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Telework and the Changing Relationship of Home and Work

Leslie Haddon and Roger Silverstone

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This chapter deals with the following three questions:

- 1) Has the availability of telecoms-related and computer-related technologies been a significant factor encouraging and enabling home-based telework?
- 2) Is teleworking likely to introduce major changes into the organisation of domestic life, and with what implications for all Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the home?
- 3) Will the introduction into the home and use of ICTs for work purposes lead to these technologies being used by household members other than the teleworker and used for purposes other than telework?

These questions indicate that our aims are different from the existing literature on telework. They are different in two ways. Much of the research on telework has focused on reasons for and factors affecting the success of this working arrangement. Although our own research may provide insights into these issues our main concern is with the way in which telework could potentially have implications for home life. Second, we address what we regard as the key questions concerning the technologies used by teleworkers, since this study is part of a larger programme of research which examines how ICTs are experienced by different social groups. Hence, the organisation of telework is dealt with in so far as it has ramifications for these technologies. A more detailed analysis of both telework and the ICTs used in teleworking is currently being prepared as a separate document.

A few preliminary points need to be made about the scope of our research. Since the focus of our general research programme is on ICTs in the home, our operational definition of teleworkers included people working at home using, as a minimum requirement, microcomputers and the telephone in the course of their work. This definition includes, therefore, the self-employed and individual employee initiatives as well as teleworking schemes initiated and organised by employers. We are aware of

definitional controversies concerning the term 'telework', and clearly our sample will fit in with some the definitions and not others. But those very definitions have been developed in relation to issues around and theories about the organisation of work. For us, the interesting questions emerge from the effects of the entry of paid labour into the home, and the way in which work provides a route for ICTs to enter the home.

Throughout this paper we will demonstrate that it is not appropriate to simply talk about the 'impact' of these new working arrangements on home life. Domestic life has its own rhythms and routines, its temporal and spatial patterns, its shared values and rules as well as its domestic conflicts. These all shape how teleworking can enter the home and whether and how it can be accommodated. Hence, although the arrival of telework can have a bearing on those domestic patterns, telework also has to be adjusted to fit in with home life.

Finally, both telework and domestic life have their own dynamic. Telework can change in terms of such matters as its content, the necessity for contactability, the balance of work inside and outside the home, the spatial requirements of work and the times when work has to take place. In households, the fact that children are born and grow up introduces constantly changing demands on domestic space and time. Relationships also change, with tensions, conflicts, the negotiation of new ways of organising household life, the break up of households and the formation of new ones. There is also material change, with the introduction of new goods, including ICTs, and indeed, the acquisition of new homes and hence opportunities for new spatial arrangements.

The consequence of these dynamics is that the experience of telework changes. It can take place at different times in different places. At times it can become more stressful, as new problems constantly emerge - at other times it can be easier to accommodate. As a result, we can talk of teleworking careers and telework trajectories, whereby people come to telework from a variety of routes, their experience of it changes over time and, after longer or shorter periods, some give it up and return to office-based work - or else cease to be part of the labour force.

Key Questions

While the introductory questions give an instant overview of the content of this paper, they require some further elaboration. The first question addresses the extent to which the growth of teleworking has been technologically driven and is technologically determined. The answer can in part be drawn from the existing telework literature, but the emphasis here is on the variation which our own study of teleworkers reveals. Basically, teleworkers are a very heterogeneous group who have come to telework for different reasons. In addition, the status of telework varies in different households. What we are specifically interested in here is the centrality of ICTs in different forms of telework. Some patterns can be identified.

The second question derives from our general interest in ICTs' role in domestic life. For example, in principle telework offers flexibility in temporal and spatial patterns: if they do not have to go into an office, teleworkers can work at any time and anywhere. This

could well have a bearing on the use of all ICTs - not only work-related technologies, but also patterns of media consumption. So how does the dialectic between telework and home life structure where ICTs are located, and hence how they can be displayed and accessed by others? How does it structure how ICTs are regulated and used? Finally, how are ICTs implicated in the actual process of managing telework, and coping with the problems which telework throws up?

The third, related, set of questions concerns the way in which telework can provide a route for new ICTs to enter the home as well as transform the meaning of technologies already present. What new meaning do technologies take on and what are their careers? In what circumstances can the presence of these ICTs create new skills and competences? How might technologies acquired or used for work purposes also start to take on a domestic role, finding applications relating to the home or being used by others in the home?

ICTs enabling Telework

There are some forms of telework where ICTs play an essential role. Examples from our research include a software designer, someone programming on a distant mainframe computer via a modem, a researcher conducting data analysis using a software package and a computer conference mediator. In all these cases, which predominantly consists of employees, the tasks would have been impractical without ICTs. Either the telecoms link for programming, receiving or sending data is vital, or else the growth of microcomputers in the workplace has meant that computer staff can now bring their essential tools home - they are no longer tied to work because of the need to access a centralised facility.

These types of telework can be contrasted with cases where the work could have been conducted from home without ICTs. Examples include a secretary doing word-processing at home, various report writers, a media researcher, an editor, an accountant, an administrator for a book distribution business, a systems analyst who produces feasibility reports, someone running a childcare agency and an abstract writer. In other words, these teleworkers, predominantly self-employed, are involved in text production or else clerical or professional forms of administration.

Many of these have not possess only computers but also have a wide range of other ICTs, such as photocopiers, faxes and modems, which no doubt facilitate their work. These ICTs make the work easier and quicker and they offer some new options (e.g. consulting distant databases without needing to travel). Indeed, ICTs might have become more essential given clients expectations about the speed of production or their desire for electronic output. Yet, this work could have taken place in the past without the aid of new ICTs. In fact, in our sample, both the editor and abstract writer had worked for nearly 20 years at home, only starting to use new telecoms and electronic technology as they appeared in the 1970s and 1980s. Before this the only technologies they used where the typewriter and basic phone. These examples represent forms of professional and clerical work - not captured in literature on traditional manufacturing homework - which have always been conducted at home by a few.

In between these two sets of teleworker, there are some people for whom ICTs are more than just a facilitator because of magnitude of task and time pressures involved. For these, mostly but not exclusively self-employed, ICTs make telework more of a feasible option. Examples include an executive managing director, a publisher trading in international book rights, and various consultants producing substantial reports and packages at short notice. In these cases, communication is a significant element in their work, or else they are producing major texts in a short time span which require a professional appearance. The existence of ICTs providing the kind of personalised technological back-up that they might expect in an office had made teleworking viable.

In sum, there are different degrees to which technology is a facilitator of telework, with one key variable being employment status. But even where ICTs have been relatively more important for conducting the telework, it is important to appreciate that they act as an enabling force rather than driving one. For companies, the social-economic factors driving telework such as the need to reduce building overheads or to retain staff have already well documented in the telework literature. Equally, social considerations shape individuals' decision to telework. For example, they do so in order to spend more time with or better manage children, to cut down commuting. For some, it is a positive lifestyle choice. For others it is merely the best or only option available. Lastly, to the extent that there have been macro changes in the number of teleworkers in the country, this is also the result of social causes. This includes a greater awareness of this option, the fact that working at home has become more acceptable to employers or clients, the rise of teleworker organisations offering various kinds of support and - more negatively - the massive restructuring of companies in the recession which for some means telework is the only alternative to unemployment or early retirement.

Telework and Change in Everyday Domestic Life

Any temporal flexibility which telework may offer is in practice constrained by social factors. First, there are the demands of work. These include the requirement of employees to co-ordinate activities with others who are working core hours in an office or the need to be contactable at certain times. Our case studies reveal instances of managers regularly having to face crises at times not of their own choosing, and of clerical and professional self-employed teleworkers working longer hours than they would like because of rush jobs, the need to bring new products to market, consultancy deadlines, or short-term notice of work.

At the same time, teleworkers often experience pressures to synchronise their non-work with others both inside and outside the home. Female clerical teleworkers, and some professionals, who cannot afford to pay for childcare can often only work when the children are not around or when their partners can look after them. In cases where young children are present, this means working in the evenings and at weekends. Or some teleworkers try to keep weekends free to retain a place in the community - since that is when social activities are most likely to occur. In addition, many teleworkers prefer to stick to the approximate times when they used to work in offices because this routine helps their self-discipline.

In response to these pressures of work and domestic life, key temporal patterns emerge. In one, work is relatively more imposed upon domestic life and, if necessary, household routines have to be adjusted. For example, many employees on telework schemes continue to work in the day and so that time is blocked out for work: they do not suddenly take on more domestic tasks by virtue of being home nor do they make themselves totally accessible to others in the household. Alternatively, the demands of work may mean it takes place outside traditional office hours - but again, work takes precedence. This appears to be a more masculine style, but one also adopted by some women, particularly professional employees. In contrast, a more common female pattern, especially clear where the telework is part-time, involves fitting work into domestic rhythms, fitting it in around the times when the children or partners are absent and hence not making demands, or fitting it in between other domestic responsibilities.

In terms of when work takes place, the pattern whereby telework is imposed on home life is more often associated with virtually no change from core office hours. There may be just a little more flexibility than flexitime offers, which is often useful for child management. The contrasting pattern involves working non-standard hours - either when work is fragmented and fitted in and/or performed in the evenings at weekends. For those working long hours, of course, prioritising work may mean working both the core day and evening and weekend work. Clearly any pattern which involves working outside normal office core time has implications for the use of all ICTs in the home - for example, patterns of TV-watching, video use and radio listening can also change for these teleworkers

Social constraints also affect the location of telework. Although regular commitments to visit one or more worksites may limit teleworkers' choice of where they would want to live, of far more significance is domestic inertia. Teleworkers are established in houses, are part of communities, the children have friends at local schools and have partners whose own work commitments have to be considered. In our sample, only one household, where both partners teleworked, was considering relocating in the south of France. On the whole, the flexibility offered by telework does not lead people to radically relocate and decamp to the countryside.

The spatial of location of telework within homes is also constrained by domestic considerations. One common image of teleworking is that where telework is conducted in a home office - and hence, work-related ICTs are based in a separate defined work space. This does happen, although it is more likely in the case of professional teleworkers because they tend to have bigger homes. But even professional teleworkers and certainly clerical ones often operated in a shared space: multi-purpose rooms, guests rooms, dining rooms, often bedrooms, caravans and even in kitchens. The point is that both work and, especially, children made competing demands on space. Because these demands changes over time, as work changes, as children grew older, telework sometimes has to move around the house, at one point taking place in a dining room, at another in a bedroom, at another, if a larger house is acquired, in a study. Such constraints on space become significant for the teleworker's scope for impression management, for creating an image of their telework both to other household members and to outsiders. This includes constraints on the manner in which they can display their technology as a means to identify with high-tech images of telework.

Making time and finding space for telework involves some negotiation within households - albeit negotiation where some household members may well be able to mobilise more power than others. In particular, teleworkers have the problem of boundary maintenance: to greater or lesser extents, separating work and home life and preventing the mutual interference. One level at which boundary maintenance operates involves creating rules and understandings about the accessibility of teleworkers to other household members or contactability for either work or social purposes.

This form of boundary maintenance may involve ICTs to the extent that both incoming work and social phone calls are directed to certain time spots, or to different phones or are controlled by the use of answerphones. Here we have an instance of using ICTs to manage telework. Teleworkers mainly used the answerphone, and to some extent the fax, to control the timing of communication, taking and responding to different types of message when it suits them. This allows them to better control interruptions - from work or social calls - to whatever task is at hand. In addition, technologies such as the answerphone enable teleworkers to control the impression they gave to the public world of work, allowing them to disguise their location and distance themselves from the domestic setting which threatens to intrude if the phone is answered by other household members or through extraneous noise.

Another dimension of boundary maintenance also involves impression management: being able to convey to outsiders - clients, employers and others contacted in the course of work - the image of being in a workplace. This often means regulating how telephones are answered and who can answer them under what conditions. It can also mean regulating the sound regime of the home in general or at least the spaces in proximity to telework - so that domestic noise neither interferes with work nor creates the wrong impression for outsiders. This also includes regulating sound for ICTs such as the TV.

The final dimension of boundary maintenance involves the use of work-related ICTs: stipulating whether and when different household members can have access to ICTs. There are sometimes tensions, for example, over the use of computers by children where teleworkers fear it may damage the hard- or software. And certainly, access to shared micros by others in the household is likely to take second priority to the teleworker's own use. Similarly, multiple use of a single phone line can lead to conflicts over the way domestic calls may block the line and hinder incoming work-calls. In cases where ICTs like microcomputers or phone lines are shared, this again means potential conflict and trying to establish rules about use: rules which may be accepted or flouted. Alternatively, for those such as teleworking employees where equipment is supplied by employers or professional self-employed teleworkers, the solution is avoid sharing ICT resources and instead acquire a second (or third) computer dedicated to work or one or more extra phone lines specifically for work.

Beyond issues of time, space and boundary maintenance, teleworking also has a bearing on and is affected by a range of social relationships within the household. Not only do the responses of other household members, particularly partners, have to be taken into account when considering telework. They can support, or alternatively resist, telework in a variety of ways and may be enrolled in the actual work itself. Partners can support telework in practical terms, by taking over childcare or keeping children away from teleworker, enforcing boundaries and regulations. This appears to be far more significant,

for example, than doing more to help with routine domestic tasks: telework apparently makes little difference to gendered division of labour in more households.

In addition, partners and sometimes children literally help with the work. Sometimes this assistance as auxiliary labour involves no particular help with the actual technology of production: to may, for instance, involve picking up and delivering work material or acting as a sounding board for ideas. However, sometimes others in the household take part in the production process, either, if male partners usually, acting as a technical support or else using ICTs and developing new computer and telephone skills.

Finally, social networks outside the home can play a role in supporting telework. Most often, such support has no bearing on actual technologies: it may be in the form of networks who can help take on some of the workload, provide additional childcare back-up or simply provide social contact to overcome any sense of isolation. But that support also includes networks who, like partners, can provide technical advice and assistance relating to the teleworker's ICTs.

Work ICTs in the Home

In some cases, ICTs enter the home for the first time because of telework. Examples include the microcomputer itself and related scanners, modems, new software, faxes, answerphones, photocopiers. Telework undoubtedly provides a route for such ICTs to enter the home for the first time, with the possibility that both teleworkers and other household members will use them within new patterns of activities, and that they will spill over into home life.

But an equally likely consequence of telework's arrival is the further multiplication of ICTs which are already possessed: i.e. a second or third micro, another telephone line or two, a second answerphone etc. This too is an important dimension of the way ICTs diffuse to homes - and within them, since a process technological inheritance sometimes takes place whereby children or partners acquire, for example, the old microcomputer when a new one arrives for telework. The fact that they now have individual rights of possession and access to a technology, compared to the previous situation of conflicting demands on a shared household resource, can make a difference to their usage of the technology.

The third process, already discussed at some length in the previous section, involves not the acquisition of new ICTs so much as change in the regulation pattern of old ones. The status of existing ICTs such as computers and phones may change: using that equipment for work purposes leads to new rules, tensions, conflicts, changes in claims of possession etc.

So far, we have discussed the possible pattern of ICT acquisition and regulation. Buy it is important to also examine the actual process by which ICTs enter the home, since this too has a bearing on their meaning and subsequent usage. For example, many ICTs are supplied by employers, but sometimes also by clients. In such cases, rules about use may be laid down by the supplier, restricting usage to work. In our sample, for example, the

work phone was not used for social purposes - although children were often allowed some, albeit heavily supervised, access to the computer. Of course, some, usually small, ICTs such as answerphones are acquired by a variety of means such as gifts, through points gained in special offers etc. However, the most common alternative to supply by an employer is buying ICTs - which is usually the experience of self-employed teleworkers.

This immediately raises the question of finance. Clearly, the absolute amount of money available to the teleworking household is an important consideration - with wealthy households have to deliberate less about the purchase of ICTs. But even in many professional households, disposable income is subject to competing demands and questions of priorities. For example, in our study, some self-employed teleworkers wished to upgrade their microcomputers and knew that they might or indeed were, losing business through not doing so. But they did not upgrade because of other priorities - the desire for new TV technologies in one case and in another case the desire to continue using disposable income to finance their children's private education.

However, although partners often negotiate over the disposal of, often, joint household funds, it appeared that males were more likely to make successful demands on funds. One key factor in this exercise of power is that they were more likely to aspire to by primary earners, to have a commitment to a career and to want to work full-time. Although this was true of a number of female teleworkers, many of these were secondary earners in the household. Many worked part-time and although they had career aspirations, being primarily responsible for childcare they were satisfied to be bringing in some income and keeping in touch with work in a period when it was difficult to manage an office based career. On the whole, therefore, they were more cautious as regards the purchase of ICTs and less likely to take risks.

Although in the examples above it was possible to identify where teleworkers were losing business through the level of ICT they possessed, in many instances, it is actually difficult to discern whether a particular ICT, such as a cordless phone or a fax, is 'necessary' for the telework, or even to ascertain exactly how 'useful' it will be before purchase. Similar difficulties can arise when trying to determine if the technology possessed, such as a microcomputer, is 'adequate' or whether an upgrade should be acquired. At times, teleworkers are explicit about their uncertainty. But at other times, claims about the technology required are the subject of controversy, where teleworkers argue for an acquisition but their partners resist. In other words, 'need' is negotiated.

It is in such instances that it appears that telework can act as a catalyst for purchasing ICTs already desired. For example, where a number of the teleworkers, mainly male, were already early adopters of ICTs, telework could justify acquisition of extra technology. Furthermore, once acquired, telework could also justify the pleasurable activity, especially but not uniquely for males, of exploring that technology, in making time free from other obligations. These teleworkers were not general hobbyists, but they could argue that the hours spent experimenting on their equipment would assist their work. Sometimes their partners were dubious.

Turning to the question of ICTs use in the household, a first general point needs to be made about power and empowerment. Telework could lead to, or enhance, the

development of technological expertise: not only with computers but also with telecoms, now that a considerable amount of telecoms-related equipment is available beyond the basic phone. And expertise meant not only being able to literally use technology, but becoming aware of its social dimension: examples from telecoms being when to use the fax, what the fax was useful for, the advantages and disadvantages of E-Mail, how to organise phone calls and present oneself on the phone. Not only the teleworker, but others in the household often developed some of these new competences.

But apart from being a source of pride and self-esteem, teleworker's expertise could also be exercised as power - as when teleworker would tell other household members how they should be using the technology and what mistakes they were making. On the other hand, empowerment through technology could be more positive. This was best illustrated in one case study where a female researcher who telework had an uncertain future with her clients and an uncertain future in the relationship with her partner. Following long-standing conflicts in the marriage, there was the prospect of splitting up and her having to find full-time work again. Her purchase of an Apple Mac, which was itself very controversial in the household, enabled her to feel much more secure, since she then possessed an important tool which might help her acquire more work if she needed it.

As regards actual usage, the degree to which telecoms equipment was used by others in the household depended in part on who much the ICT was already seen as a home technology. The answerphone and cordless phone were not seen as specifically 'work' technologies and were used by others. Although there was some social use of the fax and mobile, these were more likely to find exclusive or mainly work applications and be used solely by the teleworker. There were signs among the more confident users that this may change over time - some children had begun to use the fax as a photocopier and had faxed a few messages to relatives abroad.

There were few cases where use of the computer was absolutely contained to telework with no seepage into the rest of the household: partners may not have used the machines but children usually had some access. Of course, a particular machine might be dedicated to work where several were available in the home. When we look at partners use, gender differences were apparent. Female partners of male teleworkers often had some word-processing skills and were likely to use their partner's machine for the occasional letters, for educational purposes or for their own work. This was less the case with male partners of female teleworkers. One consideration here is that a number of these males worked skilled manual occupations that did not require experience of micros and so they had neither the skills for nor interest in using them.

Older children were also likely to use and be encouraged the use, work computers for word-processing. While general computer literacy was encouraged in many homes, parents recognised that keyboard literacy was a particularly useful practical skill - and also that word-processed school work was likely to receive better marks. While some older children nevertheless rejected the computer, all the younger ones showed some interest and were allowed access. These parents were quite proud of the way that they children were gaining early familiarity with computer technology and envisaged buying the children their own machines when they grew older. In many cases, then, telework had introduced a technological resource into the home which was helping children in the household to develop both familiarity with ICTs and new competences.

Lastly, we have the question of what these ICTs are used for - their application. We have already noted the limited use of the fax for social messages. But at least one teleworker used the fax for domestic arrangements such as dealing with banks, and another received articles via fax for the vintage car newsletter of which he was an editor.

In contrast, there was little use of the modem to participate in electronic networks other than for work purposes: modems rarely provided a new window to the outside social world

Various ICTs found some role in terms of keeping records: the photocopier and photocopying facility on fax machines were often used to retain copies of domestic correspondence to outside officials. Meanwhile, the computer kept electronic copy of word-processed letters.

Apart from its use for games, the computer was mostly used for word-processing - and certainly few partners or children used other software. The computerisation of domestic life in terms of, for example, keeping electronic household accounts, was very rare and then usually in part only attempted in the process of experimenting with the machine.

ICTs and ICT skills acquired for telework could also find a use for and by those outside the home. This could happen at a number of levels. Friends, neighbours and relatives sometimes requested access to the equipment - e.g. to send a fax or photocopy a document. Here we have the technological equivalent of, perhaps, asking to borrow a cup of sugar! Second, the teleworker's own expertise with ICTs could become an asset, where their advice was asked or else they helped other people set up equipment or overcome problems. Third, teleworkers often used their ICTs on behalf of or even at the request of outside organisations in which they were involved: for instance, writing newsletters for voluntary bodies, producing tickets for events at sports clubs, or word-processing school reports. Lastly, teleworkers, often as earlier adopters of certain equipment, simply created awareness of the technology - through having people visit the home or talking about their experiences of ICTs. Clearly, the acquisition of work ICTs provided several new bases for interaction and became in part a community resource.

Telework, Domestic Life and ICTs

This paper has addressed some of the key questions that might be asked about technology and telework. Summarising the answers to these questions:

- 1) Certainly some forms of telework have been made more viable by ICTs, and some could not have been accomplished without these technologies. However, a range of especially self-employed clerical and professional work, perhaps accounting for the majority of teleworkers, has been conducted at home for some time - ICTs have not enabled this so much as facilitated it. Moreover, socio-economic factors are more significant than technology shaping in employer and employee decisions to telework and in any trends regarding teleworking.

2) The potential of telework and ICTs to allow teleworkers temporal and spatial flexibility is always constrained by social factors. The different temporal and spatial patterns that emerge, and the efforts to maintain the boundaries between home and work, have a bearing upon the time when they are used, the access of others in the household to ICTs and how they can be displayed. Some telecoms ICTs play a significant role in helping to maintain these boundaries. The introduction of telework has also involved enlisting the support of others inside and outside the home, including technical support and enrolment of others in the production process using ICTs

3) While new ICTs are acquired, we needed to also pay attention to the other processes whereby existing ICTs are multiplied and experience new patterns of regulation. The process acquisition often involves the negotiation of 'need' and household priorities, a negotiation where male teleworkers can be more successful, and at times telework can be a catalyst for purchases already desired. Telework ICTs can not only provide the basis for new competences, self-esteem, and the creation of expertise, but can also be empowering. As regards usage, there were few cases where ICTs were only used for work. Telecoms products which already had a domestic identity were more likely to be used by other households members. The pattern of computer use by partners was noticeably gendered, while children often used the equipment to develop keyboard literacy or, in the case of younger children, familiarity with the machine. As regards applications, there were early signs of the fax finding non-work uses. Within the home, the main use of computers apart from games remained word-processing although various ICTs were also used to keep records of official communications. ICTs and ICT-skills could also act as a community resource.

Lastly, we end on a broader set of observations. In the course on answering the questions our initial questions, this paper has illustrated how important it is to look beyond the data on possession and usage that are routinely collected in quantitative data. To make sense of and go beyond that data, it is important to appreciate the meanings which these technologies initially have and take on within the home - meanings which are negotiated and struggled over. This was a key theme of our earlier work (Haddon and Silverstone, 1992) and is now, more concretely, examined here. Hence, our stress on the significance of attempts to regulate technologies, and on the role which they come to play for individuals and households: in helping to maintain or regain control various aspects of their lives, and in helping them to forge identities.

Secondly, the paper raises questions about how we might conceptualise the diffusion of new ICTs. Traditionally, studies of diffusion focus on when technologies cross the threshold into the household. Whereas, we also want to understand not only the process of acquisition, but the subsequent career of those technologies - in terms of 'diffusion' to others, and changes in the identity and role of those technologies from being work machines to finding domestic or community applications.

Lastly, there is the significance of telework. At one level, it is a very useful case study for exploring some of the above points. Although it does not make such a radical difference to daily life as its potential flexibility promises, it nevertheless makes a considerable difference to people's lives. It is a sufficiently new way of working that it throws up new issues, conflicts and ways of organising life in the home - in which ICTs are involved. But teleworking also serves as more than an illustration. There is very little research on

the consequences of ICTs entering the home for work purposes, and clearly telework, as well as work which spills over from the office, is one, perhaps increasingly, important route into the home for these new technologies. This research has made a start in charting the consequences of this mode of entry, and showing where telework does, and for the moment does not, make a difference to the technological culture of the home.

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