack of control it entails) can result in an absence of shared time with family and friends (Presser 2003, Craig and Brown 2015), and exclusion from the dominant temporal rhythms of society more generally (Shove 2002, Schwanen and Kwan 2012). Consequently, it is the nature as much as the extent of temporal anxiety that differs between participants at the upper and lower ends of the social spectrum.

Within this broader 'temporal divide', however, I also sought to highlight the influence of occupation – both in terms of position within the organisational hierarchy and the specific tasks and activities associated with particular job roles. In chapter 4, for instance, I outlined how long working hours were particularly prevalent amongst IT participants in senior managerial positions, due to a combination of the volume of meetings they are required to attend, variable requests on their time from within their own teams, and the open-ended, strategic nature of their work (Perlow 1999, Rutherford 2001). Somewhat counteracting the long hours (and time stress) associated with managerial positions, however, in chapter 6 I noted how those higher up the organisational ladder not only typically enjoy greater agency over their personal schedules, but also have greater capacity to subordinate the schedules of others to their own (Warde et al. 1998). In chapter 5, meanwhile, I outlined how the fluctuating rhythms of reporting deadlines, project cycles and the annual academic calendar are especially significant drivers of tempo for those in particular job roles, such as business analysts in the IT department and cleaning and housekeeping staff within colleges. Similarly, in chapter 6, I drew a distinction between the schedules of college porters and catering staff, noting how the latter are seemingly more susceptible to inconsistency both within and across working weeks, thus potentially facilitating a greater sense of time stress (Le Bihan and Martin 2004, Henly et al. 2006).

7.2.2. Age and family status

Throughout the three empirical chapters, age and, relatedly, family status have been shown to be important factors as regards participants' experiences of time squeeze. In chapter 5, for example, I emphasised that it is not only professional, dual-earner couples who appear susceptible to the individualistic pursuit of experiences (and increased pace of life that this entails), but also younger generations, who face growing pressures to both 'fit in' (socially) and 'stand out' (in terms of employability) (Reay et al. 2010, Holdsworth 2015). Such pressures may recede as younger adults begin to 'settle down', however, and may also be offset by the absence of parental responsibilities.

At the other end of the age spectrum, meanwhile, I emphasised how digital technologies were an episodic rather than ingrained feature of day-to-day life for older manual and routine college participants in particular (thus highlighting how age and social class intersect) (Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006). In keeping with this absence of technological acceleration, I also highlighted how recent years have been accompanied by a slight sense of slowing down for a number of older participants, as children have become more independent and ultimately left home, and as they have become more settled in their private lives (Green 2010). However, for other participants, this trend was offset by increased working commitments, whether as a result of greater seniority in the workplace (particularly for men) – with long working hours a feature of managerial and supervisorial roles in particular, as noted in chapter 4 – or a return to full-time hours (particularly for women). For several female participants, meanwhile, the emergence of elder care responsibilities in later years has also contributed to greater harriedness (Henz 2009) – again suggesting there is no simple association between age and degree of time stress.

Nonetheless, of all the participants in this research, it is those in the middle phase of the life course in dual-earner couples and with school-aged children that appear the most squeezed for time. Indeed, not only are the combined (paid and unpaid) working commitments of this social group greater than those in traditional breadwinner arrangements or without dependent children (Jacobs and Gerson 2004, Bittman 2004), but the responsibilities associated with day-to-day childcare and the tensions that can emerge between work and family life also influence the character of these participants time in ways that are less immediately obvious.

7.2.3. Gender

Within this understanding that dual-earner families are amongst the most squeezed for time, the significance of gender must be brought to the fore (Wajcman and Bittman 2004). Indeed, in keeping with the traditional gendered division of labour, it is female participants in this study who still seem to retain the primary responsibility for unpaid domestic and care work, especially the often hidden planning and worrying involved in keeping children's schedules – and family life more generally – running smoothly (Lareau 2000b, McKie et al. 2002). Accordingly, the qualitative character of women's temporal experiences is fundamentally different to that of men, as emphasised in chapters 5 and 6.

In the former chapter, I highlighted how female participants appeared particularly susceptible to episodes of temporal density, as they attempted to compress domestic activities into specific windows of time in order to meet the demands of paid work or to create 'quality time' for their families (Hochschild 1997). Focusing on its relational and contextual nature, I also demonstrated how care work can place highly variable and unpredictable demands upon caregivers (especially in the case of elder care), and may involve unsettling transitions between faster and slower periods of time. In chapter 6, meanwhile, I drew upon participants' accounts to demonstrate how mothers' primary responsibility for chauffeuring children to and from school or nursery – and particularly for collecting them at the end of the day (which often involves more complex timings and temporalities than a simple clock time analysis might suggest) – can lead to tensions between the rhythms of work and home, thus contributing to a sense of time stress (Schwanen 2006, 2008).

Within these empirical chapters, however, I also sought to illustrate how such gendered temporal experiences intersect with issues of class (although the concept of intersectionality is perhaps harder to achieve in the presentation of research than is generally accepted; see McDowell 2008a, 2008b). Indeed, as I explained in chapter 6, the arrhythmic potential of childcare pick-ups and drop-offs features predominantly in the accounts of IT participants, whose flexible schedules provide them with a somewhat false sense of control that lures them into thinking they can 'have it all' (Nockolds 2015). Similarly, when discussing the topic of 'domestic outsourcing' in chapter 5, I illustrated how the challenges associated with coordinating children's evening activities exacerbated middle class mothers' experiences of harriedness in particular (Lareau 2000a, 2002). By contrast, for parents (particularly mothers) working in manual and routine college roles, temporal anxieties stemmed primarily from the difficulties of finding childcare solutions that were compatible with their atypical (and in some cases inconsistent) schedules, as well as a lack of shared family time where couples relied on 'tag-team' arrangements (Hattery 2001, Presser 2003).

7.2.4. Institutional and local context

Throughout the three empirical chapters, I also emphasised the situated and contextual nature of time stress by illustrating how the specificities of the case in question influence participants' experiences of working time. In chapter 4, for instance, I outlined how the flexible, friendly working environment of the IT department, and the sense of commitment this in turn fosters, creates the potential for overinvestment in work (Kelliher and Anderson 2010). I also noted how specific features of the department's operational and cultural environment at the time of the research interviews resulted in this potential for long hours becoming a reality for many interviewees, as well as how participants' failure to grasp the significance of such structural constraints means they tend to blame themselves for the tensions and challenges they experience around working times and the reconciliation of work and home life. Similarly, I noted how the communal nature of Oxford colleges contributed to the long hours of several participants (whether in their primary role or a second college job), and encouraged a reinforcing cycle in which their employment became the primary source of personal meaning and social contact in their lives (Doherty 2009, Pupo et al. 2011). Although these attributes of commitment and collegiality are especially relevant to Oxford University – where there is a strong sense of belonging to a common endeavour and staff turnover is relatively low – I also suggested that these themes may be applicable to other public service and third-sector working environments.

The influence of place (i.e. institutional and local context) should not be seen as totalising or homogeneous, however, but rather as involved in a dynamic interplay with individuals' particular biographies (i.e. personal context). Indeed, in chapters 5 and 6 the relative and relational nature of participants' temporal experiences were brought to the fore – including the way in which, especially for participants with recent work experience outside the University, perceptions of time squeeze were influenced by comparisons between present and past contexts. Whilst the tenor of such comparisons varied, on balance it appears participants regard the University as a relatively considerate (and less demanding) employer – a finding that tallies with popular impressions of, and distinctions between, (quasi-) public and private sector employment. Indeed, for certain participants, the perceived quality of the working environment (and character of Oxford more generally) was a primary motivation for seeking employment with the University (Shaw 2001). Thus, notwithstanding the fact that this considerate environment may actually contribute to perceptions of time stress (as just discussed), participants' current temporal experiences must be viewed within the context of their particular career and life histories.

7.2.5. Summary

In keeping with popular concerns about time in the UK and other modern capitalist economies, perceptions of time stress are prevalent amongst the participants in this research. Nonetheless, whilst there are few for whom time is apparently a matter of little or no concern, participants' accounts demonstrate that the (quantitative) extent of contemporary time squeeze varies (in some cases significantly) between individuals, households and social groups. Furthermore, they illustrate that the (qualitative) form or nature of individuals' temporal anxiety also varies, and hence that the time squeeze is a multifaceted phenomenon. Accordingly, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' explanation underpinning participants' sense of time stress, with their narratives instead revealing a variety of causal mechanisms relating to the duration, tempo and timing of both paid employment and unpaid domestic and care work, and their intersections with the personal, natural, social, institutional and technological rhythms that variously constitute everyday life.

Influencing, to a significant degree, which mechanisms dominate in any one instance are individuals' social positioning and context. Indeed, it is clear from participants' accounts that, in varying ways, occupation, social class, age, family status and gender affect the nature and extent of their temporal anxieties. These social characteristics intersect with individuals' institutional and local context, as well as their personal biography (i.e. historic contexts), to shape their particular temporal experience at any one time. Such experiences should thus not be seen as fixed or static, but rather as processual and open to change. Nor should they necessarily be seen as entirely internally consistent – for there may be tensions between various aspects of an individual's life situation, with certain features increasing and others decreasing their susceptibility to time squeeze.

Such tensions between the multiple dimensions of individual identity or social positioning, as well as the variable influence of personal biography and the multifaceted nature of temporal anxiety, complicate comparisons of time squeeze between individuals (and social groups) and mean that a straightforward, generalisable hierarchy of winners and losers is difficult to establish. Nonetheless, amongst the participants in this research, it is those (particularly mothers, on account of their primary responsibility for the emotional and organisational dimensions of family life) in dual-earner couples and with dependent children from both ends of the social spectrum who, for similar and yet varying reasons, are the primary casualties of time squeeze. Beyond this, participants' narratives have also highlighted a series of additional factors that seemingly encourage symptoms of time squeeze. In terms of paid work, this includes managerial responsibilities, cognitively stimulating or demanding work tasks and a heavy reliance on digital technologies – which can encourage long hours, fragmentation and blurring between work and home. It also includes atypical, inconsistent and unpredictable work schedules, which can place strains on personal relationships and family functioning, and constrain participation in wider society. In addition, the case examined here suggests that, somewhat paradoxically, working environments that are seen as considerate and in which there are strong social ties amongst employees may exacerbate these outcomes, by encouraging a sense of responsibility to one's colleagues and employer. Outside of the workplace, meanwhile, participants' accounts suggest that attempts to pursue a wide range of leisure and cultural experiences, and to coordinate with multiple networks, are also likely to encourage a sense of temporal anxiety.

7.3. Contributions to literature

In demonstrating the variable nature and extent of contemporary time squeeze, as well as its relative, relational and context-dependent character, my research has helped to enrich and extend the working time literature. At the broadest level, it has underlined the need for investigations of time squeeze to develop a more substantial and nuanced theoretical engagement with the concept of time. This includes the need to consider multiple dimensions of time simultaneously, as well as the subjective and experiential aspects of temporality that are not captured by the everyday time of the clock. Within this, however, each of the three empirical chapters has also helped to challenge and refine existing arguments regarding the character and causes of contemporary time squeeze. This task has been aided by introducing novel conceptual frameworks based on the theoretical insights of Foucault, Giddens and Lefebvre respectively. I now pull out the significance of each of these contributions in turn.

7.3.1. Duration

In this chapter, I outlined how participants' accounts provide support for the idea that long working hours are a prevalent feature of the contemporary labour market, particularly amongst professional and managerial employees. However, in seeking to understand this finding, I suggested a need to look beyond the rather one-dimensional and dichotomous explanations that characterise much of the existing literature, wherein long hours are seen to stem from either a love of the job (i.e. individual agency) or the deliberate exploitation of employees by productivity-seeking corporations (i.e. structural constraints). To this end, I argued participants' long working hours are best understood through the lens of Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' and, in particular, the technologies of 'responsibilisation' and 'normalisation' (Foucault 1978, 1982, 1993).

Specifically, I identified three strands to this 'responsibility' thesis, which broadly equate to three different scales. The first two strands relate primarily to the long hours of IT participants; these being a sense of responsibility to the self to personally manage one's career trajectory and pursue self-actualisation through work, and a sense of moral responsibility to not let others down (as well as to self-manage one's working hours). The former, which builds on the work of McGee (2005), can be seen as a deliberately exploitative feature (or 'technology of power') of neoliberal governmentality, and ties into recent geographical work on darker, potentially oppressive neoliberal conceptions of 'wellbeing' (see Schwanen and Atkinson 2015). The latter, by contrast, stems from the friendly and collaborative nature of the IT department – which instils a sense of loyalty and commitment amongst staff (Kelliher and Anderson 2010) – as well as participants' commitment to the ideals of the University. Although not intentionally exploitative, therefore, it highlights the unequal power relations at the heart of neoliberal governmentality, as well as the way in which neoliberal forms of responsibility (and self-governance) overlap with other forms of responsibility related to interpersonal relations of care and social contract ideologies (Trnka and Trundle 2014).

The third strand to this responsibility thesis, meanwhile, builds on the work of Beder (2000) and is most applicable to the accounts of college employees, whose long hours typically result from holding a second job rather than working 'overtime' in a single role. This is a wider sense of responsibility tied to one's status as a citizen and the importance of a strong work ethic, and which encourages long hours both directly – by perpetuating the idea that hard work is virtuous – and indirectly – through the way in which it leads to paid employment becoming people's primary form of social contact and sense of personal identity. The latter only serves to reinforce the idea that paid work offers the primary route to happiness and self-fulfilment, meaning one's sense of responsibility to the nation ultimately ties in to their sense of responsibility to the self. Thus, although seemingly most pertinent to those in less advantaged positions, this sense of 'work as responsibility', and the centrality of work as a source of social interaction and self-worth, is undoubtedly of broader relevance. This is especially true of the UK at present, where the neoliberal ideology of the current Conservative government can be seen in its emphasis on 'hardworking' people and families, and divisive rhetoric of 'skivers versus strivers' (O'Hara 2014, Valentine and Harris 2014).

7.3.2. Tempo

In this chapter, I drew upon participants' accounts to challenge and refine the dominant narrative of technological acceleration presented by theorists such as Castells (1996, 2010), Urry (2000, 2009) and Hassan (2004, 2009). This task was aided by foregrounding the relative nature of speed and introducing a conceptual framework based on the three-fold temporal distinction in Anthony Giddens' (1976, 1979, 1984) theory of structuration. Indeed, in contrast to the rather vague and sweeping accounts of these scholars (which are overwhelmingly concerned with the *longue durée*), I began this chapter by focusing on participants' everyday use of ICTs (i.e. the *durée* of day-to-day experience), outlining four tangible qualities of digital technologies that contributed to a sense of increasing pace: their constant availability and connectivity; propensity to increase the flow of information; time displacement effects; and capacity to interrupt, distract and fragment temporal routines.

More significantly, however, I then argued that – whilst not without basis – this dominant narrative of technological acceleration is overly simplistic. This task proceeded in three sections. Firstly, by building on recent work on 'digital divides' (Green 2002, Crang et al. 2006, Warf 2013) and outlining how participants' varied experiences of ICTs did not match the picture of all-encompassing acceleration presented by Castells, Urry and Hassan, I illustrated the overly deterministic nature of their thesis (see also Thrift 1996a, Haddon 2006, 2011, Wajcman 2015).

Secondly, I demonstrated how these scholars' narrow focus on technology leads them to ignore other potential drivers of the increasing pace of life at the level of the *longue durée* relating to changing social norms and practices. This includes substantive changes in both the (quantitative) duration of time spent on particular tasks, and the (qualitative) allocation of practices within particular windows of time. In so doing, I provided support for the work of Gershuny (2005), Sullivan (2008) and Holdsworth (2015), who in various ways have highlighted how changing cultural ideals and norms around 'busyness' and the pursuit of 'experiences' (both in work and leisure) may contribute to contemporary time stress. I also called upon Southerton and Tomlinson's (2005) notion of 'temporal density' – suggesting that this concept is particularly relevant to professional employees (in the workplace) and women with caring responsibilities (in the home).

Thirdly, I highlighted how this dominant narrative of technological acceleration not only neglects the *everyday* use of digital technologies, but also the role of personal timescales more widely in shaping individuals' temporal experiences. Specifically, I illustrated how participants' perceptions of tempo are also shaped by both the mundane happenings of everyday life and major life events (within the *durée* of day-to-day experience), as well as transitions and comparisons between the various phases of the (middle time span of the) life course. Focusing on these more personal timescales reveals that, far from straightforward accounts of linear acceleration, participants' experiences of tempo contain elements of speeding up and slowing down, and both cyclical and linear rhythms.

7.3.3. Timing

In this chapter, I added weight to those few existing studies (see, for instance, Wharton 1994, Brannen 2005, Schwanen 2006, Rose 2015) that have challenged the established view that employee discretion over the timings of paid work (in the shape of flexible arrival and departure times) is necessarily advantageous as regards family functioning and experiences of time squeeze. Indeed, by drawing on the accounts of IT participants, I outlined how the temporal (and spatial) flexibility that accompanies many professional and creative roles can not only lead to overinvestment in work (see also Jarvis and Pratt 2006), but also encourage parents (especially mothers) to believe it is possible to 'have it all', thus leading to them becoming stretched in multiple directions at once. In so doing, I demonstrated the potential of Henri Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalysis – and in particular his concepts of polyrhythmia and arrhythmia – as a means of exposing and understanding the scheduling and coordination challenges at the heart of everyday life.

This rhythmic engagement continued in the second section of the chapter, wherein I drew upon the accounts of manual and routine college participants to enrich and extend existing (largely quantitative) research examining the negative impacts of atypical employment. Specifically, I illustrated how non-standard schedules can not only strain personal relationships (as has been shown by Presser 2003, Davis et al. 2008 and Kalil et al. 2010), but also lead to a wider sense of (temporal) exclusion as individuals are segregated from the communal rhythms of society. Despite having been largely overlooked until now (although see Shove 2002, Nespor et al. 2009, Schwanen and Kwan 2012, Schwanen et al. 2012), such exclusion should be seen as an additional dimension of time squeeze – one that is arguably just as significant as concerns around long hours or the increasing pace of contemporary life. In addition, I provided an improved understanding of the complexities of childcare for those with atypical schedules, including the segregation that occurs between parents relying on 'tag-team' arrangements and the difficulties imposed by a lack of schedule predictability. Here I built on the findings of Le Bihan and Martin (2004), Henly et al. (2006) and Jacobs and Padavic (2015), amongst the few scholars to have conducted in-depth, qualitative research on this topic.

Finally, by drawing together these findings and integrating them with a broader examination of the weakening of society's collective rhythms over the past three decades or so (wherein I drew upon the work of Shove 2002, Southerton 2003, 2007 and Crang et al. 2006 amongst others), I proposed the existence of a 'temporal divide' between the IT and manual and routine college participants in this research, based on their differing experiences of time squeeze. Arguably, such a divide may grow over coming years if recent labour market polarisation between so-called 'lovely' (flexible, professional) and 'lousy' (atypical, precarious) jobs continues (Goos and Manning 2007).

7.3.4. Reflections on theoretical framework

In emphasising these three contributions, I have demonstrated the value of my theoretical framework (as introduced in chapter 2) for helping to challenge and refine the existing time squeeze literature, and its tendencies to resort to one-dimensional explanations and grand generalisations, and to overlook the relative and relational aspects of temporality. Nonetheless, that I primarily draw upon a different strand of the framework within each of the empirical chapters suggests there is scope for future research to develop this further, and to think about how notions of power relations (Foucault), temporal scale (Giddens) and rhythm (Lefebvre) might be better held together within empirical analyses in order that additional insights into the character and causes of contemporary time squeeze might be brought out.

It is clear, for instance, that Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmic framework also holds potential for addressing aspects of tempo (as Lefebvre (ibid: 10, emphasis added) notes, “each rhythm has its own and specific measure: *speed*, frequency, consistency”), particularly where this dimension overlaps with issues of timing – as with notions of ‘temporal density’, for example (Southerton and Tomlinson 2005). Attempts to integrate rhythmanalysis with Giddens’ (1976, 1979, 1984) three-fold temporal distinction might prove fruitful, therefore, particularly as a limitation of the former is its preoccupation with the daily scale (as discussed in chapter 6). Similarly, there may be potential for bringing rhythmanalysis and Foucault’s (1978, 1982, 1993) theory of governmentality into closer dialogue. Indeed, as touched upon in chapter 2, Lefebvre’s writings are also concerned with issues of power, particularly regarding the extent to which the linear beat of capitalist modernisation has come to dominate the cyclical rhythms of nature (including the body and human subjectivity) (Lefebvre 1991: 206). In fact, for Lefebvre (1984: 59-60), everyday life in the modern world is no longer “a ‘subject’ rich in potential subjectivity”; rather, it has “become an ‘object’ of social organisation”. The dominance of state bureaucracy and the marketplace under modernity, he argued, has resulted in a “bureaucratic society of controlled consumption”, in which labour, time and space have been brought under uniform measures and social control has become internalised – a “time-space of voluntary programmed self-regulation” (ibid: 60, 72). As Mels (2004: 25) notes, Lefebvre’s diagnosis therefore closely parallels the disciplinary society outlined by Foucault, suggesting stronger links may be drawn between their respective theories. These theoretical exercises represent one avenue for further research – a topic I return to after first examining the policy implications of my findings.

7.4. Policy implications

As noted in chapter 3, I believe strongly in the need for more 'social' or 'moral' geographic research that interrogates phenomena of relevance to wider society (Pain 2003). Accordingly, I feel it is important to reflect on the relevance of my findings from a public policy perspective – particularly as regards possibilities for alleviating experiences of time squeeze.

The focus of this discussion is necessarily broad. Indeed, whilst on a personal level time squeeze may feel like a problem of private coordination (as it did to many of the participants in this research, who blamed their anxieties on an inability to effectively manage their own time), and thus solutions may appear to lie in changing *individual* behaviour, participants' narratives demonstrate that it is in fact a shared experience requiring a *collective*, public response (see also Shove 2002, 2010). In so doing, they emphasise the need for critical social scientists (and broader progressive movements) to push back against the neoliberal transferral of responsibility away from the state, in which individuals are held personally accountable for their actions and choices, and compelled to blame themselves when subsequent outcomes are unsatisfactory (Jarvis 2005). Similarly, whilst this research has highlighted that institutional context may contribute to experiences of time squeeze, and hence the possibility of implementing meaningful countermeasures at an *organisational* level, such measures, by themselves, are unlikely to have sufficient reach to significantly reduce modern angst around time. Contemporary time squeeze is nonetheless a multifaceted and complex phenomenon, and thus there are no simple 'silver bullets' from a broader policy perspective. Accordingly, this discussion is also speculative in nature, raising various policy implications rather than making detailed policy proposals.

Given that dual-earner couples with dependent children are particularly susceptible to symptoms of time squeeze, I begin by focusing on issues relating to family functioning. Here, the challenges faced by participants' in this research suggest that, at least in a UK context, policy attempts to alleviate time squeeze might usefully focus on enhancing the provision of formal (especially public) childcare. Specifically, in addition to improving its accessibility and affordability (OECD 2011), extending the opening hours of childcare services in the UK may help caregivers in both typical employment, whose coordination challenges often fall in the time windows at the margins of the traditional working day, and those with atypical schedules, who require assistance outside of standard working hours. Here we might learn from the more universal, supply-side childcare systems of other European nations – particularly Scandinavian countries – where care is largely publically funded and opening hours are typically longer than in the UK, including some 24/7 services (see Warren et al. (2009) for a summary of childcare provision in Sweden and Denmark, and Verhoef et al. (2015) for an overview of the Finnish childcare system). However, as highlighted in chapter 6, tensions between paid employment and chauffeuring children to and from childcare are not related to clock based timings alone, whilst attitudes to non-parental care also vary both personally and nationally. Thus, whilst undoubtedly more socially inclusive, from a temporal perspective the adoption of a more Scandinavian approach to childcare may not, by itself, significantly reduce parents' anxieties around time (see also Schwanen 2008).

In a similar manner, participants' narratives suggest that policies aimed at promoting workplace flexibility – whether at an organisational level (such as the flexible work arrangements available to IT participants in this research) or nationally (such as legislation introduced in 2002 in the UK granting employees with caring commitments the right to request flexible working) – may not necessarily have the positive impact on parents' attempts to juggle the demands of work and care that is often assumed.[93] Indeed, whilst schedule control is undoubtedly beneficial in certain respects, it may inadvertently encourage parents (especially mothers) to believe it is possible to 'have it all' (Nockolds 2015) and ultimately lead to them becoming overstretched. This is not to imply that 'having it all' should not be our ultimate aim (or that women should not participate in paid employment, for instance), rather it is to emphasise that more radical policy measures are required if this is to be achieved without accompanying feelings of time stress.

To this end, one potentially radical policy mechanism that is attracting growing interest amongst academics – although as much from sustainability (see, for instance, Hayden 1999, Schor 2005, Coote et al. 2010, Jackson and Victor 2011, Pullinger 2014) and public health (Campbell 2014) perspectives as concerns regarding time stress – is a reduction in the length of the standard working week.[94] Indeed, such a measure may help to reduce the prevalence of long working hours and free up time more generally, thus increasing the possibility of harmoniously

[93] It should be noted that the right to request flexible working was extended to all UK employees in 2014 under the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition. In questioning the potential of this legislation, I leave aside the criticism that it only provides a right to 'request' flexible working, rather than a right to flexible working itself.

[94] In general, these scholars advocate a more significant reduction in weekly working hours than France's recent experiments with a 35 hour working week (see Fagnani and Letablier (2004) for an overview of this policy), to somewhere between 20 and 30 hours.

combining fulfilling employment at traditional times of day with a rewarding family life. Relatedly, it could also encourage men to take on a more equal share of domestic and caring tasks, thus contributing to greater gender equity. The latter is by no means a given, however, particularly in terms of the emotional and organisational aspects of domestic life, which are overwhelmingly performed by women (see Lyonette and Crompton 2015, for example). For a truly equitable arrangement to emerge, therefore, reproductive work must be afforded equal value and gender 'deconstructed' by removing the opposition between breadwinning and caregiving (and public and private settings) – as Nancy Fraser (1994, 1997) argues in a persuasive thought experiment, in which she impels society to move towards a 'Universal Caregiver' model (see also Odih 1999, 2007).[95] In this model, which is based around a shorter working week, women's current life-patterns become the norm for everyone (including childless adults), with all jobs designed for workers who are also caregivers.[96] Fraser's (1997: 62) vision, therefore, is of "a social world in which citizens' lives integrate wage earning, caregiving, community activism, political participation, and involvement in the associational life of civil society – while also leaving time for some fun".

However, whilst Fraser's vision is seductive and would surely help to lessen contemporary anxieties around time, it is not entirely unproblematic. Indeed,

---

[95] Although I would argue the true value of reproductive work cannot be measured in monetary terms, recent ONS (2016b) data placed the value of 'home production' in the UK at over £1 trillion (equivalent to 56 percent of GDP) for 2014. In the short term, widely publishing this value (alongside quarterly growth figures, for example) might help to raise awareness of, and change attitudes regarding, the relative worth of productive and reproductive work.

[96] In advocating this model, Fraser (1997) rejects the possibilities of both a 'Universal Breadwinner' model (in which both men and women work full-time in paid employment, with care being provided publically or by the market) and a 'Caregiver Parity' model (in which the existing gendered division of labour is maintained, but household and care work are valued on a par with paid employment and compensated accordingly).

leaving aside the political feasibility of such a project at a time when the Government's emphasis in the UK appears to be on the need for a stronger (rather than weaker) societal work ethic (as discussed in chapter 4), it raises significant issues around pay and financial security, particularly for those at the lower end of the labour market, many of whom are unable to secure a decent standard of living at present even by working long hours. A shift towards a Universal Caregiver model would thus need to be accompanied by significant changes to the current model of wage-earning and welfare support to ensure all individuals have a sufficient 'living' income. To this end, alongside significant redistributions in income and wealth, policy makers – as Fraser herself mentions in a footnote to her 1994 article – might pay greater attention to the idea of a universal and unconditional 'basic income', which would break the link between income support and paid employment, and provide individuals with a degree of economic security and independence (see also Christiensen 2005, McLean 2016). Here, too, the UK might look to other European nations for inspiration: the Dutch city of Utrecht, for example, is currently conducting an experiment with a subset of benefits claimants to compare the effects of four different versions of basic income (Boffey 2015).

There is, however, a more significant limitation with Fraser's Universal Caregiver model (and calls for a shorter working week more generally), in that it is ultimately grounded in a zero-sum, quantitative conception of time, and is committed to both a clock based and aggregated time budget based understanding of work (rather than individual, subjective experiences). Such a narrow focus means that aspects of tempo and timing (and coordination) are overlooked, along with the relative and relational nature of time. This is a significant omission, since influencing these aspects of temporality – and their role in experiences of time squeeze – arguably necessitates a focus on cultural as much as structural change. Indeed, as discussed in chapters 5 and 6, perceptions of increasing pace and temporal anxieties associated with issues of timing and coordination are, to a significant extent, bound up with the ways in which (changing) social norms and values (around the use of digital technologies, the meanings attached to busyness and the pursuit of experiences, the need for quality family time, what constitutes good parenting, the appropriate times for performing certain activities and so on) influence everyday social practice. Thus, although our understandings of such processes are relatively poor at present, policy attempts to reduce time squeeze might usefully focus on the nexus between social norms and values, everyday practice and theories of social transformation (see Southerton 2006, Shove et al. 2009, Shove 2010).

The performance and experience of everyday practices are not only influenced by social norms and values, however, but also by the presence (or absence) of resources and constraints. Indeed, chapter 6 in particular highlighted the importance of differential access to resources as regards experiences of time squeeze – particularly in terms of schedule control (both over one's own schedule and those of others') and the ability to exploit time-shifting technologies. More broadly, the unequal distribution of financial resources and household assets (such as a second or third family car), as well as the differential quality of local infrastructure (i.e. public assets), can also be seen as important mediating factors (Jarvis 2005). To this end, policies aimed at removing class disparities in experiences of time squeeze might usefully focus on improving the distribution of resources (as touched upon above) and increasing the availability of infrastructure, thereby reducing differences in the potential for participation (Shove 2002). However, there is something of an irony here in that, in an ever more desynchronised society, such policies may ultimately lead to further individualisation of schedules and hence exacerbate the collective problem of coordination. More controversially, therefore, policy debates might focus on reversing some of the temporal fragmentation that has occurred over recent decades with the aim of returning to a more collectively scheduled society, with less flexible, atypical and inconsistent working hours and socio-temporal rhythms (ibid: 9-10). Whilst at an *individual* level this might be perceived as an attack on personal liberty, such a society promises to be less socially exclusive and may, somewhat paradoxically, help to reduce *collective* anxieties around time. There are, however, potential issues associated with the increased synchronisation of activities, as commuters who repeatedly find themselves sitting in a morning traffic jam would likely attest to, and thus the design and balance of such a project would require careful consideration. This too represents an avenue for further research – a topic that I now discuss in more detail.

7.5. Recommendations for future research

Beyond enhancing the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2 and a greater focus on policy mechanisms that might help to reduce experiences of time squeeze (as just discussed), I now outline two further avenues for future research. The first of these relates to the scope of my study, and two ways in which this might usefully be extended. Firstly, I believe the depth of the existing case could be enriched by exploring the domestic lives of participants in more detail. Indeed, as has been argued by scholars such as Pratt (1996) and Jarvis (2002, 2005; Jarvis and Pratt 2006), the danger of employing the individual as the main unit of analysis, and examining employees within a specific industry or sector (as has been my approach in this research), is that the household dynamic is neglected (or at least afforded secondary status). This is potentially problematic given that, at least for co-habiting couples, decisions regarding the distribution of paid work and domestic responsibilities, as well as various resources employed in meeting these commitments (for instance, access to the family car), are typically resolved at a household (rather than individual) level, and hence experiences of time squeeze may be determined as much by the activity patterns of other household members as by one's own.[97] Thus, whilst I endeavoured to afford equal attention to the domestic sphere within the research interviews (an undertaking that was aided by my use of a timeline approach), and whilst there were ultimately good practical and theoretical reasons for focusing on participants from a specific workplace (not least my desire to consider local and institutional context), the present case would undoubtedly benefit from attempts to study between-partner dynamics in more depth. To this end, future research might usefully involve a series of follow-up interviews with participants and their partners (where applicable), "so as to engage directly with issues of spouse negotiation in the joint telling of both everyday routines and milestone events" (Jarvis 2002: 343).

[97] Importantly, such household level decision making should not be seen as entirely rational and consensual (as the likes of Gary Becker (1965, 1981) have done), but rather as involving interpersonal relations of power and conflict (see Hanson and Pratt 1988, Pratt and Hanson 1991, Schwanen et al. 2014).

The second means by which the scope of this research might profitably be extended, meanwhile, is by focusing on one or more additional cases. This could include an examination of another university in the UK or overseas, or of like workplaces and occupations in the private sector (for instance, private IT and cleaning companies). Alternatively, it might focus on employees in other professional (for example, the financial or legal sector) and manual and routine (for instance, the retail sector or leisure and entertainment industries) working environments. Such additional cases would help to consolidate the findings of this study and allow for comparisons to be made between different settings. This in turn would allow for an improved understanding of the influence of local and institutional context relative to the more general categories of social class, gender, age and family status as regards experiences of time squeeze.

Above all, however, I would like to see future case studies (and research relating to contemporary time squeeze more generally) pay greater attention to those at the very lower end of the labour market (see also Warren 2015b). Indeed, whilst this research has demonstrated that the atypical (and especially inconsistent and unpredictable) scheduling associated with many lower-skilled jobs can bring its own forms of temporal anxiety and exclusion – which, although different to conventional notions of overwork or rush (associated with managerial and professional employment in particular), are arguably just as significant – the relatively considerate nature of Oxford colleges means there are many others in manual and routine employment for whom such anxieties are likely to be even greater. In fact, there is now mounting evidence to suggest that, at least in the UK, there has been a significant increase in underemployment and more precarious contractual arrangements such as zero-hours contracts since the financial crisis of 2007-08, particularly in lower-level occupations (see Bell and Blanchflower 2013, Rubery et al. 2015, Warren 2015a). Additional scrutiny of the temporal effects of such precarious employment thus seems increasingly essential.

The second avenue for further research, meanwhile, relates specifically to data collection methods and my attempts to explore the experiential and subjective aspects of temporality. Whilst I believe timeline interviews (as utilised in this research) offer a productive means of achieving this end, they are not without limitations (as discussed in chapter 3). To some extent, therefore, my reliance on this method alone (although partly owing to time constraints) reflects an absence of established alternatives, and a lack of appreciation within wider epistemological and methodological debates of the need to consider and explore the multiple, heterogeneous nature of time (Davies 1996).

One avenue of promise in this respect, however, stems from Henri Lefebvre's (2004) rhythmanalytical project (upon which I drew in chapter 6), and recent attempts by scholars to engage with rhythmanalysis not simply from an analytical or theoretical perceptive, but also as a method in itself. This task is complicated both by the often concealed nature of everyday rhythms, and the fact that Lefebvre offers little indication as to what methods the rhythmanalyst might fruitfully employ. Indeed, whilst his writings offer various pointers for maintaining a sensitivity to rhythms – including using the rhythms of one's own body as a kind of metronome or reference point, engaging all five senses, and situating oneself simultaneously 'inside' and 'outside' ("in order to grasp and analyse rhythms, it is necessary to get outside them... However, to grasp a rhythm it is necessary to have been *grasped* by it" [ibid: 27, emphasis in original]) – they provide little clarity in terms of "how a researcher might proceed in actually *doing* rhythmanalysis" (Simpson 2012: 430, emphasis in original). Nonetheless, a select group of geographers and sociologists have begun to take up this challenge in recent years, experimenting with a variety of techniques in an attempt to better identify and apprehend rhythm. This includes the use of: extended participant observations or mini ethnographies (in some cases incorporating 'mobile' or 'walking' interviews) aimed at following daily routines (Edensor and Holloway 2008, Kullman and Palludan 2011; see also McMorran 2012, Holton and Riley 2014); time-lapse photography, photomontages and photo diaries (Simpson 2008, 2012, Middleton 2009, Wunderlich 2013); aural representations and 'soundscapes' (Evans and Jones 2008, Wunderlich 2013); 'smellscapes' (Schwanen et al. 2012); population or visitor counts (Schwanen et al. 2012, Wunderlich 2013); and secondary data sets relating to urban 'pacemakers', such as public transport timetables, routes and connection frequencies (Mulíček et al. 2015, 2016). Thus, future research might fruitfully employ one or several of these additional data collection methods to shed further light on the multiple temporalities and rhythms involved in both individuals' everyday routines and the wider workplace or urban context in which they are situated.

7.6. Conclusion

Previous analyses of contemporary time squeeze have tended to be rather one-dimensional and lacking in nuance. In part, this is because they typically lack any substantial theoretical engagement with the concept of time itself. From a spatial perspective, the influence of local context is also typically overlooked by these accounts. Recognising such limitations, this research has highlighted the relative, relational and context-dependent character of time, and demonstrated that individuals' experiences of time squeeze vary in both extent and nature. In addition, it has highlighted a variety of causal mechanisms by which these different forms of time squeeze are generated, and demonstrated how these relate to social characteristics such as social class, age and gender in the context of an institution and city that may have particular features, but which is an exemplar of the contemporary service-dominated economy. In so doing, it has provided a significantly improved understanding of this complex but increasingly pertinent topic.

References

Adam, B. (1990) *Time and Social Theory*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Adam, B. (2000) The temporal gaze: The challenge for social theory in the context of GM food. *British Journal of Sociology*, 51(1): 125-142.

Adam, B. (2001) *When Time is Money: Contested Rationalities of Time and Challenges to the Theory and Practice of Work*. Cardiff University School of Social Sciences, Working Paper 16. Available at http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/resources/wrkgpaper16.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Adam, B. (2004) *Time*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Adams, P. (2005) *The Boundless Self: Communication in Physical and Virtual Spaces*. Syracuse University Press: New York.

Adey, P. (2006) If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities. *Mobilities*, 1(1): 75-94.

Adey, P., Budd, L. and Hubbard, P. (2007) Flying lessons: exploring the social and cultural geographies of global air travel. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(6): 773-791.

Adriansen, H. (2012) Timeline interviews: A tool for conducting life history research. *Qualitative Studies*, 3(1): 40-55.

Adriansen, H. and Madsen, L. (2009) Studying the making of geographical knowledge: The implications of insider interviews. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift – Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 63(3): 145-153.

Ali, A. (2015) '*Burnout Britain': Number of UK employees working 'excessive hours' soars by 15% since 2010, says TUC*. Available at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/burnout-britain-number-of-uk-employees-working-excessive-hours-soars-by-15-since-2010-says-tuc-10492677.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Allen, J. and Henry, N. (1997) Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* at work: Labour and employment in the contract service industries. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(2): 180-196.

Alves, P., Bouquin, S. and Pocas, L. (2007) Working time in European SMEs. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research*, 13(1): 75-93.

Amin, A. (1994) *Post-Fordism: A Reader*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Archer, S., Laing, E., Möller-Levet, C., van der Veen, D., Bucca, G., Lazar, A., Santhi, N., Slak, A., Kabiljo, R., von Schantz, M., Smith, C. and Dijk, D. (2014) Mistimed sleep disrupts circadian regulation of the human transcriptome. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 111(6): E682-E691.

Atkinson, S. and Joyce, K. (2011) The place and practices of wellbeing in local governance. *Environment and Planning C*, 29(1): 133-148.

Baker, S. and Edwards, R. (2012) *How many qualitative interviews is enough?* National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper. Available at http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/2273/4/how_many_interviews.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Bakewell, J. (2015) *Do we really all want to live our lives in such a rush*? Available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/lifestyle/11324534/Do-we-really-all-want-to-live-our-lives-in-such-a-rush.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Barker, J. (2002) 'Tightening the Iron Cage: Concertive Control in Self-Managing Teams', in S. Clegg (ed.), *Central Currents in Organisational Studies – Contemporary Trends* (pp. 181-210). Sage: London.

Barker, J. (2011) 'Manic Mums' and 'Distant Dads'? Gendered geographies of care and the journey to school. *Health and Place*, 17(2): 413-421.

Barley, S., Meyerson, D. and Grodal, S. (2011) E-mail as a Source and Symbol of Stress. *Organization Science*, 22(4): 887-906.

Barnett, R. and Gareis, K. (2007) Shift Work, Parenting Behaviours and Children's Socio-emotional Wellbeing: A Within-Family Study. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(6): 727-748.

Bauman, Z. (1988) *Freedom*. Open University Press: Milton Keynes.

Bauman, Z. (1998) *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*. Open University Press: Buckingham.

Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage Publications: London.

Beck, U. (1994) 'The reinvention of politics: Towards a theory of reflexive modernisation', in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash (eds.), *Reflexive modernisation: Politics, traditions and aesthetics in the modern social order* (pp. 1-55). Polity Press: Cambridge.

Beck, U. (2000) *The Brave New World of Work*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002) *Individualisation: Institutionalised individualism and its social and political consequences*. Sage Publications: London.

Becker, G. (1965) A Theory of the Allocation of Time. *The Economic Journal*, 75(299): 493-517.

Becker, G. (1981) *A Treatise on the Family*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Beder, S. (2001) *Selling the Work Ethic*. Zed Books: London.

Bell, D. and Blanchflower, D. (2013) Underemployment in the UK Revisited. *National Institute Economic Review*, 224(1): F8-F22.

Bergson, H. (1911) *Creative Evolution*. Henry Holt: New York.

Beynon, H. and Nichols, T. (2006) *Patterns of work in the post-Fordist era: Fordism and post-Fordism*. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

Bianchi, S., Robinson, J. and Milkie, M. (2007) *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life.* Sage Publications: New York.

Bingham, J. (2015) *'Do-it-all' generation of women suffering work stress epidemic*. Available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/11983974/Do-it-all-generation-of-women-suffering-work-stress-epidemic.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Binkley, S. (2011) Happiness, positive psychology and the program of neoliberal governmentality. *Subjectivity*, 4(4): 371-394.

Birch, K. and Siemiatycki, M. (2015) Neoliberalism and the geographies of marketisation: The entangling of state and markets. *Progress in Human Geography*, doi: 10.1177/0309132515570512.

Bittman, M. (1991) *Juggling Time: How Australian Families Use Time*. Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.

Bittman, M. (2004) 'Parenting and Employment: What Time Use Surveys Show', in N. Folbre and M. Bittman (eds.), *Family Time: The Social Organisation of Care* (pp. 152-170). Routledge: New York.

Bittman, M., Rice, J. and Wajcman, J. (2004) Appliances and Their Impact: The Ownership of Domestic Technology and Time Spent on Housework. *British Journal of Sociology*, 55(2): 400-423.

Boffey, D. (2015) *Dutch city plans to pay citizens a 'basic income', and Greens say it could work in the UK*. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/26/dutch-city-utrecht-basic-income-uk-greens (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Boltanski, L. and Chiapello, E. (2007) *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Verso: London.

Bondi, L. (2005) Making connections and thinking through emotions: Between geography and psychotherapy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 30(4): 433-448.

Bondi, L., Davidson, J. and Smith, M. (2005) 'Introduction: Geography's 'Emotional Turn'', in J. Davidson, L. Bondi and M. Smith (eds.), *Emotional Geographies* (pp. 1-16). Ashgate Publishing: Aldershot.

Borch, C., Hansen, K. and Lange, A. (2015) Markets, bodies and rhythms: A rhythmanalysis of financial markets from open-outcry trading to high-frequency trading. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 33(6): 1080-1097.

Bosch, G., Dawkins, P. and Michon, F. (1994) *Times are Changing: Working Time in 14 Industrialised Countries.* International Institute for Labour Studies: Geneva.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The Forms of Capital', in J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241-258). Greenwood: New York.

Bourke, B. (2014) Positionality: Reflecting on the Research Process. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(33): 1-9.

Boyatzis, R. (1998) *Transforming Qualitative Information: Thematic Analysis and Code Development*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Brannen, J. (2005) Time and the Negotiation of Work-Family Boundaries: Autonomy or Illusion? *Time & Society*, 14(1): 113-131.

Brannen, J. and Nilsen, A. (2005) Individualisation, choice and structure: A discussion of current trends in sociological analysis. *The Sociological Review*, 53(3): 412-428.

Braudel, F. (1980) *On History*. George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited: London.

Breedveld, K. (1998) The Double Myth of Flexibilisation: Trends in Scattered Work Hours and Differences in Time Sovereignty. *Time & Society*, 7(1): 129-143.

Brett, J. and Stroh, L. (2003) Working 61 plus hours a week: Why do managers do it? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(1): 67-78.

Bryson, V. (2007) *Gender and the Politics of Time: Feminist Theory and Contemporary Debates*. The Policy Press: Bristol.

Bunting, M. (2004) *Willing Slaves: How the Overwork Culture is Ruling Our Lives*. Harper Collins: London.

Burchell, B. (2002) 'The prevalence and redistribution of job insecurity and work intensification', in B. Burchell, D. Ladipo and F. Wilkinson (eds.), *Job Insecurity and Work Intensification* (pp. 61-76). Routledge: London.

Burchell, G. (1996) 'Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self', in A. Barry, T. Osborne and N. Rose (eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason* (pp. 19-36). Chicago University Press: Chicago.

Burgard, S. (2011) The Needs of Others: Gender and Sleep Interruptions for Caregivers. *Social Forces*, 89(4): 1189-1215.

Burger, A. (2015) *Extreme working hours in Western Europe and North America: A new aspect of polarisation*. London School of Economics (LSE) 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series, Paper No. 92/2015. Available at http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/LEQS%20Discussion%20Paper%20Series/LEQSPaper92.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Burke, R. and Cooper, C. (2008) *The Long Work Hours Culture: Causes, Consequences and Choices*. Emerald: Bingley.

Butler, T., Hamnett, C., Ramsden, M. and Webber, R. (2007) The best, the worst and the average: Secondary school choice and education performance in East London. *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(1): 7-29.

Buttimer, A. (1976) Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66(2): 277-292.

Butz, D. and Berg, L. (2002) 'Paradoxical Space: Geography, Men and Duppy Feminism', in P. Moss (ed.), *Feminist Geography in Practice* (pp. 87-102). Blackwell: Oxford.

Campbell, D. (2014) *UK needs four-day week to combat stress, says top doctor*. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/jul/01/uk-four-day-week-combat-stress-top-doctor (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Carnoy, M. (2000) *Sustaining the New Economy: Work, Family, and Community in the Information Age*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Castells, M. (1996) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Castells, M. (2001) *The Internet Galaxy: Reflections on the Internet Society*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Castells, M. (2010) *The Rise of the Network Society (2nd Edition)*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford.

Cederstrom, C. and Spicer, A. (2015) *The Wellness Syndrome*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Chen, Y. (2012) Playing the Jigsaw: Senses of Rhythms and Rhythms of the Senses. *Free Associations: Psychoanalysis*, 63(1): 46-65.

Christiensen, E. (2005) 'Feminist arguments in favour of welfare and basic income in Denmark', in G. Standing (ed.), *Promoting Income Security as a Right: Europe and North America* (pp. 385-406). Anthem Press: London.

Clarkberg, M. and Moen, P. (2001) Understanding the Time Squeeze: Married Couples' Preferred and Actual Work-Hour Strategies. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44(7): 1115-1136.

Clarke-Billings, L. (2016) *Psychologists warn constant email notifications are 'toxic source of stress'*. Available at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/news/12078182/Psychologists-warn-constant-email-notifications-are-toxic-source-of-stress.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Cloke, P. and Johnston, R. (2005) *Spaces of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries*. Sage Publications: London.

Coote, A., Franklin, J. and Simms, A. (2010) *21 hours: Why a shorter working week can help us all flourish in the 21st century*. New Economics Foundation: London.

Corden, A. and Sainsbury, R. (2006) *Using verbatim quotations in reporting qualitative social research: Researchers' views*. Social Policy Research Unit, The University of York. Available at https://www.york.ac.uk/inst/spru/pubs/pdf/verbquotresearch.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Coyle, D. (1997) *The Weightless World: Strategies for Managing the Digital Economy*. Capstone: Oxford.

Coyle, D. and Quah, D. (2002) *Getting the Measure of the New Economy*. iSociety, The Work Foundation: London.

Craig, G. and Parkins, W. (2006) *Slow Living*. Berg: Oxford.

Craig, L. and Brown, J. (2015) Nonstandard employment and nonwork activities, time alone and with others: Can weekend workers make up for lost time? *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 57(1): 3-23.

Craig, L. and Powell, A. (2011) Non-standard work schedules, work-family balance and the gendered division of childcare. *Work, Employment and Society*, 25(2): 274-291.

Crang, M. (2001) 'Rhythms of the City: Temporalised Space and Motion', in J. May and N. Thrift (eds.), *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality* (pp. 187-207). Routledge: London.

Crang, M. and Graham, S. (2005) *Multispeed cities and the logistics of living in the Information Age*. Project report, Economic and Social Research Council. Available at http://www.researchcatalogue.esrc.ac.uk/grants/RES-335-25-0015/outputs/read/8d7eef25-b2da-44d1-94bf-2c05921c927e (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Crang, M., Crosbie, T. and Graham, S. (2007) Technology, time-space and the remediation of neighbourhood life. *Environment and Planning A*, 39(10): 2405-2422.

Crang, M., Graham, S. and Crosbie, T. (2006) Variable geometries of connection: Urban digital divides and the uses of Information Technology. *Urban Studies*, 43(13): 2551-2570.

Crang, P. and Martin, R. (1991) Mrs Thatcher's vision of the 'new Britain' and the other sides of the 'Cambridge phenomenon'. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9(1): 91-116.

Cullen, I. and Godson, V. (1975) Urban networks: The structure of activity patterns. *Progress in Planning*, 4(1): 1-96.

Datta, K., McIlwaine, C., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., May, J. and Wills, J. (2007) From Coping Strategies to Tactics: London's Low-Pay Economy and Migrant Labour. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45(2): 404-432.

Davies, K. (1990) *Women, Time and the Weaving of the Strands of Everyday Life*. Avebury: Aldershot.

Davies, K. (1994) The Tensions between Process Time and Clock Time in Care-Work: The Example of Day Nurseries. *Time & Society*, 3(3): 277-303.

Davies, K. (1996) Capturing Women's Lives: A Discussion of Time and Methodological Issues. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 19(6): 579-588.

Davies, K. (2001) 'Responsibility and daily life: Reflections over timespace', in J. May and N. Thrift (eds.) *Timespace: Geographies of temporality* (pp. 133-148). Routledge: London.

Davies, P. and Freedland, M. (2007) *Towards a Flexible Labour Market: Labour Legislation and Regulation Since the 1990s*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Davies, W. (2015) *The Happiness Industry: How the Government and Big Business Sold Us Wellbeing*. Verso: London.

Davis, K., Goodman, W., Pirretti, A. and Almeida, D. (2008) Nonstandard Work Schedules, Perceived Family Wellbeing and Daily Stressors. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 70(4): 991-1003.

Davis, M. (2013) Hurried lives: Dialectics of time and technology in liquid modernity. *Thesis Eleven*, 118(1): 7-18.

Dawson, M. (2012) Reviewing the critique of individualisation: The disembedded and embedded theses. *Acta Sociologica*, 55(4): 305-319.

de Certeau, M. (1984) *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Dean, M. (1999) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. Sage Publications: London.

Deery, R. (2008) The Tyranny of Time: Tensions between Relational and Clock Time in Community-Based Midwifery. *Social Theory and Health*, 6(4): 342-363.

Deiaco, E., Hughes, A. and McKelvey, M. (2012) Universities as strategic actors in the knowledge economy. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 36(3): 525-541.

Delbridge, R. (1998) *Life on the Line in Contemporary Manufacturing*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

DeLyser, D. and Sui, D. (2013) Crossing the qualitative-quantitative divide II: Inventive approaches to big data, mobile methods and rhythmanalysis. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(2): 293-305.

Derickson, A. (2014) *Dangerously Sleepy: Overworked Americans and the Cult of Manly Wakefulness*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Dickens, P. (1999) 'Life politics, the environment and the limits of sociology', in M. O'Brien, S. Penna and C. Hay (eds.), *Theorising Modernity: Reflexivity, Environment and Identity in Giddens' Social Theory* (pp. 98-120). Addison Wesley Longman: Harlow.

Dickey, H., Watson, V. and Zangelidis, A. (2011) Is it all about money? An examination of the motives behind moonlighting. *Applied Economics*, 43(26): 3767-3774.

Dodgshon, R. (2008) Geography's place in time. *Geografiska Annaler B*, 90(1): 1-15.

Doherty, M. (2009) When the working day is through: The end of work as identity? *Work, Employment and Society*, 23(1): 84-101.

Doogan, K. (2009) *New Capitalism? The Transformation of Work*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Dorling, D. (2015) *All That Is Solid: How the Great Housing Disaster Defines Our Times, and What We Can Do About It*. Allen Lane: London.

Doucet, A. and Mauthner, N. (2008) 'Qualitative Interviewing and Feminist Research', in P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman and J. Brannen (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Research Methods* (pp. 328-343). Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Drago, R., Black, D. and Wooden, M. (2005) *The Existence and Persistence of Long Hours*. Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA) Discussion Paper, No. 1720. Available at http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/33528/1/498937208.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Drago, R., Wooden, M. and Black, D. (2009) Long Work Hours: Volunteers and Conscripts. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47(3): 571-600.

Drakopoulou, S. (2013) 'Urban Praxis Athens 2012: An Analysis and Exploration of Locative-Media Projects in Athens, Based on Lefebvre's Lived Experience Analysis and Rhythmology Method', in J. Geiger, O. Khan, M. Shepard (eds.), *MediaCities: Proceedings* (pp. 132-137). The State University of New York at Buffalo: New York.

du Gay, P. (1991) Enterprising culture and the ideology of excellence. *New Formations*, 13(1): 45-61.

du Gay, P. (1996) *Consumption and Identity at Work*. Sage Publications: London.

du Gay, P. (2003) The Tyranny of the Epochal: Change, Epochalism and Organisational Reform. *Organization*, 10(4): 663-684.

Duncan, S. and Phillips, M. (2010) People who live apart together (LATs) – how different are they? *The Sociological Review*, 58(1): 112-134.

Duncan, S. and Smith, D. (2002) Geographies of family formations: Spatial differences and gender cultures in Britain. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 27(4): 471-493.

Duncan, S., Edwards, R., Reynolds, T. and Alldred, P. (2003) Motherhood, paid work and partnering: Values and theories. *Work, Employment and Society*, 17(2): 309-330.

Duncan, S., Phillips, M., Carter, J., Roseneil, S. and Stoilova, M. (2014) Practices and perceptions of living apart together. *Family Science*, 5(1): 1-10.

Dyck, I. (1990) Space, time and renegotiating motherhood: An exploration of the domestic workplace. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 8(4): 459-483.

Economist (2014) *In Search of Lost Time: Why is everyone so busy?* Available at http://www.economist.com/news/christmas-specials/21636612-time-poverty-problem-partly-perception-and-partly-distribution-why (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Edensor, T. (2010) *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies*. Ashgate: Aldershot.

Edensor, T. and Holloway, J. (2008) Rhythmanalysing the coach tour: The Ring of Kerry, Ireland. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33(4): 483-501.

Ehrenreich, B. (2001) *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America*. Metropolitan Books: New York.

Ehrenreich, B. (2009) *Bright-Sided: How Positive Thinking Is Undermining America*. Metropolitan Books: New York.

Ekman, S. (2014) Is the high-involvement worker precarious or opportunistic? Hierarchical ambiguities in late capitalism. *Organization*, 21(2): 141-158.

Elden, S. (2004a) *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible*. Continuum: London.

Elden, S. (2004b) 'Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction', in H. Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* (pp. vii-xv). Continuum: London.

Ellegård, K. (1999) A time-geographical approach to the study of everyday life of individuals – a challenge of complexity. *GeoJournal*, 48(3): 167-175.

Elliot, J. (2005) *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Sage: London.

Ellison, N. (2004) *Telework and Social Change: How Technology is Reshaping the Boundaries between Work and Home*. Greenwood Press: New York.

England, K. (1994) Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1): 80-89.

Eriksen, T. (2001) *Tyranny of the Moment: Fast and Slow Time in the Information Age*. Pluto Press: London.

Erikson, R. and Goldthorpe, J. (1992) *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Ermarth, E. (1998) Time and Neutrality: Media of Modernity in a Postmodern World. *Cultural Values*, 2(2/3): 355-367.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.

Eurostat (2015) *Employees working shifts as a percentage of the total of employees, by sex and age.* Population in Employment Working During Unsocial Hours – LFS Series. Available at http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lfsa_ewpshi&lang=en (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Evans, J. and Jones, P. (2008) Towards Lefebvrian Socio-Nature? A Film about Rhythm, Nature and Science. *Geography Compass*, 2(3): 659-670.

Evans, R. and Franklin, A. (2010) 'Equine Beats: Unique Rhythms (and Floating Harmony)', in T. Edensor (ed.), *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies* (pp. 173-188). Ashgate: Farnham.

Everingham, C. (2002) Engendering Time: Gender equity and discourses of workplace flexibility. *Time & Society*, 11(2/3): 335-351.

Fagan, C. (2001) Time, Money and the Gender Order: Work Orientations and Working-Time Preferences in Britain. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 8(3): 239-266.

Fagan, C., Lyonette, C., Smith, M. and Saldaña-Tejeda, A. (2012) *The influence of working time arrangements on work-life integration or 'balance': A review of the international evidence*. International Labour Office, Conditions of Work and Employment Series No. 32. Available at http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_187306.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Fagnani, J. and Letablier, M. (2004) Work and family life balance: The impact of the 35-hour laws in France. *Work, Employment and Society*, 18(3): 551-572.

Felstead, A., Gallie, D., Green, F. and Inanc, H. (2013) *Work Intensification in Britain: First Findings from the Skills and Employment Survey, 2012*. Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies, Institute of Education: London.

Fine, G. (1996) *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Firestone, W. (1993) Alternative Arguments for Generalising From Data as Applied to Qualitative Research. *Educational Researcher*, 22(4): 16-23.

Fleming, P. (2009) *Authenticity and the cultural politics of work: New forms of informal control*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Florida, R. (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. Basic Books: New York.

Floyd, A. and Arthur, L. (2012) Researching from within: External and internal ethical engagement. *International Journal of Research and Method in Education*, 35(2): 171-180.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2): 219-245.

Forkert, K. (2014) The new moralism: Austerity, silencing and debt morality. *Soundings*, 56(1): 41-53.

Foucault, M. (1978) *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Pantheon Books: New York.

Foucault, M. (1982) 'The Subject and Power', in H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (pp. 208-226). Harvester Press: Brighton.

Foucault, M. (1993) About the Beginning of the Hermeneutics of the Self: Two Lectures at Dartmouth. *Political Theory*, 21(2): 198-227.

Fraser, N. (1994) After the Family Wage: Gender Equity and the Welfare State. *Political Theory*, 22(4): 591-618.

Fraser, N. (1997) *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition*. Routledge: New York.

Friberg, T. (1993) *Everyday life: Women's adaptive strategies in time and space*. Swedish Council for Building Research: Stockholm.

Friedman, W. and Janssen, S. (2010) Ageing and the speed of time. *Acta Psychologica*, 134(2): 130-141.

Fuller, D. and Kitchen, R. (2004) *Radical Theory/Critical Praxis: Making a Difference Beyond the Academy?* Praxis (e)Press: Vernon and Victoria.

Garhammer, M. (1995) Changes in Working Hours in Germany: The Resulting Impact on Everyday Life. *Time & Society*, 4(2): 167-203.

Garhammer, M. (1998) Time Pressure in Modern Germany. *Society and Leisure*, 21(2): 327-352.

Gershuny, J. (2000) *Changing Times: Work and Leisure in Postindustrial Society*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Gershuny, J. (2005) Busyness as the Badge of Honour for the New Superordinate Working Class. *Social Research*, 72(2): 287-314.

Gershuny, J. (2011) *Time Use Surveys and the Measurement of National Well-Being*. Centre for Time Use Research, University of Oxford and Office for National Statistics. Available at http://www.timeuse.org/node/4486 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Giddens, A. (1976) *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretive Sociologies.* Hutchinson: London.

Giddens, A. (1979) *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* Macmillan: London.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1994) 'Living in a post-traditional society', in U. Beck, A. Giddens and S. Lash (eds.), *Reflexive modernisation: Politics, traditions and aesthetics in the modern social order* (pp. 56-109). Polity Press: Cambridge.

Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Gill, R. and Pratt, A. (2008) In the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 25(7/8): 1-30.

Gleick, J. (1999) *Faster: The Acceleration of Just About Everything*. Random House: New York.

Glennie, P. and Thrift, N. (1996) Reworking E. P. Thompson's 'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism'. *Time & Society*, 5(3): 275-299.

Glennie, P. and Thrift, N. (2009) *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales 1300-1800*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Goldthorpe, J. (1980) *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Goldthorpe, J. (1997) 'The 'Goldthorpe' Class Schema: Some Observations on Conceptual Operational Issues in Relation to the ESRC Review of Governmental Social Classifications', in D. Rose and K. O'Reilly (eds.), *Constructing Classes: Towards a New Social Classification for the UK* (pp. 40-48). Office for National Statistics: London.

Goos, M. and Manning, A. (2007) Lovely and lousy jobs: The rising polarisation of work in Britain. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 89(1): 118-133.

Gordon, C. (1991) 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction', in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 1-52). Chicago University Press: Chicago.

Gray, A. (2004) *Unsocial Europe: Social Protection of Flexploitation*. Pluto Press: London.

Green, F. (2004) Why Has Work Effort Become More Intense? *Industrial Relations*, 43(4): 709-741.

Green, N. (2002) On the Move: Technology, Mobility, and the Mediation of Social Time and Space. *The Information Society*, 18(4): 281-292.

Green, N. and Haddon, L. (2009) *Mobile Communications: An Introduction to New Media*. Berg: Oxford.

Green, T. (2010) *Motherhood, Absence and Transition: When Adult Children Leave Home*. Ashgate: Farnham.

Gren, M. (2001) 'Time-geography matters', in J. May and N. Thrift (eds.), *Timespace: Geographies of temporality* (pp. 208-225). Routledge: London.

Guardian (2016) *Work-life balance*. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/money/work-life-balance (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Guendouzi, J. (2006) 'The Guilt Thing': Balancing Domestic and Professional Roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(4): 901-909.

Haas, B. and Wallace, C. (2004) Comparing the Relationship between Flexibility and Control of Work in Eight European Countries. *ESRC Cross-National Research Papers*, 7(3): 19-29.

Haddon, L. (2006) The Contribution of Domestication Research to In-Home Computing and Media Consumption. *The Information Society*, 22(4): 195-203.

Haddon, L. (2011) Domestication Analysis, Objects of Study and the Centrality of Technologies in Everyday Life. *Canadian Journal of Communications*, 36(2): 311-323.

Hägerstrand, T. (1970) What about people in regional science? *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, 24(1): 7-21.

Hägerstrand, T. (1982) Diorama, Path and Project. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 73(6): 323-339.

Hägerstrand, T. (1989) Reflections on 'What about people in regional science?' *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, 66(1): 1-6.

Halford, S. and Leonard, P. (2005) Place, Space and Time: Contextualising Workplace Subjectivities. *Organisation Studies*, 27(5): 657-676.

Hall, E. (1989) *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimensions of Time*. Anchor Books: New York.

Hall, S. (2015) Geographies of marketisation in English higher education: Territorial and relational markets and the case of undergraduate student fees. *Area*, 47(4): 451-458.

Hall, S. and O'Shea, A. (2013) Common-sense neoliberalism. *Soundings*, 55(1): 8-24.

Halpern, D. (2005) How time-flexible work policies can reduce stress, improve health and save money. *Stress and Health*, 21(3): 157-168.

Hamnett, C. (2014) Shrinking the welfare state: The structure, geography and impact of British government benefit cuts. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 39(4): 490-503.

Hanson, S. and Pratt, G. (1988) Reconceptualising the Links between Home and Work in Urban Geography. *Economic Geography*, 64(4): 299-321.

Hanson, S. and Pratt, G. (1992) Dynamic dependencies: A geographic investigation of local labour markets. *Economic Geography*, 68(4): 373-405.

Haraway, D. (1991) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge: New York.

Haraway, D. (2003) *The Companion Species Manifesto*. Prickly Paradigm Press: Chicago.

Hareven, T. (1982) *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Harkness, S. (1999) 'Working 9 to 5?', in P. Gregg and J. Wadsworth (eds.), *The State of Working Britain* (pp 90-108). Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Harrison, B. (2012) College servants in an Oxford college forty years ago. *Oral History*, 40(2): 40-58.

Harvey, D. (1982) *The Limits to Capital*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Harvey, D. (2004) *Space as a Key Word*. Marx and Philosophy Conference, May 2004, Institute of Education, London. Available at http://frontdeskapparatus.com/files/harvey2004.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Harvey, D. (2005) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Harvey, D. (2009) *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Harvey, W. (2010) Methodological Approaches for Interviewing Elites. *Geography Compass*, 4(3): 193-205.

Hassan, R. (2004) *Media, Politics and the Network Society*. Open University Press: Buckingham.

Hassan, R. (2009) *Empires of Speed: Time and the Acceleration of Politics and Society*. Brill Academic Publishers: Leiden.

Hattery, A. (2001) Tag-Team Parenting: Costs and Benefits of Utilising Non-overlapping Shift Work in Families with Young Children. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 82(4): 419-427.

Haugaard, M. (2002) *Power: A Reader*. Manchester University Press: Manchester.

Hay, I. (2005) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Hayden, A. (1999) *Sharing the Work, Sparing the Planet: Work Time, Consumption and Ecology*. Between the Lines: Toronto.

Hayter, T. and Harvey, D. (1993) *The Factory and the City: The Story of the Cowley Automobile Workers in Oxford*. Mansell: London.

Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Henly, J., Shaefer, H. and Waxman, E. (2006) Nonstandard Work Schedules: Employer- and Employee-Driven Flexibility in Retail Jobs. *Social Service Review*, 80(4): 609-634.

Henry, N. and Massey, D. (1995) Competitive Time-Space in High Technology. *Geoforum*, 26(1): 49-64.

Henz, U. (2009) Couples' provision of informal care for parents and parents-in-law: Far from sharing equally? *Ageing and Society*, 29(3): 369-395.

Hewlett, S. and Buck Luce, C. (2006) Extreme Jobs: The Dangerous Allure of the 70-Hour Workweek. *Harvard Business Review*, 84(12): 49-59.

Hildebrandt, E. (2006) Balance between work and life – New corporate impositions through flexible working time or opportunity for time sovereignty? *European Societies*, 8(2): 251-271.

Hill, E., Erickson, J., Holmes, E. and Ferris, M. (2010) Workplace flexibility, work hours and work-life conflict: Finding an extra day or two. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24(3): 349-358.

Hill, E., Hawkins, A., Ferris, M., and Weitzman, M. (2001) Finding an Extra Day a Week: The Positive Influence of Perceived Job Flexibility on Work and Family Life Balance. *Family Relations*, 50(1): 49-58.

Hochschild, A. (1997) *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work*. Metropolitan Books: New York.

Hochschild, A. (2012) *The Outsourced Self: Intimate Life in Market Times.* Metropolitan Books: New York.

Hochschild, A. and Machung, A. (1989) *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home*. Viking Penguin: New York.

Hofäcker, D. and König, S. (2013) Flexibility and work-life conflict in times of crisis: A gender perspective. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 33(9/10): 613-635.

Hoffman, D. (2010) Risky investments: Parenting and the production of the 'resilient child'. *Health, Risk and Society*, 12(4): 385-394.

Hofmeyr, B. (2011) The culture and subjectivity of neoliberal governmentality. *Phronimon*, 12(2): 19-42.

Holdsworth, C. (2015) The cult of experience: standing out from the crowd in an era of austerity. *Area*, doi: 10.1111/area.12201.

Holdsworth, C. and Brewis, G. (2014) Volunteering, choice and control: A case study of higher education student volunteering. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 17(2): 204-219.

Holton, M. and Riley, M. (2014) Talking on the move: Place-based interviewing with undergraduate students. *Area*, 46(1): 59-65.

Hoogstad, J. (2013) 'The Good Foot: James Brown's Revolutionary Rhythmic Interventions', in J. Hoogstad and B. Pedersen (eds.), *Off Beat: Pluralising Rhythm* (pp. 169-196). Rodopi: Amsterdam.

Huberman, M. and Minns, C. (2007) The times they are not changin': Days and hours of work in Old and New Worlds, 1870-2000. *Explorations in Economic History*, 44(1): 538-567.

IPPR (2013) *Great Expectations: Exploring the Promises of Gender Equality*. Institute for Public Policy Research, March 2013. Available at http://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2013/04/great-expectations-gender-equality_Mar2013_10562.pdf?noredirect=1 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Isis Innovation (2016) *About Isis Innovation*. Available at http://isis-innovation.com/about/ (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Jackson, T. and Victor, P. (2011) Productivity and work in the 'green economy': Some theoretical reflections and empirical tests. *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions*, 1(1): 101-108.

Jacobs, A. and Padavic, I. (2015) Hours, Scheduling and Flexibility for Women in the US Low-Wage Labour Force. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 22(1): 67-86.

Jacobs, J. and Gerson, K. (2004) *The Time Divide: Work, Family and Gender Inequality*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Jamal, M. (2004) Burnout, stress and health of employees on non-standard work schedules: A study of Canadian workers. *Stress and Health*, 20(3): 113-119.

James, L. (2008) United by Gender or Divided by Class? Women's Work Orientations and Labour Market Behaviour. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 15(4): 394-412.

James, L. (2009) Generational differences in women's attitudes towards paid employment in a British city: The role of habitus. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 16(3): 313-328.

Janssen, S., Naka, M. and Friedman, W. (2013) Why does life appear to speed up as people get older? *Time & Society*, 22(2): 274-290.

Jarvis, H. (1999) The Tangled Webs We Weave: Household Strategies to Coordinate Home and Work. *Work, Employment and Society*, 13(2): 225-247.

Jarvis, H. (2002) ‘Lunch is for wimps’: what drives parents to work long hours in ‘successful’ British and US cities? *Area*, 34(4): 340-352.

Jarvis, H. (2005) Moving to London Time: Household co-ordination and the infrastructure of everyday life. *Time & Society*, 14(1): 133-154.

Jarvis, H. and Pratt, A. (2006) Bringing it all back home: The extensification and ‘overflowing’ of work. The case of San Francisco’s new media households. *Geoforum*, 37(3): 331-339.

Jarvis, H., Pain, R. and Pooley, C. (2011) Multiple Scales of Time-Space and Lifecourse. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(3): 519-524.

Jones, O. (2010) ‘‘The Breath of the Moon’: The Rhythmic and Affective Time-spaces of UK Tides’, in T. Edensor (ed.), *Geographies of Rhythm: Nature, Place, Mobilities and Bodies* (pp. 189-203). Ashgate: Farnham.

Kahn, R. (1989) ‘Women and Time in Childbirth and During Lactation’, in F. Forman and C. Sowton (eds.), *Taking Our Time: Feminist Perspectives on Temporality* (pp. 20-36). Pergamon Press: Oxford.

Kalil, A., Ziol-Guest, K. and Epstein, J. (2010) Nonstandard Work and Marital Instability: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(5): 1289-1300.

Kalleberg, A. (2000) Nonstandard Employment Relations: Part-Time, Temporary and Contract Work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1): 341-365.

Kalleberg, A. (2011) *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Polarised and Precarious Employment in the United States, 1970's to 2000's*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

Kärrholm, M. (2009) To the rhythm of shopping – on synchronisation in urban landscapes of consumption. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 10(4): 421-440.

Kastenbaum, R. (1964) The structure and function of time perspective. *Journal of Psychological Researches*, 8(3): 97-105.

Katz, C. and Monk, J. (1993) *Full circles: Geographies of women over the life course*. Routledge: London.

Kelliher, C. and Anderson, D. (2010) Doing more with less? Flexible working practices and the intensification of work. *Human Relations*, 63(1): 83-106.

Kelly, E., Moen, P. and Tranby, E. (2011) Changing Workplaces to Reduce Work-Family Conflict: Schedule Control in a White-Collar Organisation. *American Sociological Review*, 76(2): 265-290.

Kelly, P. (2001) Youth at Risk: Processes of individualisation and responsibilisation in the risk society. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 22(1): 23-33.

King, A. (1999) Legitimating post-Fordism: A critique of Anthony Giddens' later works. *Telos*, 115(1): 61-77.

Knight, T. (1974) An approach to the evaluation of changes in travel unreliability: A 'safety margin' hypothesis. *Transportation*, 3(4): 393-408.

Knights, D. and Odih, P. (1995) It's About Time! The Significance of Gendered Time for Financial Services Consumption. *Time & Society*, 4(2): 205-231.

Koller, P. (2009) Work and Social Justice. *Analyse & Kritik*, 31(1): 5-24.

Kullman, K. and Palludan, C. (2011) Rhythmanalytical sketches: Agencies, school journeys, temporalities. *Children's Geographies*, 9(3/4): 347-359.

Kunda, G. (2006) *Engineering Culture: Control and Commitment in a High-Tech Corporation.* Temple University Press: Philadelphia.

Kvale, S. (1996) *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Kwan, M. (1999) Gender, the Home-Work Link, and Space-Time Patterns of Nonemployment Activities. *Economic Geography*, 75(4): 370-394.

Kwan, M. (2000) Gender differences in space-time constraints. *Area*, 32(2): 145-156.

Kwan, M. (2002) Time, Information Technologies and the Geographies of Everyday Life. *Urban Geography*, 23(5): 471-482.

Lareau, A. (2000a) Social class and the daily lives of children: A study from the United States. *Childhood*, 7(2): 155-171.

Lareau, A. (2000b) My Wife Can Tell Me Who I Know: Methodological and Conceptual Problems in Studying Fathers. *Qualitative Sociology*, 23(4): 407-433.

Lareau, A. (2002) Invisible inequality: Social class and childrearing in black families and white families. *American Sociological Review*, 67(5): 747-776.

Larner, W. (2000) Neo-liberalism: Policy, Ideology, Governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63(1): 5-25.

Lash, S. and Urry, J. (1994) *Economies of Signs and Spaces*. Sage Publications: London.

Latimer, J. and Miele, M. (2013) Naturecultures? Science, Affect and the Non-human. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 30(7/8): 5-31.

Laurier, E. (2004) Doing Office Work on the Motorway. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 21(4/5): 261-277.

Lawton Smith, H., Glasson, J. and Chadwick, A. (2005) The geography of talent: Entrepreneurship and local economic development in Oxfordshire. *Entrepreneurship and Regional Development: An International Journal*, 17(6): 449-478.

Lawton Smith, H., Glasson, J., Simmie, J., Chadwick, A. and Clark, G. (2003) *Enterprising Oxford: The Growth of the Oxfordshire High-Tech Economy*. Oxfordshire Economic Observatory: Oxford.

Lazzarato, M. (1996) 'Immaterial Labour', in P. Virno and M. Hardt (eds.), *Radical Thought in Italy* (pp. 133-151). University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Le Bihan, B. and Martin, C. (2004) Atypical Working Hours: Consequences for Childcare Arrangements. *Social Policy and Administration*, 38(6): 565-590.

Leccardi, C. (1996) Rethinking Social Time: Feminist Perspectives. *Time & Society*, 5(2): 169-186.

Leccardi, C. and Rampazi, M. (1993) Past and Future in Young Women's Experience of Time. *Time & Society*, 2(3): 353-379.

Lefebvre, H. (1984) *Everyday Life in the Modern World*. Transaction Publishers: London.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Lefebvre, H. (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. Continuum: London.

Leidner, R. (1993) *Fast Food, Fast Talk: Interactive service work and the routinisation of everyday life*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Lemke, T. (2001) 'The birth of bio-politics': Michel Foucault's lecture at College de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society*, 30(2): 190-207.

Lenntorp, B. (1976) *Paths in Space-Time Environments: A Time Geographic Study of the Movement Possibilities of Individuals*. University of Lund: Lund.

Lenntorp, B. (1999) Time-geography – at the end of its beginning. *GeoJournal*, 48(3): 155-158.

Lesnard, L. and Kan, M. (2011) Investigating scheduling of work: A two-stage optimal matching analysis of workdays and workweeks. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 174(2): 349-368.

Levine, R. (2006) *A Geography of Time: The Temporal Misadventures of a Social Psychologist*. Oneworld: Oxford.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1968) *Structural Anthropology*. Allen Lane: London

Lewis, J. (2002) Gender and welfare state change. *European Societies*, 4(4): 331-357.

Lewis, J. and Ritchie, J. (2003) 'Generalising from Qualitative Research', in J. Ritchie and J. Lewis (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 263-286). Sage Publications: London.

Lewis, S. (1997) Family friendly organisational policies: A route to organisational change or playing about at the margins? *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 4(1): 13-23.

Lewis, S. (2003) The integration of paid work and the rest of life. Is post-industrial work the new leisure? *Leisure Studies*, 22(4): 343-355.

Licoppe, C. (2004) 'Connected' presence: The emergence of a new repertoire for managing social relationships in a changing communication technoscape. *Environment and Planning D*, 22(1): 135-156.

Lincoln, Y. and Guba, E. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications: Beverly Hills.

Linder, S. (1970) *The Harried Leisure Class*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Lister, R. (2001) ''Work for those who can, security for those who cannot': A third way in social security reform or fractured social citizenship?', in R. Edwards and J. Glover (eds.), *Risk and Citizenship: Key Issues in Welfare* (pp. 96-109). Routledge: London.

Little, J. (2015) Nature, wellbeing and the transformational self. *The Geographical Journal*, 181(2): 121-128.

Lott, Y. (2015) Working-time flexibility and autonomy: A European perspective on time adequacy. *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 21(3): 259-274.

Lyonette, C. and Crompton, R. (2015) Sharing the load? Partners' relative earnings and the division of domestic labour. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(1): 23-40.

Mackenzie, A. (2002) *Transductions: Bodies and Machines at Speed*. Continuum: London.

MacLeavy, J. (2007) Engendering New Labour's Workfarist Regime: Exploring the intersection of welfare state restructuring and labour market policies in the UK. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 14(6): 721-743.

Maddison, A. (2001) *The World Economy: A Millennial Perspective*. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Development Centre Studies. Available at http://www.oecd.org/dev/developmentcentrestudiestheworldeconomyamillennialperspective.htm (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Maffesoli, M. (2003) *L'instant éternel: Le retour du tragique dans les sociétés postmodernes*. La Table Ronde: Paris.

Marquié, J., Tucker, P., Folkard, S., Gentil, C. and Ansiau, D. (2015) Chronic effects of shift work on cognition: Findings from the VISAT longitudinal study. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine,* 72(4): 258-264.

Martin, R. (2001) Geography and public policy: The case of the missing agenda. *Progress in Human Geography*, 25(2): 189-210.

Marx, K. (1857) *Grundrisse: Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy*. Available at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Grundrisse.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Marx, K. (1867) *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1*. Available at https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Capital-Volume-I.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Mason, J. (2002) *Qualitative Researching (2nd Edition)*. Sage Publications: London.

Massey, D. (1992) Politics and Space/Time. *New Left Review*, I/196(1): 65-84.

Massey, D. (1993) 'Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place', in J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds.), *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (pp. 59-69). Routledge: London.

Massey, D. (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Massey, D. (1995) Masculinity, Dualisms and High Technology. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 20(4): 487-499.

Massey, D. (1997) ‘Economic / Non-Economic’, in R. Lee and J. Wills (eds.), *Geographies of Economies* (pp. 27-36). Arnold: London.

Massey, D. (2013a) *Doreen Massey on Space*. Social Science Bites, in association with Sage. Available at http://www.socialsciencespace.com/wp-content/uploads/DoreenMassey.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Massey, D. (2013b) Vocabularies of the economy. *Soundings*, 54(1): 9-22.

Matta, D. and Knudson-Martin, C. (2006) Father responsivity: Couple processes and the co-construction of fatherhood. *Family Processes*, 45(1): 19-37.

May, J. and Thrift, N. (2001) *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality*. Routledge: London.

McDowell, L. (1992) Doing Gender: Feminism, Feminists and Research Methods in Human Geography. *Transactions of the Institute of the British Geographers*, 17(4): 399-416.

McDowell, L. (2000) Learning to Serve? Employment aspirations and attitudes of young working-class men in an era of labour market restructuring. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 7(4): 389-416.

McDowell, L. (2003) *Redundant Masculinities? Employment Change and White Working Class Youth*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford.

McDowell, L. (2004) Work, workfare, work/life balance and an ethic of care. *Progress in Human Geography*, 28(2): 145-163.

McDowell, L. (2008a) Thinking through work: Complex inequalities, constructions of difference and trans-national migrants. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(4): 491-507.

McDowell, L. (2008b) Thinking Through Class and Gender in the Context of Working Class Studies. *Antipode*, 40(1): 20-24.

McDowell, L. (2009) *Working Bodies: Interactive Service Employment and Workplace Identities*. Wiley-Blackwell: Chichester.

McDowell, L. (2014) Gender, work, employment and society: Feminist reflections on continuity and change. *Work, Employment and Society*, 28(5): 825-837.

McDowell, L. and Dyson, J. (2011) The other side of the knowledge economy: 'Reproductive' employment and affective labours in Oxford. *Environment and Planning A*, 43(9): 2186-2201.

McDowell, L., Perrons, D., Fagan, C., Ray, K. and Ward, K. (2005a) The contradictions and intersections of class and gender in a global city: Placing working women's lives on the research agenda. *Environment and Planning A*: 37(3): 441-461.

McDowell, L., Ray, K., Perrons, D., Fagan, C. and Ward, K. (2005b) Women's paid work and moral economies of care. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 6(2): 219-235.

McDowell, L., Ward, K., Fagan, C., Perrons, D. and Ray, K. (2006) Connecting Time and Space: The Significance of Transformations in Women's Work in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(1): 141-158.

McEwan, I. (1987) *The Child in Time*. Jonathan Cape: London.

McGee, M. (2005) *Self-Help, Inc.: Makeover Culture in American Life*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

McKie, L., Gregory, S. and Bowlby, S. (2002) Shadow Times: The Temporal and Spatial Frameworks and Experiences of Caring and Working. *Sociology*, 36(4): 897-924.

McLean, C. (2016) ...and justice for all? Basic income and the principles of gender equity. *Juncture*, 22(4): 284-288.

McMorran, C. (2012) Practicing workplace geographies: Embodied labour as method in human geography. *Area*, 44(4): 489-495.

Mead, G. (1932) *The Philosophy of the Present*. Open Court: LaSalle.

Mels, T. (2004) *Reanimating Places: A Geography of Rhythms*. Ashgate: Aldershot.

Mendez, M. (2008) Middle class identities in a neoliberal age: Tensions between contested authenticities. *The Sociological Review*, 56(2): 220-237.

Mercer, J. (2007) The challenges of insider research in educational institutions: Wielding a double-edged sword and resolving delicate dilemmas. *Oxford Review of Education*, 33(1): 1-17.

Merriman, P. (2012) Human geography without time-space. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 37(1): 13-27.

Meyerhoff, H. (1960) *Time in Literature*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Meyrowitz, J. (1985) *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Middleton, J. (2009) 'Stepping in time': Walking, Time and Space in the City. *Environment and Planning A*, 41(8): 1943-1961.

Miles, M., Huberman, A. and Saldaña, J. (2013) *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Miller, H. (2005) A measurement theory for time geography. *Geographical Analysis*, 37(1): 17-45.

Mills, M. (2004) Demand for flexibility or generation of insecurity? The individualisation of risk, irregular work shifts and Canadian youth. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 7(2): 115-139.

Mills, M. and Täht, K. (2010) Nonstandard Work Schedules and Partnership Quality: Quantitative and Qualitative Findings. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(4): 860-875.

Minnen, J., Glorieux, I. and van Tienoven, T. (2015) Who works when? Towards a typology of weekly work patterns in Belgium. *Time & Society*, doi: 10.1177/0961463X15590918.

Molloy, A. (2015) *A quarter of UK professionals are unhappy with their work-life balance, survey finds*. Available at http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/a-quarter-of-uk-professionals-are-unhappy-with-their-work-life-balance-survey-finds-10071994.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Muliček, O., Osman, R. and Seidenglanz, D. (2015) Urban rhythms: A chronotopic approach to urban timespace. *Time & Society*, 24(3): 304-325.

Muliček, O., Osman, R. and Seidenglanz, D. (2016) Time-space rhythms of the city – The industrial and postindustrial Brno. *Environment and Planning A*, 48(1): 115-131.

Nansen, B., Arnold, M., Gibbs, M. and Davis, H. (2009) Domestic orchestration: Rhythms in the mediated home. *Time & Society*, 18(2/3) 181-207.

Nespor, J., Hicks, D. and Fall, A. (2009) Time and exclusion. *Disability and Society*, 24(3): 373-385.

Neutens, T., Schwanen, T. and Witlox, F. (2011) The Prism of Everyday Life: Towards a New Research Agenda for Time Geography. *Transport Reviews: A Transnational Transdisciplinary Journal*, 31(1): 25-47.

Newman, I. (2011) Work as a route out of poverty: A critical evaluation of the UK welfare to work policy. *Policy Studies*, 32(2): 91-108.

Noble, H. and Smith, J. (2015) Issues of validity and reliability in qualitative research. *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 18(2): 34-35.

Nockolds, D. (2015) Acceleration for working sole parents: Squeezed between institutional temporalities and routinised parenting practices. *Time & Society*, doi: 10.1177/0961463X15587838.

Noland, R. and Polak, J. (2002) Travel time reliability: A review of theoretical and empirical issues. *Transport Reviews*, 22(1): 39-54.

Nowotny, H. (1994) *Time: The Modern and Postmodern Experience*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

O'Carroll, A. (2008) Fuzzy Holes and Intangible Time: Time in a knowledge industry. *Time & Society*, 17(2/3): 179-193.

O'Hara, M. (2014) *Austerity Bites: A Journey to the Sharp End of Cuts in the UK*. The Policy Press: Bristol.

Odih, P. (1999) Gendered Time in the Age of Deconstruction. *Time & Society*, 8(1): 9-38.

Odih, P. (2007) *Gender and Work in Capitalist Economies*. Open University Press: Maidenhead.

OECD (2011) *Doing Better for Families*. OECD Publishing: Paris.

ONS (2011) *Changes in shift work patterns over the last ten years (1999 to 2009)*. Office for National Statistics, Research Report RR887, Prepared for the Health and Safety Executive 2011. Available at http://www.hse.gov.uk/research/rrpdf/rr887.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

ONS (2013) *Full report – Women in the labour market*. Office for National Statistics, September 2013. Available at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_328352.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

ONS (2014) *Table HOUR02: Usual weekly hours worked*. Office for National Statistics, Labour Market Statistics, March 2014. Available at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/publications/re-reference-tables.html?edition=tcm%3A77-301417#tab-Hours-worked-tables (last accessed 18th April 2016).

ONS (2015) *UK Labour Market: November 2015*. Office for National Statistics, Statistical bulletin. Available at http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/lms/labour-market-statistics/november-2015/statistical-bulletin.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

ONS (2016a) *Labour Market Profile – Oxford*. Nomis, Office for National Statistics. Available at http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157324/report.aspx?town=Oxford (last accessed 18th April 2016).

ONS (2016b) *Chapter 1: Executive summary for household satellite accounts*. Office for National Statistics. Available at https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/satelliteaccounts/compendium/householdsatelliteaccounts/2005to2014/chapter1executivesummaryforhouseholdsatelliteaccount#the-value-of-home-production-2005-to-2014 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxford City Council (2012) *Private sector rents are the ninth least affordable in England*. Available at https://www.oxford.gov.uk/downloads/file/1034/private_sector_rents_are_among_the_least_affordable_april_2012 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxford City Council (2015a) *Statistics about Oxford*. Available at http://www.oxforddirectservices.co.uk/PageRender/decC/Statistics_about_Oxford_occw.htm (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxford City Council (2015b) *Area Forums, Area Forum Map*. Available at http://www.oxforddirectservices.co.uk/PageRender/decCD/Area_Committees_occw.htm (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxford Strategic Partnership (2013) *Oxford Economic Growth Strategy*. Available at http://mycouncil.oxford.gov.uk/documents/s12269/Oxford%20Economic%20Growth%20Strategy%20January%202013%204.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxfordshire County Council (2015a) *Oxfordshire Labour Market Information, Issue 2 Winter 2014/2015*. Available at http://www.oxfordshirelep.org.uk/sites/default/files/LMI%20Bulletin%20Issue%202%20Winter%20201415.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Oxfordshire County Council (2015b) *2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation Viewer*. Available at https://public.tableau.com/views/2015IMD-Districts/OxfordshireIMDviewer?:embed=y&:display_count=no&:showVizHome=no#3 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Pain, R. (2003) Social geography: On action-orientated research. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(5): 649-657.

Painter, J. and Philo, C. (1995) Spaces of citizenship: An introduction. *Political Geography*, 14(2): 107-120.

Palmer, M. (2011) *On breathing and geography: Sonifying the Severn as shared generative art practice*. ISEA2011, 17th International Symposium on Electronic Art, September 2011, Istanbul. Available at http://isea2011.sabanciuniv.edu/paper/breathing-and-geography-%E2%80%93-sonifying-severn-shared-generative-art-practice (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Parkes, D. and Thrift, N. (1975) Timing Space and Spacing Time. *Environment and Planning A*, 7(6): 651-670.

Parkes, D. and Thrift, N. (1978) 'Putting Time in Its Place', in T. Carlstein, D. Parkes and N. Thrift (eds.), *Timing Space and Spacing Time (Volume 1): Making Sense of Time* (pp. 119-129). Edward Arnold: London.

Parkes, D. and Thrift, N. (1979) Time Spacemakers and Entrainment. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 4(3): 353-372.

Parkes, D. and Thrift, N. (1980) *Times, Spaces and Places: A Chronogeographic Perspective*. Wiley: New York.

Parkinson, H. (2015) *How to stop 24/7 email ruining your life*. Available at http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/dec/04/24-7-email-work-inbox (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Parris, M., Vickers, M. and Wilkes, L. (2008) Friendships under strain: The work-personal life integration of middle managers. *Community, Work and Family*, 11(4): 405-418.

Patrick, R. (2012) Work as the primary 'duty' of the responsible citizen: a critique of this work-centric approach. *People, Place and Policy Online*, 6(1): 5-15.

Peck, J. and Theodore, N. (2000) 'Work first': Workfare and the regulation of contingent labour markets. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 24(1): 119-138.

Pedersen, V. and Jeppesen, H. (2012) Contagious flexibility? A study on whether schedule flexibility facilitates work-life enrichment. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 53(4): 347-359.

Pedersen, V. and Lewis, S. (2012) Flexible friends? Flexible working time arrangements, blurred work-life boundaries and friendship. *Work, Employment and Society*, 26(3): 464-480.

Perlow, L. (1999) The time famine: Towards a sociology of work time. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(1): 57-81.

Perrons, D. (1999) Flexible working patterns and equal opportunities in the European Union: Conflict or compatibility? *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 6(4): 391-418.

Perrons, D. (2000) Flexible working and equal opportunities in the United Kingdom: A case study from retail. *Environment and Planning A*, 32(10): 1719-1734.

Perrons, D. (2003) The New Economy and the Work-Life Balance: Conceptual Explorations and a Case Study of New Media. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 10(1): 65-93.

Perrons, D. (2004) Understanding Social and Spatial Divisions in the New Economy: New Media Clusters and the Digital Divide. *Economic Geography*, 80(1): 45-61.

Petersen, R. and Kern, R. (1996) Changing High Brow Tastes: From Snob to Omnivore and Univore. *Poetics*, 21(4): 243-258.

Plumridge, L. and Thomson, R. (2003) Longitudinal qualitative studies and the reflexive self. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6(3): 213-222.

Pocock, B. (2003) *The Work/Life Collision: What Work Is Doing to Australians and What to Do About It.* Federation Press: Sydney.

Präg, P. and Mills, M. (2014) *Family-related working schedule flexibility across Europe*. Short statistical report No. 6, JUST/2011/GEND/PR/1081/A4, April 2014. RAND Europe: Cambridge.

Pratt, A. (1996) Coordinating Employment, Transport and Housing in Cities: An Institutional Perspective. *Urban Studies*, 33(8): 1357-1375.

Pratt, G. and Hanson, S. (1991) On the Links between Home and Work: Family-Household Strategies in a Buoyant Labour Market. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 15(1): 55-74.

Pred, A. (1977) The Choreography of Existence: Comments on Hägerstrand's Time-Geography and Its Usefulness. *Economic Geography*, 53(2): 207-221.

Pred, A. (1981) Social Reproduction and the Time-Geography of Everyday Life. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 63(1): 5-22.

Pred, A. (1984) Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2): 279-297.

Presser, H. (2003) *Working in a 24/7 Economy: Challenges for American Families*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

Presser, H. (2006) 'Employment in a 24/7 Economy: Challenges for the Family', in D. Perrons, C. Fagan, L. McDowell, K. Ray and K. Ward (eds.), *Gender Divisions and Working Time in the New Economy* (pp. 35-57). Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

Pullinger, M. (2014) Working time reduction policy in a sustainable economy: Criteria and options for its design. *Ecological Economics*, 103(1): 11-19.

Pupo, N., Glenday, D. and Duffy, A. (2011) *The Shifting Landscapes of Work*. Nelson Education: Toronto.

Rakow, L. and Navarro, V. (1993) Remote mothering and the parallel shift: Women meet the cellular telephone. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 10(2): 144-157.

Reay, D., Crozier, G. and Clayton, J. (2010) 'Fitting in' or 'standing out': Working-class students in UK higher education. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(1): 107-124.

Reeves, R. (2001) *Happy Mondays: Putting the Pleasure Back Into Work*. Momentum: London.

Reimer, S. (1998) Working in a Risk Society. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 23(1): 116-127.

Reimer, S. (1999) "Getting by" in Time and Space: Fragmented Work in Local Authorities. *Economic Geography*, 75(2): 157-177.

Reisch, L. (2001) Time and Wealth: The Role of Time and Temporalities for Sustainable Patterns of Consumption. *Time & Society*, 10(2/3): 367-385.

Rifkin, J. (1987) *Time Wars: The Primary Conflict in Human History*. Henry Holt: New York.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. and Elam, G. (2003) 'Designing and Selecting Samples', in J. Ritchie and J. Lewis (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 77-108). Sage Publications: London.

Ritzer, G. (2009) *Globalisation: A Basic Text*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford.

Roberts, K. (2011) *Class in Contemporary Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Rodrigues, M. (2002) *The New Knowledge Economy in Europe: A Strategy for International Competitiveness and Social Cohesion.* Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

Roe, M. (2015) *Maritime Governance: Speed, Flow, Form, Process*. Springer: Cham.

Rosa, H. (2003) Social Acceleration: Ethical and Political Consequences of a Desynchronised High-Speed Society. *Constellations*, 10(1): 3-33.

Rosa, H. (2013) *Social Acceleration: A New Theory of Modernity*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Rose, D. and Pevalin, D. (2003) *A Researcher's Guide to the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification*. Sage Publications: London.

Rose, D. and Pevalin, D. (2005) *The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification: Origins, Development and Use*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Rose, D. and Pevalin, D. (2010) *Re-basing the NS-SEC on SOC 2010: A Report to ONS*. University of Essex, January 2010. Available at http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Rose, E. (2015) Temporal Flexibility and its Limits: The Personal Use of ICTs at Work. *Sociology*, 49(3): 505-520.

Rose, G. (1993) *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Rose, N. (1996) 'Governing "Advanced" Liberal Democracies', in A. Barry, T. Osborne and N. Rose (eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason* (pp. 37-64). Chicago University Press: Chicago.

Rose, N. (1999) *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Rose, N. and Miller, P. (1992) Political power beyond the state: problematic of government. *British Journal of Sociology*, 43(2): 173-205.

Ross, A. (2003) *No-Collar: The Humane Workplace and its Hidden Costs*. Basic Books: New York.

Rubery, J. (2015) Change at work: Feminisation, Flexibilisation, Fragmentation and Financialisation. *Employee Relations*, 37(6): 633-644.

Rubery, J., Grimshaw, D., Hebson, G. and Ugarte, S. (2015) "It's All About Time": Time as Contested Terrain in the Management and Experience of Domiciliary Care Work in England. *Human Resource Management*, 54(5): 753-772.

Rubery, J., Ward, K., Grimshaw, D. and Beynon, H. (2005) Working Time, Industrial Relations and the Employment Relationship. *Time & Society*, 14(1): 89-111.

Ruddick, S. (1982) 'Maternal Thinking', in B. Thorne and M. Yalom (eds.), *Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions* (pp. 76-94). Longman: New York.

Russell Bernard, H. (2011) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. AltaMira Press: Lanham.

Russell Bernard, H. and Ryan, G. (2010) *Analysing Qualitative Data: Systematic Approaches*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Rutherford, S. (2001) 'Are You Going Home Already?': The long hours culture, women managers and patriarchal closure. *Time & Society*, 10(2/3): 259-276.

Ryan, G. and Russell Bernard, H. (2003) Techniques to Identify Themes. *Field Methods*, 15(1): 85-109.

Sandelowski, M. (1995) Qualitative analysis: What it is and how to begin. *Research in Nursing and Health*, 18(4): 371-375.

Savage, M. (2000) *Class Analysis and Social Transformations*. Open University Press: Buckingham.

Savage, M., Devine, F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman, S. and Miles, A. (2013) A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology*, 47(2): 219-250.

Scheer, F., Hilton, M., Mantzoros, C., Shea, S. (2009) Adverse metabolic and cardiovascular consequences of circadian misalignment. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 106(11): 4453-4458.

Scheurich, J. and McKenzie, K. (2005) 'Foucault's methodologies: Archaeology and genealogy', in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (3rd Edition)* (pp. 841-869). Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Schieman, S. and Young, M. (2010) Is There a Downside to Schedule Control for the Work-Family Interface? *Journal of Family Issues*, 31(10): 1391-1414.

Schor, J. (1992) *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure*. Basic Books: New York.

Schor, J. (1998) *The Overspent American: Upscaling, Downshifting and the New Consumer*. Basic Books: New York.

Schor, J. (2005) Sustainable Consumption and Worktime Reduction. *Journal of Industrial Ecology*, 9(1/2): 37-50.

Schor, J. (2006) 'Overturning the Modernist Predictions: Recent Trends in Work and Leisure in the OECD', in C. Rojek, S. Shaw and A. Veal (eds.), *A Handbook of Leisure Studies* (pp. 203-215). Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Schwanen, T. (2006) On 'arriving on time', but what is 'on time'? *Geoforum*, 37(6): 882-894.

Schwanen, T. (2007) Gender Differences in Chauffeuring Children among Dual-Earner Families. *The Professional Geographer*, 59(4): 447-462.

Schwanen, T. (2008) Struggling with Time: Investigating Coupling Constraints. *Transport Reviews*, 28(3): 337-356.

Schwanen, T. and Atkinson, S. (2015) Geographies of wellbeing: An introduction. *The Geographical Journal*, 181(2): 98-101.

Schwanen, T. and de Jong, T. (2008) Exploring the Juggling of Responsibilities with Space-Time Accessibility Analysis. *Urban Geography*, 29(6): 556-580.

Schwanen, T. and Kwan, M. (2008) The Internet, mobile phone and space-time constraints. *Geoforum*, 39(3): 1362-1377.

Schwanen, T. and Kwan, M. (2012) Critical space-time geographies: Thinking the spatiotemporal. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(9): 2043-2048.

Schwanen, T., Kwan, M. and Ren, F. (2014) The internet and the gender division of household labour. *The Geographical Journal*, 180(1): 52-64.

Schwanen, T., van Aalst, I., Brands, J. and Timan, T. (2012) Rhythms of the Night: Spatiotemporal Inequalities in the Night-Time Economy. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(9): 2064-2085.

Schwartz, L. (2011) *A Serious Endeavour: Gender, Education and Community at St. Hugh's, 1886-2011*. Profile Books: London.

Scott, J. (1996) *Stratification and Power: Structures of Class, Status and Command*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Scott, K. (2015) Happiness on your doorstep: Disputing the boundaries of wellbeing and localism. *The Geographical Journal*, 181(2): 129-137.

Sennett, R. (1998) *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. W. W. Norton: New York.

Sewell, W. (1992) A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(1): 1-29.

Shaw, J. (2001) ''Winning territory': Changing place to change pace', in J. May and N. Thrift (eds.), *Timespace: Geographies of Temporality* (pp. 120-132). Routledge: London.

Sheard, L. (2011) 'Anything Could Have Happened': Women, the Night-time Economy, Alcohol and Drink Spiking. *Sociology*, 45(4): 619-633.

Shirani, F. and Henwood, K. (2011) Taking one day at a time: Temporal experiences in the context of unexpected lifecourse transitions. *Time & Society*, 20(1): 49-68.

Shirani, F., Henwood, K. and Coltart, C. (2012) Meeting the Challenges of Intensive Parenting Culture: Gender, Risk Management and the Moral Parent. *Sociology*, 46(1): 25-40.

Shockley, K. and Allen, T. (2007) When flexibility helps: Another look at the availability of flexible work arrangements and work-family conflict. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 71(3): 479-493.

Shore, C. and Wright, S. (1999) Audit Culture and Anthropology: Neo-Liberalism in British Higher Education. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5(4): 557-575.

Shove, E. (2002) *Rushing around: Coordination, mobility and inequality*. Draft paper for the Mobile Network meeting, October 2002, Lancaster University. Available at http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/staff/shove/choreography/rushingaround.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Shove, E. (2003) *Comfort, Cleanliness and Convenience: The Social Organisation of Normality*. Berg: London.

Shove, E. (2009) 'Everyday Practice and the Production and Consumption of Time', in E. Shove, F. Trentmann and R. Wilk (eds.), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life: Practice, Materiality and Culture* (pp. 17-33). Berg: Oxford.

Shove, E. (2010) Beyond the ABC: Climate change policy and theories of social change. *Environment and Planning A*, 42(6): 1273-1285.

Shove, E., Trentmann, F. and Wilk, R. (2009) *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life: Practice, Materiality and Culture*. Berg: Oxford.

Simone, A. and Fauzan, A. (2013) Majority time: Operations in the midst of Jakarta. *The Sociological Review*, 61(S1): 109-123.

Simons, N. (2009) '"Me TV": Towards Changing TV Viewing Practices?', in D. De Grooff, P. Cesar and D. Geerts (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th European Conference on European Interactive Television* (pp. 219-222). ACM: New York.

Simons, N. (2015) TV drama as a social experience: An empirical investigation of the social dimensions of watching TV drama in the age of non-linear television. *Communications*, 40(2): 219-236.

Simpson, P. (2008) Chronic everyday life: Rhythmanalysing street performance. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 9(7): 807-829.

Simpson, P. (2012) Apprehending everyday rhythms: Rhythmanalysis, time-lapse photography, and the space-times of street performance. *Cultural Geographies*, 19(4): 423-445.

Skeggs, B. (2004) *Class, Self, Culture*. Routledge: London.

Skinner, C. (2003) *Running around in circles: Coordinating childcare, education and work*. The Policy Press: Bristol.

Skinner, C. (2005) Coordinating Points: A Hidden Factor in Reconciling Work and Family Life. *Journal of Social Policy*, 34(1): 99-119.

Smith, R. and Hall, T. (2013) No time out: Mobility, rhythmicity and urban patrol in the twenty-four hour city. *The Sociological Review*, 61(S1): 89-108.

Smith, R. and Hetherington, K. (2013) Urban rhythms: Mobilities, space and interaction in the contemporary city. *The Sociological Review*, 61(S1): 4-16.

Sorokin, P. and Merton, R. (1937) Social Time: A Methodological and Functional Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 42(5): 615-629.

Southerton, D. (2003) 'Squeezing Time': Allocating practices, co-ordinating networks and scheduling society. *Time & Society*, 12(1): 5-25.

Southerton, D. (2006) Analysing the Temporal Organisation of Daily Life: Social Constraints, Practices and their Allocation. *Sociology*, 40(3): 435-454.

Southerton, D. (2007) Time pressure, technology and gender: The conditioning of temporal experiences in the UK. *Equal Opportunities International*, 26(2): 113-128.

Southerton, D. and Tomlinson, M. (2005) 'Pressed for time' – the differential aspects of a 'time squeeze'. *The Sociological Review*, 53(2): 215-239.

Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. and Dillon, L. (2003) *Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A framework for assessing research evidence*. National Centre for Social Research and Government Chief Social Researcher's Office, August 2003. Available at https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/sites/default/files/166_policy_hub_a_quality_framework.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Staeheli, L. (2011) Political geography: Where's citizenship? *Progress in Human Geography*, 35(3): 393-400.

Stake, R. (1994) 'Case studies', in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 236-247). Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Stake, R. (1995) *The Art of Case Study Research*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Standing, G. (2011) *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. Bloomsbury: London.

Standing, G. (2013) Tertiary Time: The Precariat's Dilemma. *Public Culture*, 25(1): 5-23.

Standing, G. (2014) *A Precariat Charter: From Denizens to Citizens*. Bloomsbury: London.

Steger, M. and Roy, R. (2010) *Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Stouffer, S. (1941) Notes on the case-study and the unique case. *Sociometry*, 4(1): 349-357.

Strazdins, L., Clements, M., Korda, R., Broom, D. and Souza, R. (2006) Unsociable Work? Nonstandard Work Schedules, Family Relationships and Children's Wellbeing. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(2): 394-410.

Strazdins, L., Korda, R., Lim, L., Broom, D. and Souza, R (2004) Around-the-clock: Parent work schedules and children's wellbeing in a 24-h economy. *Social Science and Medicine*, 59(7): 1517-1527.

Stroh, M. (2000) 'Qualitative Interviewing', in D. Burton (ed.), *Research Training for Social Scientists: A Handbook for Postgraduate Researchers* (pp. 196-214). Sage Publications: London.

Sturges, J. (2013) A matter of time: Young professionals' experiences of long work hours. *Work, Employment and Society*, 27(2): 343-359.

Sullivan, O. (1996) Time Coordination, the Domestic Division of Labour and Affective Relations: Time Use and the Enjoyment of Activities within Couples. *Sociology*, 30(1): 79-100.

Sullivan, O. (2008) Busyness, Status Distinction and Consumption Strategies of the Income Rich and Time Poor. *Time & Society*, 17(1): 5-26.

Suzuki, K., Ohida, T., Kaneita, Y., Yokoyama, E., Miyake, T., Harano, S., Yagi, Y., Ibuka, E., Kaneko, A., Tsutsui, T. and Uchiyama, M. (2004) Mental Health Status, Shift Work and Occupational Accidents among Hospital Nurses in Japan. *Journal of Occupational Health*, 46(6): 448-454.

Symes, C. (1999) Chronicles of Labour: A discourse analysis of dairies. *Time & Society*, 8(2): 357-380.

Tang, N. (2002) Interviewer and Interviewee Relationships Between Women. *Sociology*, 36(3): 703-721.

Thomas, C. (1993) De-constructing Concepts of Care. *Sociology*, 27(4): 649-669.

Thompson, E. (1967) Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism. *Past and Present*, 38(1): 56-97.

Thompson, J. and Bunderson, J. (2001) Work-Nonwork Conflict and the Phenomenology of Time: Beyond the Balance Metaphor. *Work and Occupations*, 28(1): 17-39.

Thrift, N. (1996a) New Urban Eras and Old Technological Fears: Reconfiguring the Goodwill of Electronic Things. *Urban Studies*, 33(8): 1463-1493.

Thrift, N. (1996b) *Spatial Formations*. Sage Publications: London.

Thrift, N. (2000) Still Life in Nearly Present Time: The Object of Nature. *Body and Society*, 6(3/4): 34-57.

Toynbee, P. (2003) *Hard Work: Life in Low-Pay Britain*. Bloomsbury: London.

Trnka, S. and Trundle, C. (2014) Competing Responsibilities: Moving Beyond Neoliberal Responsibilisation. *Anthropological Forum*, 24(2): 136-153.

University of Oxford (2013) *University of Oxford Strategic Plan 2013-18*. Available at http://www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/field/field_document/Strategic%20Plan%202013-18.pdf (last accessed 18th April 2016).

University of Oxford (2015) *Personnel Services UAS, Staffing Figures.* Available at http://www.admin.ox.ac.uk/personnel/figures/ (last accessed 18th April 2016).

University of Oxford (2016a) *Introduction and History.* Available at https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/organisation/history?wssl=1 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

University of Oxford (2016b) *Facts and Figures – Full Version*. Available at https://www.ox.ac.uk/about/facts-and-figures/full-version-facts-and-figures?wssl=1 (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Urry, J. (1994) Time, Leisure and Social Identity. *Time & Society*, 3(2): 131-149.

Urry, J. (2000) *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. Routledge: London.

Urry, J. (2009) 'Speeding Up and Slowing Down', in H. Rosa and W. Scheuerman (eds.), *High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity* (pp. 179-198). Pennsylvania State University Press: University Park.

Valentine, G. (2005) Geography and ethics: Moral geographies? Ethical commitment in research and teaching. *Progress in Human Geography*, 29(4): 483-487.

Valentine, G. and Harris, C. (2014) Strivers vs skivers: Class prejudice and the demonisation of dependency in everyday life. *Geoforum*, 53(1): 84-92.

Valentine, G. and McKendrick, J. (1997) Children's Outdoor Play: Exploring Parental Concerns About Children's Safety and the Changing Nature of Childhood. *Geoforum*, 28(2): 219-235.

Veblen, T. (1899) *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. George Allen and Unwin: London.

Verd, J. and Lopez, M. (2011) The Rewards of a Qualitative Approach to Life-Course Research: The Example of the Effects of Social Protection Policies on Career Paths. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 12(3): Art. 15.

Verhoef, M., Tammelin, M., May, V., Rönkä, A. and Roeters, A. (2015) Childcare and parental work schedules: A comparison of childcare arrangements among Finnish, British and Dutch dual-earner families. *Community, Work and Family*, doi: 10.1080/13668803.2015.1024609.

Virilio, P. (1986) *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology (2nd Edition)*. Semiotext(e): New York.

Virilio, P. (1997) *Open Sky*. Verso: London.

Virilio, P. (2000) *Polar Inertia*. Sage Publications: London.

Wajcman, J. (2015) *Pressed for Time: The Acceleration of Life in Digital Capitalism*. Chicago University Press: Chicago.

Wajcman, J. and Bittman, M. (2004) 'The rush hour: The character of leisure time and gender equity', in M. Bittman and N. Folbre (eds.), *Family Time: The Social Organisation of Care* (pp. 171-193). Routledge: London.

Wajcman, J., Bittman, M. and Brown, J. (2008) Families without Borders: Mobile Phones, Connectedness and Work-Home Divisions. *Sociology*, 42(4): 635-652.

Walker, A. (2011) 'Creativity loves constraints': The paradox of Google's twenty percent time. *Ephemera*, 11(4): 369-386.

Warde, A., Shove, E. and Southerton, D. (1998) *Convenience, Schedules and Sustainability*. European Science Foundation Workshop on Consumption, Everyday Life and Sustainability, Lancaster University, March 1998. Available at http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/projects/esf/convenience.htm (last accessed 18th April 2016).

Warf, B. (2008) *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies*. Routledge: London.

Warf, B. (2013) Contemporary digital divides in the United States. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 104(1): 1-17.

Warren, T. (2003) Class- and Gender-based Working Time? Time Poverty and the Domestic Division of Labour. *Sociology*, 37(4): 733-752.

Warren, T. (2015a) Work-time underemployment and financial hardship: Class inequalities and recession in the UK. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(2): 191-212.

Warren, T. (2015b) Work-life balance/imbalance: The dominance of the middle class and the neglect of the working class. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 66(4): 691-717.

Warren, T., Fox, E. and Pascall, G. (2009) Innovative Social Policies: Implications for Work-life Balance among Low-waged Women in England. *Gender, Work and Organisation*, 16(1): 126-150.

Wearden, J. (2005) Origins and developments of internal clock theories of psychological time. *Psychologie Française*, 50(1): 7-25.

Wharton, C. (1994) Finding Time for the 'Second Shift': The Impact of Flexible Work Schedules on Women's Double Days. *Gender and Society*, 8(2): 189-205.

Whitrow, G. (1972) *What Is Time?* Thames and Hudson: London.

Wilkinson, E. (2014) Single people's geographies of home: Intimacy and friendship beyond 'the family'. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(10): 2452-2468.

Williams, J. (1999) *Unbending Gender: Why Family and Work Conflict and What To Do About It*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Willmott, H. (1993) Strength is ignorance; Slavery is freedom: Managing culture in modern organisations. *Journal of Management Studies*, 30(4): 515-552.

Woodman, D. (2012) Life out of Synch: How New Patterns of Further Education and the Rise of Precarious Employment Are Reshaping Young People's Relationships. *Sociology*, 46(6): 1074-1090.

Wunderlich, F. (2013) Place-Temporality and Urban Place-Rhythms in Urban Analysis and Design: An Aesthetic Akin to Music. *Journal of Urban Design*, 18(3): 383-408.

Yazan, B. (2015) Three Approaches to Case Study Methods in Education: Yin, Merriam and Stake. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(2): 134-152.

Yin, R. (2014) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (5th Edition)*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

Young, M. (1988) *The Metronomic Society: Natural Rhythms and Human Timetables*. Thames and Hudson: London.

Yu, H. and Shaw, S. (2007) 'Revisiting Hägerstrand's Time-Geographic Framework for Individual Activities in the Age of Instant Access', in. H. Miller (ed.), *Societies and Cities in the Age of Instant Access* (pp. 103-118). Springer Science, Dordrecht.

Zerubavel, E. (1976) Timetables and Scheduling: On the Social Organisation of Time. *Sociological Inquiry*, 46(2): 87-94.

Zerubavel, E. (1979) *Patterns of Time in Hospital Life: A Sociological Perspective*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Zerubavel, E. (1981) *Hidden Rhythms: Schedules and Calendars in Social Life*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview schedule

1) Opening questions – Start with some general questions about organisation and experiences of working here.

- How came to be working here? Recent life and career history?
- Expand upon job role and day-to-day tasks involved?
- What it's like to work here? The culture or personality of the organisation?
- If I say the word 'time', is there anything that immediately comes to mind?

2) Timeline exercise – Now focus more specifically on time and do a short exercise.

- Construct a timeline of yesterday (or most recent working day) – even if not a 'typical' day. Talk me through events of day, from waking up to going to bed, with approximate timings.

3) Timing – Now focus on the dimension of 'timing', so looking at when precisely things happen during the day, and in relation to other events.

- Arrived at work at X o'clock: What led to arrival at that time? How did it fit in with other events around that time?
- Is this typical at present? How much flexibility is there over time of arrival? Recent example(s) of arriving at notably different time? Causes and consequences of this?

- Focusing specifically on time spent at work: What factors influenced timing of the various events that took place? Was their conscious planning of events? How much flexibility was there over timings? Awareness of the clock and passing of time throughout the day?
- Left work at X o'clock: What led to departure at that time? How did it fit in with other events around that time?
- Is this typical at present? How much flexibility is there over time of departure? Recent example(s) of leaving at notably different time? Causes and consequences of this?
- Any implications regarding arrival and departure times as compared to other colleagues? And for attempts to coordinate with others outside of work? How does schedule overlap or contrast with family and friends?

4) Duration – Now think about the number of hours worked.

- Worked about X hours on this day: Is this typical at present? What does average week look like? Any variation – both over short and long term? Feelings about current hours?
- What are main reasons or drivers behind hours worked? Specific example(s) from recent weeks?
- Considering amount of time spent at work relative to home, what is relationship between these two domains? Does one feel more dominant than the other? Is there clear distinction or boundary between the two? Are there conscious attempts to maintain or alter this?

- Did about X hours of unpaid work on this day: Is this typical at present? How are domestic and caring responsibilities divided within household? Is there any routine or structure to this work? How did this arrangement come about?

5) Tempo – Now focus on the 'tempo' or speed of work and everyday life.

- Were there parts of this day that felt particularly fast-paced or rushed? What made these periods feel like that? [MARK ON TIMELINE IN RED]
- Or that felt slower or calmer? What made these periods feel like that? [MARK ON TIMELINE IN BLUE]
- Is this typical at present? Other example(s) from recent weeks? If not, when are fast-paced and slower moments more generally?
- Has there been any noticeable change in overall tempo in recent times? In which aspects of life? What would you attribute this to?
- [IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED] There seems to be a perception amongst some parts of society that life is speeding up and that there are greater pressures upon our time nowadays. Any thoughts on this?

6) Closing questions – Finish with a couple of more general questions.

- Is there active attempt to manage work-life balance? In what ways? Any recent attempts to alter aspects of working time – be it timing, duration or tempo? What was the outcome?
- We've talked about X, Y and Z: Is there anything else to add?

Appendix 2: Pre-interview questionnaire

Part 1 - Individual and family characteristics:

1) Age:

☐ 19 or under
☐ 20-29
☐ 30-39
☐ 40-49
☐ 50-59
☐ 60 or over

2) Marital status:

☐ Single
☐ Married, Civil partnership or Long-term partner
☐ Separated or Divorced
☐ Widowed

3) Household status:

☐ Sole adult occupant
☐ Co-habit with other tenants
☐ Co-habit with partner
☐ Other – Please provide details:

4) Number and ages of children (where relevant):

5) Outside of paid employment, and excluding your own children, do you provide care or support to any individuals because of either physical or mental ill-health, or problems related to old age:

☐ Yes – Please provide details (including number of hours a week):
☐ No

6) Is your partner engaged in paid employment (where relevant):

☐ Yes – Please provide details (including job title and number of hours a week):

☐ No

7) Postcode area of current residence (e.g. OX11):

Part 2 - Education and employment characteristics:

8) At which of these stages did you leave formal education:

Secondary education:

☐ Aged 16 or under, without school / college qualification
☐ Aged 16 or under, with school / college qualification (e.g. GCSE, CSE, O-Level)
☐ Aged 17-18, with school / college qualification (e.g. A Level, Diploma)

Tertiary education:

☐ Vocational qualification (e.g. Foundation Degree, Diploma of Higher Education)
☐ Undergraduate or postgraduate degree (e.g. BA, BSc, MA, MSc, PhD)

9) Length of time with current organisation (years / months):

10) Official job title:

11) Are you responsible for managing fellow employees:

☐ Yes – Please provide details (including number of employees):
☐ No

12) Contract type:

☐ Permanent (Full-time or Part-time)
☐ Fixed-term
☐ Temporary or Agency
☐ Zero hour
☐ Freelancer, Consultant or Contractor
☐ Other – Please provide details:

13) Do you have set contractual working hours:

☐ Yes – Please provide details (including number of hours a week and shift patterns, if relevant):
☐ No

14) Remuneration type (please tick / check all that apply):

☐ Flat rate (i.e. set weekly, monthly or yearly rate, based on set hours)
☐ Time rate (i.e. set rate per hour)
☐ Bonuses
☐ Commission
☐ Profit related (i.e. linked to organisational profits)
☐ Performance related (i.e. linked to individual or team performance targets)
☐ Other – Please provide details:

15) Besides this job, are you engaged in any other paid employment:

☐ Yes – Please provide details (including job title and number of hours a week):

☐ No

Appendix 3: Example timeline exercise