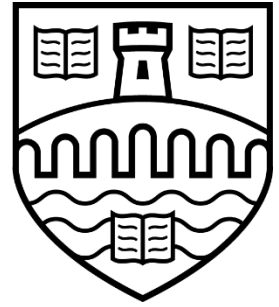


UNIVERSITY *of* STIRLING



THE INTERSECTION OF SELF-EMPLOYMENT AND UNPAID CARE WORK

BY

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wonderful children, Marie and Harry; you are the joy of my life.

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to conduct an exploratory study of how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid work with their unpaid care work. Self-employment continues to rise alongside individual responsibilities for providing unpaid care, and unpaid caregivers are increasingly turning to self-employment. It is crucial for researchers and policymakers alike to understand how self-employment and unpaid care work intersect and what this intersection means in practical terms.

This study adopted an interpretivist and qualitative approach which involved analysing semi-structured interviews with 25 participants. The analysis developed a typology of time management practices that participants drew upon to manage their income generation and unpaid care work. Findings of the study highlighted that participants were faced with different institutional logics - market, family, and profession - which they had to maintain and balance. To navigate this institutional pluralism, and the co-existence of different logics, participants segmented their time to mitigate the impact of the market, family, and profession logics in situations where tensions, contradictions and at times compatibility arose. This was done by drawing from a typology of four time management practices, each with its own set of activities, as a strategy for navigating institutional pluralism. Decisions on how to navigate the challenges and pressures were also influenced by perceived economic security and availability of social support.

The novelty of this study relative to previous research come from focusing on the full spectrum of unpaid care work, and by approaching it based on live-in caregiving and long-distance caring. The study makes a unique theoretical contribution by conceptualising the balancing of the dual roles through a typology of time management practices as a result from institutional pluralism. This study expands on previous research by demonstrating the value of the institutional logics perspective in furthering the understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

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Chapter: 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research examined the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work to generate new insights into how these individuals manage the duality of their roles. The study sought to extend understanding of this topic by focusing on solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities. To contribute to the debate, it asked: How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work? The analysis of 25 semi-structured interviews developed a typology of time management practices that participants drew upon to manage their income generation and unpaid care work.

The analysis highlighted that participants in this study were faced with different institutional logics (e.g., market, family and profession) which they had to maintain and balance. The implications of this are that they operated in pluralistic environments. To navigate the institutional complexity that they faced and the co-existence of several logics, participants segmented the impact of the different logics of the market, family and profession in various situations. This was done by drawing from a typology of four time management practices, each with its own set of activities, as a strategy for navigating the institutional pluralism that they faced.

This introductory chapter will set out the background of the study before demonstrating the need to conduct research in this area. It will explain the research design used before setting out the research aims and objectives the study sought to explore. Further, it will briefly touch upon the main findings of this study, which will be explored in detail throughout the thesis. Finally, it will conclude with the structure of the thesis providing a concise overview of what each chapter will cover.

1.2 Background

The UK has experienced a continuous rise in solo self-employment and unpaid caregiving, resulting in a pressing need for studies to engage with the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work (Brimblecombe et al. 2017). This changing landscape is forecasted to continue in the UK where an aging population, low birth rates and demand for unpaid caregiving is set to rise (Cromarty 2018; Crompton et al. 2007; Benería et al. 2016). Low birth rates mean that there will be less people available in future to care for those in need of care, putting more pressure on unpaid caregivers as time goes on (Cromarty 2018; Crompton et al.

2007; Benería et al. 2016). Simultaneously, inflexible working arrangements have led to individuals with caring responsibilities turning to self-employment as a way to manage their dual roles, but this comes with its own set of challenges (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Gatrell et al. 2014). For example, self-employed individuals and unpaid caregivers face economic insecurity and have low levels of protection in the social security system in the UK (Lockey 2018; Vanino 2016). Self-employed people and unpaid caregivers now report difficulties in meeting their basic expenses and are experiencing a deterioration in their wellbeing as a result from economic insecurity (Roberts et al. 2017; Blackburn et al. 2023). Unpaid caregiving is a long-term responsibility which means both physical and mental challenges for the unpaid caregiver themselves (Roberts et al. 2017; Schulz and Eden 2016). Consequently, the intersection of solo self-employment and unpaid care work has gained traction by researchers and policymakers (Fenney et al. 2023). In light of the continued increase in unpaid caregivers turning to self-employment as a solution to manage their paid work and unpaid care work, and the challenges they are reporting, a study in this area important to conduct.

Research shows that the value of unpaid caregivers in the UK is nearly the equivalent to a second NHS, and unpaid caregivers contribute an annual £162bn to the UK economy (BBC News 2023). Unpaid caregivers in the UK contribute the equivalent of 4 million care workers to the social care system alone, and it is believed that without them the entire system would collapse (Fenney et al. 2023). In the UK unpaid caregivers make up near 9% of the workforce, a figure that is set to rise as the population ages and the demand for unpaid caregiving rises (Carers UK 2023). However, while the demand for unpaid care is rising, in reality the supply of individuals able to provide unpaid care is decreasing (Cromarty 2018; Crompton et al. 2007; Benería et al. 2016). The need for unpaid caregivers is not something that will decrease with time, but rather increase dramatically in an aging population with decreasing birth rates, and because of this increase it is vital for researchers to understand the important role that unpaid caregivers provide.

A carer is someone who looks after a family member, parent, partner or friend who needs help and cannot cope without support because they are older, have an illness or a disability (NHS 2024). A formal carer may provide this support from the local council, through a caring organisation or the NHS and are normally paid accordingly (Cromarty 2018). An unpaid carer is primarily a family member or friend who takes care of someone who is ill, older, disabled or suffers from mental health problems and is not remunerated for the care they provide (Carers UK 2024). This definition of an unpaid carer is used by the UK government (2024), the NHS (2024) and support organisations such as Carers UK (2024).

Unpaid care work encompasses a wide variety of activities and is defined by the third-party criterion (discussed more in chapter 2 section 2.6 of this thesis). This means that any care work carried out which an individual could pay someone else to do, is considered unpaid care work. In the UK, unpaid care work is valued through the Household Satellite Accounts (HSA) which is divided into seven principal functions (Webber and Payne 2016): childcare, housing, transport, nutrition, adult care, volunteering, clothing and laundry.

In this study an unpaid caregiver is defined as the primary caregiver for their spouse, their own parent and/or parents in law and/or children (Battye et al. 2017). Primary caregiving means that they were the primarily responsible person for providing the necessary care. As primary caregivers, experiencing a double working burden, this study sought to understand their accounts of how they divided their time between income generation and caring responsibilities to manage their dual roles. Participants were recruited through purposive sampling to allow a small pool of data-rich participants relevant to the research questions (Etikan 2016; Suri 2011). Inclusion criteria for the study were that participants had to be: an unpaid carer a) living with the person they were caring for or b) not living with the person but caring for them at a distance (e.g. in their own home); have self-employment as their primary source of income; and be residing in the UK. Participants in this study range from the ages of 25 to 54 years old. Carers UK collect data on unpaid carers, which includes unpaid caregivers who are self-employed, and they state that, currently, near half of the 5 million unpaid caregivers in the UK describe having to reduce and give up work due to their caring responsibilities (Carers UK 2023). Unpaid caregivers, in particular, have been drawn to self-employment because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with unpaid care work (Burke 2015). Solo self-employed individuals have been the fastest growing sub-group of self-employed individuals in the last two decades and this shows no signs of slowing down anytime soon (Francis-Devine et al. 2023; Brown et al. 2022; Toovey 2023). Solo self-employed individuals are defined as a self-employed individual who works for themselves and does not hire any employees, and this is further discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2 of this thesis.

While on the surface this group of individuals seem to have found the perfect solution to generating an income around their caring responsibilities, many challenges are associated with self-employment that people might not be aware of initially. There is a policy context in the UK when it comes to this particular group of people that is worth noting to further highlight how little social security support there is in place that they can take advantage of. In the UK there are three employment statuses – employee, worker and self-employed – and a self-employed individual in the UK has the least access to the social security system (Lockey 2018). This means that self-employed individuals must insure themselves against any risk of

illness, any shortfall in their incomes, saving for a pension, with more (Fachinger and Frankus 2015). During the Covid19 pandemic the UK government did bring in a short-term policy called the Self-Employed Income Scheme (SEISS). This policy enabled self-employed individuals 80% of their average monthly income as a taxable grant (HM Revenue and Customs 2022). Five grants of the SEISS were made available between March 2020 and September 2022 before this scheme closed (HM Revenue and Customs 2022). When it comes to any social security support for unpaid caregivers, they may be entitled to Carer's Allowance which is a non-contributory and non-means-tested allowance that an unpaid caregiver can apply for if they provide care for more than 35 hours per week (Carers UK 2023). However, this policy is designed for people who are unable to work due to their caring responsibilities and legally you are not allowed to combine Carer's Allowance with any other benefit payments (Roberts et al. 2017; Kennedy and Gheera 2020). There is also an earning limit for people who are on Carer's Allowance, meaning they are not allowed to earn more than £151 per week (after any deductions e.g. national insurance, income tax) (Carers UK 2023). This leaves unpaid caregivers with little choice when it comes to combining paid work with their caring responsibilities, and ultimately self-employment provides them with a route to generate an income while caring (Battye 2017; Woodroffe and Donald 2018; Roberts et al. 2017).

This study took place during the Covid19 pandemic which was a global outbreak of coronavirus – an infectious acute respiratory syndrome. To combat the spread of the virus the UK government (and many other governments around the world) took mitigating action in the form of lockdowns during 2020 – 2021. National lockdowns in the UK took place during late March 2020 – June 2020, September 2020 – November 2020, and January 2021 – July 2021 (Brown & Kirk-Wade 2021). During these lockdowns any gatherings and movements for anyone (apart from essential workers) were restricted, schools were closed and people were encouraged to work from home (Brown & Kirk-Wade 2021). During the Covid19 pandemic when the UK government closed down part of its economy, the self-employed community was hit the hardest with income losses (Blackburn et al. 2023). In addition, caring responsibilities rose at alarming rates due to the closing of schools and early year sectors making the managing of the dual roles even harder – providing an insight into how this works during times of crises (Bahn et al. 2020). While the government tried to put some mitigating financial support in for the self-employed population, not everyone qualified for it (HM Revenue and Customs 2022). This contributed to further challenges plunging this group of self-employed individuals into a crisis situation, whether it was in terms of lost income, increased caring responsibilities, and many times the effect of both. This study was conducted during the third lockdown in the UK, with interviews taking place during January – February 2021. Participants in this study were affected by lockdown which resulted in heightened caring responsibilities,

homeschooling, loss of income and they found themselves in challenging circumstances. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 6 and 7 of this thesis.

1.3 Research design

The research project adopted a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews with people who live in the United Kingdom, who were solo self-employed and engaged in unpaid care work. Participants had to either be living with the person they were caring for or caring for them at long-distance. The final number of participants included in the data analysis were 25 participants.

1.3.1 Research aims and objectives

The aim of the research was to conduct an exploratory piece of work to better understand how solo self-employed individuals manage their income generation with their caring responsibilities. In order to do so it set out the following objectives.

1. To conduct a systematic literature review (SLR) to facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities in order to identify potential research gaps by asking: What is the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work?
2. To explore the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work to facilitate greater understanding of how these individuals manage the duality of their roles.
3. To explore how the negotiation of self-employment and unpaid care work is influenced by perceived economic security.
4. To explore the role of social networks when it comes to managing self-employment with unpaid caregiving.

1.3.2 Research Questions

To explore the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work fully the following research questions were developed from the SLR analysis:

1. How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work?

This was further explored through the research sub questions:

1. How is the negotiation of dual responsibilities shaped by perceived economic security?
2. How do they make use of their social networks to negotiate their dual responsibilities?

1.3 Main findings

The findings of this study led to the development of a typology of time management which compromised four key practices – proactive, reactive, multi-tasking and passive – that participants drew upon to manage their paid work with their unpaid care work. The findings provide a unique insight into how time-triaging also occurs during times of crisis when there may be heightened pressures. This was the case for the participants in this study who were facing lockdown in the UK during the interviews. Secondly, findings also demonstrated the role of perceived economic security, context, and social support when it comes to managing self-employment with caring responsibilities. Theoretical insights generated from applying the institutional logics perspective highlighted that participants in this study were faced with multiple co-existing institutional logics - market, family, and profession - which they had to maintain and balance, meaning that they operated in pluralistic environments. In order to navigate this institutional pluralism and co-existence of different logics, participants used 'segmentation' as a way of dividing the impact of each logic at any given time a tension arose (Goodrick and Reay 2011). In the context of this study, participants navigated institutional pluralism, and the co-existence of different logics, by segmenting the impact of the market, family, and profession logics in situations by drawing from the typology of time management practices. By applying the institutional logics perspective to the findings, this study provides both empirical and theoretical insights into how balancing self-employment and unpaid care work is shaped by the institutional orders of the market, family, and profession logic.

1.4 Structure of thesis

The structure of the thesis comprises of nine chapters and will cover the following:

Chapter Two – this chapter reviews academic literature and explores the background of self-employment and unpaid care work, focusing on defining self-employment and unpaid care work in the context of this study before demonstrating why research into this intersection is important.

Chapter Three – this chapter reviews the findings of an SLR which was conducted to facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities in order to identify research gaps and develop the research questions.

Chapter Four – this chapter outlines institutional logics; the conceptual framework adopted to examine the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

Chapter Five – this chapter sets out the philosophical and methodological approach adopted for the research. This includes a pilot study, data sampling, recruitment process and analysis.

Chapter Six – this comprises the analysis of interviews focused on the role of economic security.

Chapter Seven – this chapter comprises analysis of interviews and discussion of findings with a focus on the development of a typology of time management practices that participants engaged with to manage their paid work with their unpaid care work.

Chapter Eight – this chapter discusses the findings in the context of existing literature and develops the theoretical insights of this study.

Chapter Nine – this chapter concludes the thesis, summarises the contribution to theory, policy and practice. This chapter also discusses limitations of the research and proposes future directions. This chapter concludes with a self-reflection.

Chapter 2: Background: Self-employment and unpaid care work

2.1 Background

The reconciliation of paid and unpaid work is an important societal, economic and equality issue (Brimblecombe et al. 2017). While growth in self-employment has been a pronounced feature of the UK labour market, there is much heterogeneity within this group that researchers know little about (Stel and Vries 2015). Simultaneously, unpaid caregivers are increasingly being relied upon to take care of their family, friends, and extended relatives (Kingston et al. 2018; Battye et al. 2017; Carers UK 2018; Woodroffe and Donald 2018). The private arrangement of unpaid care work and the inflexibility of employers is resulting in increasing number of individuals pursuing self-employment to find a balance between income generation and caring responsibilities (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Gatrell et al. 2014). For example, caring responsibilities may increase and decrease in periods, requiring a level of flexibility on when and how an individual works that cannot always be predicted. Often, work-life policies claim to embrace parental need, but employers still assume that mothers will be the primary users of these policies and as such often fathers feel marginalised from applying for these due to the inherent views that men are the breadwinners (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Gatrell et al. 2014). However, this group of self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities do not only consist of parents with childcare responsibilities. As such, policies for flexible working may be inadequate to fully address the needs of these workers. This makes them drawn to self-employment with the intention to have more control over how they divide their time between income generation and caring responsibilities, without having to ask an employer for permission or go through a flexible working request where the employer may not be able to offer the flexibility the worker needs (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Gatrell et al. 2014).

In addition, self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities face a unique set of pressures and challenges in combining their paid work and unpaid care work (Vanino 2016). Emerging research shows that one consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals, and that of unpaid caregivers, is the topic of economic security (Meager 2015). Unpaid caregivers suffer from precarious working conditions, bad health and are increasingly resorting to time-triaging in efforts to manage their dual responsibilities (Roberts et al. 2017; Rodger et al. 2015; Carrigan and Duberley 2013). The burden of unpaid caregiving often falls disproportionately on the individuals with the least resources and income to deal with the responsibility and disproportionately falls on women (Sinha et al. 2013; Moussa 2018; Elson 2017).

Further, current social care systems rely heavily on unpaid caregivers on both a government and societal level (Cromarty 2018; Crompton et al. 2007; Glendinning 2018; Roberts et al. 2017; Kim 2010; Benería et al. 2016). This poses particular dangers as forecasting research shows that the demand for unpaid caregivers will continue to rise while the supply will diminish (Kingston et al. 2018; Olney and Tomei 2018). Socio-demographic changes show that people are living longer, and fertility rates are showing a downward trend (OECD 2024a; Carers UK 2018; Woodroffe and Donald 2018; Benería et al. 2016; Brinton and Lee 2016). This will result in a deficiency of human resources to deal with the rising social care needs in the care economy (Kingston et al. 2018; Olney and Tomei 2018).

While research to date has focused on how employment and caring responsibilities intersect, studies specifically examining the intersection of self-employment, as a source of income, and unpaid care work are limited (Moussa 2018). As self-employment continues to rise alongside individualised responsibilities for providing unpaid care, and unpaid caregivers continue to turn to self-employment, it is crucial for researchers and policymakers alike to understand how self-employment and unpaid care work intersect (Brimblecombe et al. 2017). It is also important to understand what this intersection means in practical terms. The current study was conducted to address the lack of research examining this intersection.

The first part of this chapter will begin by defining self-employment in the context of this study, before moving on to the drivers for pursuing self-employment. This is important, as it will lead into the gendered nature of self-employment and highlight the clear discrepancy between the official discourse of economic growth that government policy makers advocate, and the individual challenges and pressures that self-employed individuals face, which needs to be investigated from both an academic and practical point of view (Henry et al. 2016). Further, perceived economic security will be discussed, highlighting how this creates significant challenges for self-employed individuals. Finally, it will discuss the attraction to solo self-employment for those with caring responsibilities. This leads into the second part of this chapter which will focus on unpaid care work. In this part of the discussion, unpaid care work is defined before exploring the gendered nature of unpaid care work, as well as the importance of time and time management. Finally, this chapter will demonstrate why research into this intersection was an important piece of work to conduct and how an SLR was well suited to set a research agenda.

2.2 Defining self-employment

To begin it is important to define self-employment in the context of this study. Self-employment is often discussed in the context entrepreneurship and this approach tends to dominate contemporary academic research (Ahmad and Seymour 2008). The definition of an 'entrepreneur' varies within the different traditions within entrepreneurship research, making it difficult to apply one single definition (Ahmad and Seymour 2008). In the 18th century the French economist Richard Cantillon was first to define entrepreneurs as risk-takers (Ahmad and Seymour 2008). Risk in this sense was defined as someone who would buy goods at a certain price to sell it at an uncertain price in the near future (Ahmad and Seymour 2008). This definition was expanded to consider entrepreneurs as individuals who are able to predict change and withstand uncertainty in market dynamics, defined in the uncertainty-bearing theory of the American economist Knight in the 1920s (Langlois and Cosgel 1993). However, the view that is prevalent today was coined in 1934 by Schumpeter; an entrepreneur is an innovator and implements change within markets by bringing new combinations out (e.g. opening a new market, a new production method or the traditional bringing out new goods (Schumpeter 1934). An entrepreneur is viewed as an individual who recognises and acts on opportunities for profit (Kirzner 1997), and entrepreneurship is the act of new entry (launching a new venture, start-up) (Lumpkin and Dess 1996). The contemporary view of entrepreneurship is that it is a mindset and a process whereby you blend risk-taking, creativity and innovation (e.g. opportunity-centred entrepreneurship, see Rae 2007) to create, and develop, economic activity within a new or existing organisation (Commission of the European Communities 2003). In this sense an entrepreneur is more likely to run a business from an external location and will either have employees working for them, and as such helping economies to grow through job creations (Bögenhold et al. 2008).

In contrast, self-employed individuals work for themselves and do not have any employees (Taylor 2015). Official OECD statistics define self-employment in broader general terms to include those who work for themselves without employees (solo self-employment or "freelancers") or employ others as part of their business, and unpaid family workers (e.g. in farming: OECD 2024b). This definition is also incorporated by the UK government which defines a self-employed person as someone who works for themselves and takes responsibility for their business' success or failure (GOV.UK 2019). Previous self-employment research has encompassed categories such as 'home-based business' (Clark and Douglas 2010; Loscocco and Smith-Hunter 2004), 'home-based work' (Tietze et al. 2009), and 'homeworking' (Dex 2009) 'independent contractor', and 'freelancer' (McKeown 2015). This is also mirrored in the academic debate where existing literature on self-employment fall into two

different areas of focus - first, the legal definitions and secondly, the behavioural identifiers of self-employed individuals (McKeown 2015). The term entrepreneurship covers a wide spectrum of activities (e.g. SMEs, start-ups, and market behaviour) and is difficult to translate to any labour market category that can be measured and analysed (Bögenhold et al. 2008). In contrast, self-employment is used in international and national statistics, labour market analyses and can be numerically counted (Bögenhold et al. 2008).

However, defining self-employment is not straightforward and once you begin to analyse this further, the complexities and nuances start to appear. A typology of self-employment devised by Scase and Goffee (1980 pp. 23–24) suggests that there are four distinct types of self-employed individuals:

1. A self-employed individual who works for themselves and does not hire any employees
2. Small employers who work alongside their employees
3. Owner-controllers who are solely responsible for administration and management of the business
4. Owner-directors who control organisations that have managerial hierarchies

The largest group in this typology is the self-employed individual who works for themselves and does not hire any employees – this is what is referred to as the solo self-employed individual. This has been the fastest growing sub-group of self-employed individuals; in the last two decades alone most developed countries have experienced a rise in solo self-employment (Yuen et al. 2018; Cieřlik and Dvouletý 2019). In the UK, self-employment peaked at the end of 2019 at 5 million, before falling during the Covid19 pandemic to 4.2 million (Brown et al. 2022). Since March 2022, self-employment flows have shown signs of returning to their 2019 levels. Despite the fall during the Covid19 pandemic it has steadily grown over the course of the last two decades and as of March 2023 a further 4.39 million individuals were classed as self-employed, with 4.1 million of these classed as solo self-employed (Francis-Devine et al. 2023; Brown et al. 2022; Toovey 2023). The solo self-employed population contribute an estimated £278 billion to the economy (Toovey 2023).

Breaking down the skills profile the highest proportion of the solo self-employed individuals in the UK many work in construction and building trades, road transport drivers, as artists and writers, in the media sector and in agricultural industries (Toovey 2023). There is an uneven gender distribution in the solo self-employed population in the UK, with men making up the majority of the solo self-employed population with 62%, versus women who make up 38%.

However, it is worth noting that one particular section of the solo self-employed population is growing sharply: working mothers (Toovey 2023). Although they represent 13% of the solo self-employed population, this number has grown 55% since 2008 (Toovey 2023).

While these statistics provide an overview of the self-employed population in the UK, they do not capture the heterogeneity within this population (Williams et al. 2017; Cieřlik and Dvouletý 2019). Academic research has begun to draw attention to this heterogeneity and has begun trying to segment the solo self-employed population, highlighting how diverse this group really is (Cieřlik and Dvouletý 2019). An increasing volume of work now acknowledges the heterogeneity of the self-employed population and are calling for policymakers to treat various kinds of self-employed individuals separately (Dvouletý 2020; Bögenhold 2019; Burke 2015). The solo self-employed population is diverse and active in almost all sectors (Stel and Vries 2015). On the one hand the population of solo self-employed include those who are highly skilled, productive freelancers that manage entrepreneurial risk and innovation, and on the other hand those who provide services to other businesses (Burke 2012). Within this there are also those individuals who turn to self-employment due to lack of other income options (Stel and Vries 2015). However, even though solo self-employed individuals are a heterogeneous category of labourers with varying productivity levels, they are often grouped together in official statistics as 'self-employed' (Stel and Vries 2015). For example, various categories of solo self-employed individuals have different motivations and play different roles in the economy. This is important as it poses challenges for policymakers and highlights that a uniform approach of policies for solo self-employed people may not be as effective and that targeted measures would be more suitable (Cieřlik and Dvouletý 2019; Cieřlik and Van Stel 2023).

This challenge is also mirrored in the academic research in this area - studies so far have focused on self-employed individuals and are not capturing the heterogeneity of the solo self-employed population. For example, a freelancer will have different needs, experiences, and motivations than a solo self-employed individual who has turned to self-employment due to having no other viable income options. The heterogeneity is not captured in the existing literature under the umbrella of self-employment, and studies need to distinguish between different types of self-employed groups in order to get a more accurate understanding of a labour force group that is growing rapidly. Due to the ambiguity in terminology used in previous research, it is important to have a precise understanding of terminology used in this study. This study seeks to address the lack of focus on the heterogeneity of the self-employed population by narrowing the focus even further than between 'entrepreneur' and 'self-employed.' The identification of different categories of self-employed makes the amount of variation within the group clear. However, it is highly likely that the same type of heterogeneity

exists for solo self-employed. This study seeks to draw out this heterogeneity in the solo self-employed population by focusing in further on a particular subset of solo self-employed individuals – those with caring responsibilities. This study follows Scase and Goffee's (1980 pp. 23–24) typology of self-employed individuals, focusing on the first type: a self-employed individual who works for themselves and does not hire any employee. As such, for the purpose of this study self-employment is defined as a solo self-employed individual.

2.3 Drivers for self-employment

Governments often frame pursuing self-employment as something positive, making it difficult to uncover the real reasons why people pursue it (Dawson et al. 2014). Previous research into self-employment has often focused on motivations for pursuing self-employment and has classified motivations into “pull” (opportunity) versus “push” (necessity) factors (Dawson and Henley 2012; Kirkwood 2009; Patrick et al. 2016). In this theory “pull” factors are those considered drawing an individual towards self-employment – e.g. discovering an opportunity (Kirkwood 2009). Studies have found that for some individuals self-employment has a “pull” factor when seeking independence and better work-life-balance (Duberley and Carrigan 2013). “Independence” and “freedom” are two other highly cited motivators for both men and women when pursuing self-employment (Kirkwood 2009; Dawson and Henley 2012; Hughes 2012). However, women in particular also cite “work-family balance” and “flexibility of hours” and motivators (Hughes 2012), meaning that “independence” and “freedom” are linked to caring responsibilities when it comes to self-employment motivations (Kirkwood 2009).

Other gender differences within motivational factors are also apparent – in one large scale Canadian study two thirds of men could be classified as pursuing self-employment due to “pull” factors compared to only half of women (Hughes 2012). In contrast, other studies have found that it is in fact “push” factors that are larger for both men and women (Kirkwood 2009). “Push” factors are synonymous with personal or/and external factors and carry a negative connotation with them (Kirkwood 2009). So, while self-employment is often presented as a way to align life choices with personal values, creating an environment in which an individual can combine their paid work and unpaid work (such as caring responsibilities) in a satisfactory way (De Jager et al. 2016), for many individuals, inflexible employment arrangements actually “push” them into self-employment. This is particularly true for those with caring responsibilities (Lewis et al. 2015; Gatrell and Cooper 2016).

However, the “push” and “pull” theory has some limitations and focuses on motivations. The lines between “push” and “pull” are blurred , not to mention that all types of self-employed

individuals are grouped into one overarching category in this concept (Dawson and Henley 2012; Kirkwood 2009). Unsurprisingly studies, while mirroring some findings, contradict each other in other places – for example Hughes (2006) found that “pull” factors are stronger than “push” factors but Kirkwood (2009) found that “push” factors are stronger than “pull” factors. This highlights the limitations of only focusing on categorised “push” versus “pull” factors. It also highlights some of the difficulties of applying a single concept to an entire segment of the labour force participation.

Further, this concept only considers the individual person pursuing self-employment and discounts any contextual factors that may in fact contribute to the motivations to pursue it in the first place, or any contextual factors that may change and develop over time and at different life stages for people. For example, motivations for pursuing self-employment may look different when at the stage of life when you start a family, compared to later on in life when caring responsibilities have maybe shifted from childcare to elder care (Bahn et al. 2020; Oldenkamp et al. 2016). As such, these studies often capture one small picture of the self-employment journey. For example, women cite “pull” factors such as need for independence, but these may in fact be caused by “push” factor such as caring responsibilities (Dawson and Henley 2012). In order to fully understand self-employment in practice, researchers should also examine the environment in which these individuals operate. It is only then that a better idea of the overall journey of self-employment can be gained, including how it is shaped and affected by contextual factors. Taking this into consideration will allow researchers to fully draw out the circumstantial differences that exist in this population.

2.4 The gendered nature of self-employment

There is a gendered nature to self-employment that is important to recognise to fully explore this intersection (Bari et al. 2021). To date, research into self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities has focused primarily on mothers (Craig et al. 2012; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Foley et al. 2018; Henry et al. 2016). One reason for this is because women, in particular mothers, have been driving the rises in self-employment (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016; Taylor 2015; Besamusca 2020). Mothers have been repeatedly shown to pursue self-employment as a preference-based strategy to combine work with parenting (Besamusca 2020; Connelly 1992; Budig and Hodges 2010a). However, self-employed mothers face a significant and unique combination of tensions, challenges, and barriers that studies have, rightly so examined more closely. Despite women’s labour force participation improving over the past few decades, it has not translated to a rebalancing of domestic activities (Verniers et al. 2022). For example, societal views dictate gendered

stereotypes; women are responsible for family and are often the primary caregiver, while men are the breadwinner with no main caregiving responsibilities (Semerci et al. 2018). The persisting traditional gender roles within the private sphere can be explained through Hays' (1996) intensive mothering ideology. Intensive mothering norms dictate that mothers are the natural and most suitable caretakers of children and should selflessly and primarily devote themselves to their caring responsibilities (Hays 1996). Living up to these ideals are not only time consuming, but also puts high pressure on mothers who are expected to dedicate their time solely on their children and accompanying leisure activities to create a purposive childhood (Arendell 2000; Hilbrecht et al. 2008; Johnston and Swanson 2006).

Simultaneously, political rhetoric often positions mothers as failing and deficient, not contributing their "part" to national economic success (Orgad and De Benedictis 2015). This has led to mothers being drawn to self-employment and motivated by being a "good mum," while deriving satisfaction and achievement from their careers and being a "good worker" (Besamusca 2020). This shows the complexities of the cultural contradiction that mothers face (Hays 1996). The cultural contradiction between home and family is not new, and previously it has been easier to separate and manage in western economies through the deliberate separation of life at work and life at home (Hays 1996). This was done through women staying at home to look after their families and men going to work (Hays 1996). However, as more women began to join the labour work force, this contradiction for women became more complex, and instead of the barriers between work and home being broken down women were expected to keep their role in the private sphere active, while simultaneously taking on a role in the public sphere through working (Verniers et al. 2022; Hays 1996). However, combining caring responsibilities and income generation requires flexibility that traditional employment does not necessarily provide (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Gatrell et al. 2014). As such, self-employment has become an attractive solution and a dual pathway for women with caring responsibilities where they can generate an income, contribute to economic growth and simultaneously maintain their caring obligations (Lewis et al. 2015). This has inevitably led to rises in self-employed mothers worldwide, resulting in an increased interest and need for research into self-employed mothers (Besamusca 2020; Ahl 2006; Henry, Foss and Ahl 2016).

Social structures have a considerable impact on how women view their parental responsibilities, and women face contradictory societal expectations when it comes to motherhood and career success (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Liamputtong 2006). However, these internal conflicts and, at times opposing, roles of a "career driven individual" and "caregiving mother" leads to more internal stress for mothers when it comes to work-life balance, resulting in significant tensions (Drew and Humbert 2012; Munkejord 2017). For

example, self-employed women have been shown to work longer hours than employed women, and in low-income industries (Budig and Hodges 2010; Connelly 1992; Simon and Way 2016). Low client demand, unreasonable expectations from family members, physical and mental fatigue are some further stress factors cited by self-employed women when discussing their dual roles (Ufuk and Özgen 2001). In addition to this, self-employed mothers are reluctant to grow their firms out of fear that it will destabilise the balance between work and caring responsibilities - making self-employed mothers more likely to be solo self-employed (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016). Indeed, the logic of self-employment, as promoted by governments, is in fact at odds with the logic of “intensive mothering” – the market strives after profit and success while “intensive mothering” focuses on self-sacrifice (Hilbrecht and Lero 2014).

There is, therefore, a clear discrepancy between the official discourse of economic growth that policy makers advocate, and the individual challenges and pressures that self-employed women face (Henry et al. 2016). However, the caring responsibilities for women are increasing, not only in amount but also the type of care that they are expected to provide – discussed more in detail in section 2.7 of this chapter (Kingston et al. 2018; Battye et al. 2017; Carers UK 2018; Woodroffe and Donald 2018). Research into self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities has, to date, focused primarily on mothers with childcare responsibilities, but has yet to examine the whole spectrum of unpaid care work (Craig, Powell and Cortis 2012; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Foley, Baird, Cooper, et al. 2018; Henry, Foss and Ahl 2016). Not only is the landscape of self-employment and caring responsibilities changing, but unpaid caregiving, regardless of what aspect of it is provided, results in a widening gender gap when it comes to participating in paid work, creates wage gaps and affects gender equality (Rizavi and Sofer 2010; Elson 2017; Bari et al. 2021). This became even more noticeable during the Covid19 pandemic which increased the need for home-based caring responsibilities, disproportionately affecting women’s working conditions (Bahn, Cohen and van der Meulen Rodgers, 2020). Therefore, while it is important to recognise the gendered nature of self-employment, research must now move towards examining other areas of caring responsibilities which contribute to the continued rise in self-employment for women overall, beyond mothers.

2.5 Perceived economic security

There is a level economic insecurity that comes with self-employment and since 2010 research on precarious work has begun to focus on the self-employed population which face high levels of precarity (Shin et al. 2023). In order to explore the precarity that solo self-employed people

face, it is necessary to define 'precarious work'. Precarious work is defined as work that is unstable, uncertain, and insecure and where the worker bears the risk of the work carried out, and they receive limited statutory and social security benefits (Kalleberg and Hewison 2013). A defining aspect of precarious work is that it involves working relationships that deviate from the "standard working relationships" which are defined as full-time, open ended contracts with employers (Shin et al. 2023). "Nonstandard" employment deviates from these criteria and includes on-call workers, contract-company employment and agency work. The second key aspect of precarious work is when there is no employment relationship at all and the individual works in the formal economy, for example when a person works as an individual contractor. The third, and final aspect, of precarious work is found in the informal economy, which is economic activities that are not regulated by the state (Shin et al. 2023).

But precariousness in self-employment is not always so straightforward. By the very nature of being a self-employed person the individuals pursuing this path will have a relatively high degree of work uncertainty, and often this is considered as part of the risk one takes when pursuing self-employment (Conen and Schippers 2019). Conen and Schippers (2019 p. 6) do a good job of discussing precariousness in self-employment and have outlined the dimensions of precariousness which are relevant when it comes to self-employed individuals:

1. Income inadequacy while working (this is related to concepts such as in-work poverty, low-income households and financial resilience)
2. A lack of adequate social benefits and regulatory protection
3. Work with high uncertainty of continuing work

They further explain that when examining income adequacy previous studies have relied on micro datasets and panel data and have found that self-employed individuals tend to have lower median incomes than their counterparts in employed work. Lack of social security is another important dimension and may include lack of pension, sick pay, social security benefits and other support that is available to the employed population through the state. The third dimension they discuss in their work is the uncertainty of continuing work which can have consequences for the self-employed individuals in terms of their income, health and well-being.

These dimensions are mirrored in research examining economic security and self-employment more closely. Self-employment can trap individuals in low-wages and situations with low-protection (Vanino 2016). One consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals is that of economic security (Meager 2015; Bennett 2019). When

discussing economic security, the biggest concerns that self-employed individuals draw attention to are the challenges with irregular income patterns, and pensions or rather the lack of retirement savings that they will be able to be drawn upon later in life (Lockey 2018). In addition, concerns are also expressed about the lack of statutory employment rights (Danson et al. 2021). Presently, there are three employment statuses for individuals (see table 2.1) in the UK and a self-employed individual have the least access to any social security net (Lockey 2018 p. 21).

Table 2.1 Benefit entitlement by employment status in the UK

	Employee	Worker	Self-employed
Minimum Wage	Yes	Yes	No
Paid Annual Leave	Yes	Yes	No
Statutory Sick Pay	Yes	Yes	No
Maternity Leave/Allowance	Yes	Yes	No
Paternity Pay	Yes	Yes	No
Shared Parental Leave	Yes	Yes	No
Right to Request Flexible Working	Yes	No	No
Discrimination Protections	Yes	No	Yes
Minimum Notice Period	Yes	Yes	No
Collective Redundancy Consultation	Yes	No	No
Statutory Redundancy Pay	Yes	No	No
Unfair Dismissal Protection	Yes	No	No
Transfer of Undertakings (Protection of Employment)	Yes	No	No

Large proportions of the self-employed are not included in the social security systems which are designed for employed people, and while some may be partially covered by statutory systems, others are not (Fachinger and Frankus 2015). Because self-employed individuals are not included in the social safety net, the responsibility is on individuals to insure themselves against risk of illness, shortfall in income, disability, lack of orders and more (Fachinger and Frankus 2015).

Further, self-employed individuals worry about not being able to take time off due to the loss of income that it will incur as a result, whether this time is taken off for illness or for annual leave (Williams et al. 2017; Galloway et al. 2016; Smith et al. 2019). These challenges can lead to feelings of economic insecurity and lend support to research which has found that perceived economic insecurity has been found to affect a person's health (Lübke 2021; Khan and MacEachen 2024). For example, if a person experiences economic insecurity they may experience feelings of anxiety, pressure, and exhaustion which will all affect their overall health (Lübke 2021). They may also start to feel that they have no control over or the power to influence their own future – locus of control is important determinant of one's health (Lübke 2021). Another effect may be that when an individual experiences economic insecurity they may start to work overtime to protect themselves against this threat, which will ultimately result in negative health effects (Lübke 2021).

However, the factors that influence solo self-employed individuals' wellbeing are complex and multi-faceted, and studies have shown that the mental health and happiness of self-employed individuals tend to be higher than employed workers despite having lower comparable incomes (Stephan 2018; Yue and Cowling 2021). While this has been generally true, the series of shocks that the self-employed population have encountered throughout and after the Covid19 pandemic have affected their wellbeing (Blackburn et al. 2023). This deterioration has been linked to reductions in their work-levels, rises in financial instability and higher levels of stress (Caliendo et al. 2023; Yue and Cowling 2021). The precarious nature of self-employment was laid bare during the Covid19 pandemic when governments globally closed parts of their economies in imposed lockdowns (Block et al. 2022). While many countries instigated programs to support the self-employed population during the Covid19 pandemic, UK included, this group of workers still faced strong income losses (Block et al. 2022). The latest round of Covid19 analysis series survey, conducted by the Centre of Economic Performance (CEP) undertaken in 2023, revealed that self-employed individuals are experiencing difficulties in meeting their basic expenses, struggle with high cost of energy and are experiencing a deterioration in their wellbeing as a result (Blackburn et al. 2023). The recent changes in interest rates and increased borrowing costs have also added further pressures for self-employed individuals, particularly for those who have mortgages and rely on credit cards (Blackburn et al. 2023). Two thirds of solo self-employed individuals in particular were found to be willing to move to employment even if that meant a reduction in income but did express that they would find it hard to make the switch. This suggests that not only has the wellbeing of self-employed individuals decreased over the last few years, but also that some solo self-employed individuals may feel stuck in their positions despite struggling with economic insecurity (Blackburn et al. 2023).

Despite the rapid rise in solo self-employment, little is known about how this population perceive economic security and what effect this has on them and their businesses. Studies to date have focused on self-employed mothers and failed to consider any other types of solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities when exploring this topic (OECD 2017; Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016; Ahl 2006). While this focus was needed at the time, the current landscape has changed for self-employed individuals and as such research needs to begin to address the role of economic security. While research has begun to look more closely at this, it has focused on wellbeing and resilience of self-employed individuals (see Caliendo et al. 2023; Torrès et al. 2022) and not on how perceived economic security may affect decision making when it comes to managing an income with caring responsibilities. The current study sought to explore what influence perceived economic security has on solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities when it comes to managing their work with caring responsibilities to further to further the understanding of this topic.

Finally, there are a few noteworthy points to make when it comes to how economic security is measured which related directly to why this study examined perceived economic security at a respondent level. When examining economic security, most measures tend to focus on economic shocks that are beyond peoples' control, looking retrospectively to aggregate different groups of people and the level of risk they may face (Hacker 2018). When researchers examine "risk" of economic loss, they tend to position it as a prospective outlook, while in fact it is often retrospective measurements of risks people and households have faced in their past experiences. Other measures that are used are more specific to people and households (e.g. levels of economic security amongst specific types of households) (Hacker 2018). However, these are all only measures of *observed* security because they rely on observing the outcomes within different sets of populations.

The issue with these types of approaches is that they measure economic security on a group level and include external factors and would therefore not be applicable to a study examining perceived economic security at an individual level. Security is an individual-level phenomenon which means that individuals experience levels of insecurity, rather than groups (Hacker 2018). This is important because it highlights that economic security is a subjective experience, and as such should be examined at an individual level and at a respondent level, which this study did when exploring self-employed individuals' perceived economic security and economic insecurity and what this meant for managing their income with their unpaid care work.

2.6 Defining unpaid care work

Individuals with caring responsibilities, in particular, have been drawn to self-employment because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with unpaid care work (Burke 2015). This is often because governments present self-employment as a dual pathway for individuals with caring responsibilities to a meaningful economic contribution, while simultaneously maintaining their caring obligations (Lewis et al. 2015). However, while self-employment can provide the flexibility that unpaid caregivers need, it can also trap these individuals in low-wages and situations with low-protection (Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Vanino 2016).

Research has started to draw attention to the monetary value of unpaid work by asking what it would cost to hire someone to do the same work (Elson 2017). Research shows that depending on the country and how unpaid work is valued it can increase the national GDP by 15% (Van De Ven et al. 2018). Thus, recognition and proper valuation of unpaid work could contribute to more robust assessments of the economic and social impacts of any future government policies (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017). Exploring the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work can therefore also make an important contribution towards future government policies. However, in order to fully understand how self-employment and unpaid care work intersect it is important to understand more about unpaid care work itself. The following definition and discussion around unpaid care work provides an important background for this study.

Unpaid care work has begun to gain attention from researchers and policymakers, and as a result from rising social care demands, unpaid caregivers are increasingly being relied upon to take care of their family members, friends and other extended relatives (Kingston et al. 2018; Battye et al. 2017; Carers UK 2023; Woodroffe and Donald 2018). Any work carried out that has no payment attached to it is considered to be unpaid care work (also called informal care work). By its nature, unpaid care work is a private arrangement between the person caring and the person who is being cared for (Cromarty 2018). An unpaid caregiver can be someone who is caring for their spouse, their own parent and/or parents in law and children (Battye et al. 2017). To define what is considered unpaid care work the third-party criterion is utilised, worldwide; which means that if a person could hypothetically be paid for the work carried out then it is considered to be work (Miranda 2011; United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017). This means that unpaid care work is defined as any work you can perform yourself within the household that you could technically pay someone else to do (Office for National Statistics 2016b; Miranda 2011). Under the third-party criterion any activity

that can be delegated to someone else is viewed as productive - for example, cleaning, cooking, laundry, taking care of a child or adult, helping with transportation and gardening (Miranda 2011; Office for National Statistics 2016b; United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017).

Some countries have begun to value unpaid work through the so called Household Satellite Accounts (HHSA) (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017; Office for National Statistics 2016a). The HHSA is today divided into seven principal functions (Webber and Payne 2016): childcare, housing, transport, nutrition, adult care, volunteering, clothing and laundry. It is important to note that there is criticism over the inclusion scope of the third person; some activities that do meet the third-person criterion are still excluded - for example educating oneself (Benería 1999; United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017). The third-party criterion defines unpaid care work by market standards, requiring that the unpaid care activities must have the ability to be delegated to a paid worker (Wood 1997). For example, any activities that only benefit the individual and do not involve any exchange with another person (e.g. fishing, working out etc.) are excluded from the scope and valuation of unpaid care work (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe 2017). However, this study does not seek to dispute the third-party criterion and as such utilised the set criteria of unpaid care work in the UK. As such, for the purpose of this study an unpaid caregiver was defined as someone who is caring for their spouse, their own parent and/or parents in law and/or children (Battye et al. 2017).

2.7 The gendered nature of caring

There is a gendered nature to unpaid care work that is important to recognise and understand. Unpaid caregivers are predominately women (UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment 2016; Eley and John 2023; Carers UK 2022; Roberts et al. 2017). Research shows that women spend nearly twice as much time than men on cleaning, cooking, laundry and childcare (Eley and John 2023). In the UK women are significantly more likely to provide unpaid care work in all age groups up to the age 74 (Eley and John 2023). This demand on women to take on a higher burden of unpaid care work does not show any signs of slowing down. As a result of lower fertility rates and an ageing population there is a clear shift in the landscape of who needs care in the future, but it does not mean that women's caring responsibilities will decrease. On the contrary, there is a growing need for unpaid caregivers and the importance of unpaid caregivers and the contribution they make to the UK economy and society can no longer be ignored. While the demand for unpaid care is rising, the supply is decreasing, and these socio-demographic changes impact the

availability of future unpaid caregivers (Crompton et al. 2007; Cromarty 2018; Benería et al. 2016). This creates serious challenges for an economy that relies heavily on unpaid caregiving and where the demand for unpaid caregivers will only continue to rise (Woodroffe and Donald 2018). Alongside this, social care needs are expected to become more complex for an already ageing population; elderly people with several caring needs (e.g. dementia and two or more life debilitating needs) will more than double in the next decade and rise further by 2035 (Kingston et al. 2018).

However, women's increased economic participation has implications for areas such as work-life balance and reproduction (Alsos et. al 2013; Arendell 2000; Maher 2009). Research shows that societies that support the gender stereotype of females being the natural caregiver and, simultaneously, advocate female employment experience lower fertility rates as a result (Brinton and Lee 2016). This is visible in UK now where fertility rates in England and Wales alone have fallen to their lowest levels since records began in 1939 (Office for National Statistics 2024). The UK birth rate was 1.49 per woman in 2022, and to sustain a steady population the birth rate would need to increase to 2.1 per woman (Office for National Statistics 2024). However, the downward trend in birthrates has steadily decreased further since 2010 (Office for National Statistics 2024). Despite lower fertility rates and a rising need for social care there has been a steady decline in public spending on health services since 2001 (Benería et al. 2016; Carers UK 2018; Woodroffe and Donald 2018). This has led to an even bigger dependency on women to shoulder the biggest responsibility of looking after their immediate family members, relatives and any other people in their vicinity who may need care (Kingston et al. 2018; Battye et al. 2017; Federici 2012). Those in need of care who have previously been able to rely on government support services are now increasingly having to rely on their family, friends and neighbours for support that is informal and unpaid (Woodroffe and Donald 2018). Women are bridging this gap in insufficient state support for social care by providing it in the form of unpaid care work, and this system, while unsustainable, is set to continue to rely on women.

In fact, unpaid caregivers have reported an increase in their caring responsibilities and services traditionally provided by medical staff such as providing medications; monitoring the care for persons health; toileting; and getting in and out of bed, are all now provided by unpaid caregivers who are often untrained in these responsibilities (Schulz and Eden 2016). Consequently, unpaid caregivers describe both physical and mental health implications as result of their caring responsibilities, an effect that tends to worsen with time (Battye et al. 2017; Woodroffe and Donald 2018). For example, the longer someone provides unpaid care, the more detrimental effect it has on their physical health (Brimblecombe et al. 2018; Coe and

Van Houten 2009). In return, this affects the amount of unpaid care they can provide, and effectively reduces the level of paid work they can engage in (Brimblecombe et al. 2018; Coe and Van Houten 2009). Research shows that balancing family and work life with severe time pressures can lead to worsening of an individual's health (Benería et al. 2016; Brimblecombe et al. 2018). Most recently, the Covid19 pandemic thrust unpaid care to the forefront of discussion, in a way that was unprecedented. Women in particular, were directly affected by government-imposed lockdowns, with school and nursery closures leading to them taking on additional caring responsibilities (Caliendo et al. 2023). Post-pandemic research has shown that self-employed women's mental health was more affected than that of self-employed men and that this was directly linked to, amongst other things, an increase in their caring responsibilities during this time (Caliendo et al. 2023).

In addition, unpaid caregivers report worrying about the negative impact on their relationships with the person they are caring for, and others around themselves (Woodroffe and Donald 2018). This is due to the structure of informal care which pits it against other time with family and friends, leisure time and social activities, forcing unpaid caregivers to trade personal time for caring time (Carers UK 2018). Many express frustration that their caring roles are not recognised on an economic and societal level, and at times not even by family and friends, and describe a stigma attached to being an unpaid caregiver (Rand and Malley 2013; Carduff et al. 2014). As a result, they avoid using the term entirely and have difficulties identifying themselves as one (Rand and Malley 2013; Carduff et al. 2014). Further tensions are also evident if an unpaid caregiver does identify themselves as a carer, but the person they are caring for is in denial that they need help, putting further strain on the caring relationship (Carduff et al. 2014). This can be particularly difficult if they are caring for someone near end of life, as feelings of guilt creep in and the fear of leaving the cared-for person (Carduff et al. 2014). All of this combined creates a feeling of isolation for those with caring responsibilities, and the all-encompassing function of caring leaves less time for them to focus on themselves and to recognise that they may need support themselves, resulting in individuals not seeking help (Carduff et al. 2014; Hutton and Hirst 2000). To better inform future social care policies it is important to understand how the double burden of caring and working affects unpaid caregivers so that they can not only be kept in the labour force, but also stay healthy themselves. As the reliance on unpaid care work will only continue to grow, it is crucial to gain further insights into the well-being of unpaid caregivers to support the case for more targeted investments into social care services, supporting both the individual with caring responsibilities and the person being cared for (Rand and Malley 2013).

This gender inequality issue in unpaid care work has been covered in the academic debate, but unpaid care work has often been examined through a gendered lens. Researchers to date have focused primarily on mothers with childcare responsibilities (Craig et al. 2012; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Foley et al. 2018; Henry et al. 2016). However, one of the problems with this approach is that it has led to a disproportionate focus on children as the main cared for group. Approaching this topic in this way was undoubtedly valuable at the time and reflective of the landscape of self-employment and caring responsibilities (Henry et al. 2016). However, it is important to recognise that the landscape of self-employment and caring responsibilities has evolved beyond self-employed mothers caring for children, and researchers need to now examine how the current landscape looks like to gain a deeper understanding of this important intersection. In addition, the heterogeneous nature of the self-employed cannot be fully captured by only examining one type of self-employed individual with one type of caring responsibility. The reality is that many find themselves caring for elderly relatives, and sometimes this in addition to caring for children (Woodroffe and Donald 2018). This means that within the solo self-employed population there will be individuals who are not only parents with childcare responsibilities, but also self-employed individuals with responsibilities for parents, in laws and sometimes a combination of these, and current studies are not capturing these hard-to-reach voices adequately. The current study builds upon previous research by focusing on the full spectrum of unpaid care work, and also by approaching it on the basis of live in caregiving and long-distance caring and what impact this may have on the self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities.

2.8 Unpaid caregiving and economic security

Unpaid caregivers report economic security as a key challenge and poverty rates have been shown to be higher for those with caring responsibilities than that of non-carers (Roberts et al. 2017). Out of the 5 million unpaid caregivers in the UK, 445,000 are self-employed and this figure is set to rise as the population ages (Carers UK 2023). When it comes to economic security, unpaid caregivers are reporting that they are struggling to make ends meet and the majority of unpaid caregivers report being “extremely” worried about monthly costs (Carers UK 2022). The oft-cited pressures are the rise in cost of living, gas and electricity bills, spending on food and transport which all add to the economic insecurity that unpaid caregivers face (Carers UK 2022). Alarming, caring responsibilities have also been found to increase the risk of leaving the labour market altogether, or as well, as decreasing working hours to manage the caring responsibilities (Carers UK 2023).

The physical health of unpaid caregivers is also typically worse than that of non-carers and more than three quarters of all unpaid carers in the UK report feeling anxious and stressed (Battye et al. 2017; Carers UK 2022). Those who provide round the clock care tend to be in a worse shape health-wise than those carers who provide less hours of care, and 3 in 5 unpaid caregivers have a long-term health condition, compared to non-carers (Carers UK 2017). Research shows that balancing family and work life with severe time pressures can lead to worsening of an individual's health (Benería et al. 2016; Brimblecombe et al. 2018). While breaks from caring are vital to deal with both the physical and emotional toll of caring responsibilities, unpaid caregivers report that they are not able to afford short breaks for themselves, not do they have time to take them (Carers UK 2018). Some of the challenges that affect unpaid carers' emotional well-beings are difficulties navigating the social service care support available to them, and as such this creates feelings such as helplessness and frustration when trying to find any help that they may need (Carers UK 2022; Rand and Malley 2013).

In terms of social security support for unpaid caregivers, those with caring responsibilities may be entitled to cash benefit for their caring responsibilities in the form of the Carer's Allowance and the Carer Premium/Addition (Roberts et al. 2017). Carer's Allowance (formerly known as Invalid Care Allowance before 2003) is a non-contributory and non-means-tested allowance that carers can apply for when they care for someone full time who is in receipt of certain benefits (e.g. disability living allowance) (Roberts et al. 2017; Kennedy and Gheera 2020). However, to be entitled for this cash benefit a person has to provide care for 35h per week, not be in any full-time education, and if they are in paid work they are not allowed to earn over £151 per week (after any deductions including national insurance and income tax) (Carers UK 2023). Carer's Allowance is there to replace an income rather than being a social support payment for care provided and is designated for people who cannot work due to their caring responsibilities, and crucially cannot be combined with any other benefit payments (Roberts et al. 2017; Kennedy and Gheera 2020). This makes it increasingly difficult for people to combine caring responsibilities with work if they do not meet the strict criteria of providing a high number of hours per week of care, coupled with the low weekly earnings limit, and in return further perpetuates the higher poverty rates that individuals with caring responsibilities face (Carers UK 2022; Kennedy and Gheera 2020). The majority of unpaid caregivers, therefore, have no other choice than to combine paid work with their caring responsibilities (Battye 2017; Woodroffe and Donald 2018; Roberts et al. 2017). Exploring the experiences and challenges faced by unpaid carers who combine their caring responsibilities with paid work (in the form of self-employment), and do not receive any state support, is therefore crucial. It is those who are already on a low income (often at poverty level) who shoulder the

greatest responsibility for meeting unpaid caring needs in their local communities, a demand that is not showing any signs of slowing down anytime soon (Health and Social Care and Housing Communities and Local Government Committees 2018).

2.9 The importance of time and time management

Literature on time is extensive and covers a variety of challenges, in particular when it comes to individuals' different relationships and individual experiences of time, as well as objective distribution of time between different activities (Szollos 2009; Dapkus 1985; Aeon and Aguinis 2017; Kaufman-Scarborough 1992). Research into time use generally looks at two research streams - approaching it objectively through the calculation of how an individual divides their time during the day, and subjectively through relying on the individual's own perception of their time use (Boniwell and Osin 2015). Objective time use research includes time diary studies and relies solely on measured time and how it is divided up, whereas the domain of subjective time use examine how people feel about their time use – that is, if they experience time pressures, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their time, time anxiety, feeling in control - and also includes constructs such as time use satisfaction and time perspective (Boniwell and Osin 2015 p. 88). Time management falls between both the objective and subjective time use paradigms – while it is objective in the sense that it is concerned with the objectification and utilisation of time, it is subjective in the way that it relies on an individual's subjective evaluation of their time use and time-related actions (Boniwell and Osin 2015). Claessens and colleagues (2007) conducted a review of the time management literature and found that time management practices relate positively to job satisfaction, perceived control of time and overall health. These findings, relating to enhanced perceived level of control and wellbeing as a result from time management, were mirrored in another study by Aeon and colleagues (2021) who conducted a meta-analysis to analyse the relationship between time management and individual differences as well as contextual factors. However, as pointed out in this study, time management is not easy and “good” is subjective to the individual. Further and more importantly, being “good” at time management can be dependent on other factors such as income. As such “good” time management may not be available to everyone, nor accessible if their demands outstrip their time available and if they are unable to source out some of their demands to third parties.

Time management literature is fragmented across various disciplines and highly individualised – what works for one person may not work for another individual in the same circumstances and people approach time management based on individual beliefs, attitudes and preferences, which in return affect the way an individual manages their time (Aeon and Aguinis

2017). In terms of research on solo self-employment and time management it is scarce but being more attentive to time and its impact on self-employed people can provide better understanding of their day-to-day practices (Lévesque and Stephan 2020). The challenges faced by solo self-employed people with caring responsibilities are many and have been discussed in detail previous sections of this chapter, especially in relation to economic security and gender. The decisions on how to manage the dual responsibility is also affected by the demands of the caring role itself, and by the type of caring responsibilities undertaken. Caring responsibilities will look different when caring for someone who lives with you versus caring for someone at long-distance, and some people will have a combination of caring responsibilities for people that live with them and live outside of the home. For example, different types of caring responsibilities (live in and long-distance, long-term and short-term caring) impact on self-employed individuals and their businesses differently. If you are caring for someone living with you it may be the case of caring around the clock, whereas caring for someone who does not live with you (long-distance) may provide bouts of break which allow you to focus more on income generation. Further, if you are the primary unpaid caregiver with no social support the responsibility will take up more of your time than if you are able to share the unpaid care work with someone else (e.g. sibling, spouse etc.). It is also important to note that the caring relationship itself may change over time - in terms of time needed and intensity of care provided, and this will ultimately affect how it intersects with income generation. Time management may therefore look very different depending on the individual, the context and the caring intensity needed at different life stages.

As discussed, one of the key aspects of self-employment that makes it so attractive to individuals with caring responsibilities is the idea of autonomy over one's time, and the flexibility to manage caring responsibilities with income generation. Individuals pursue self-employment for this very reason – to manage their time between their income generation and their caring obligations (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016; Taylor 2015; Besamusca 2020). However, this does result in some limitations. For example, as discussed in this chapter, self-employed individuals describe time pressures and time poverty and being trapped between the official discourse of economic growth that policy makers advocate, and the individual challenges and pressures that they face as primary caregivers (Henry et al. 2016). Solo self-employed individuals also express that due to the lack of access to any social security system, they worry about taking any time off at all – whether for leisure or illness - due to the loss of income that will incur as a result (Williams et al. 2017; Galloway et al. 2016; Smith et al. 2019). This is also mirrored by unpaid caregivers who worry about taking time away from their caring responsibilities, and often times are unable to due to the caring relationship (Rand and Malley 2013; Carduff et al. 2014). Self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities often time

manage in an effort to meet their demands of working and caring. As a result, these individuals are constantly battling their time and resources. The importance of time management was highlighted during the Covid19 pandemic when caring responsibilities intensified for solo self-employed people with caring obligations. This was certainly the case for several participants who were included in this study who had a combined levels of caring responsibilities for their own parent, parent-in-law and children and had to manage this simultaneously with their income generation (discussed in chapter 6 and 7 of this thesis). The Covid19 pandemic provided this study with an opportunity to gain a rare insight into how these individuals manage their dual roles when their time availability was outstripped by demands in their day-to-day activities.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter sought to facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities by providing a comprehensive background to self-employment and unpaid care work. It has defined self-employment in the context of this study and demonstrated that while the growth in self-employment has been a pronounced feature of the UK labour market, there is much heterogeneity within this group that we know little about (Stel and Vries 2015). The chapter also laid out the precarious nature of self-employment and how it can trap individuals in low-wages and situations with low-protection (Vanino 2016). One consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals is that of economic security, and the health effects of precarity can have negative effects in terms of anxiety (Meager 2015; Bennett 2019; Lübke 2021). This became even more apparent during the Covid19 pandemic when governments globally closed parts of their economies in imposed lockdowns (Block et al. 2022). While many countries instigated programs to support the self-employed population during the Covid19 pandemic, UK included, this group of workers still faced strong income losses (Block et al. 2022). Self-employed individuals experiences difficulties in meeting their basic expenses, struggle with high cost of energy and are experiencing a deterioration in their wellbeing as a result (Blackburn et al. 2023). Despite the rapid rise in solo self-employment little is known about how this group perceive economic security and what effect this has on them and their businesses in practice.

Having examined the self-employed side, this chapter also drew attention to unpaid care work. Individuals with caring responsibilities, in particular, have been drawn to self-employment because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with caring responsibilities (Burke 2015). Out of the 5 million unpaid caregivers in the UK, 445,000

are self-employed and this figure is set to rise as the population ages (Carers UK 2023). This chapter further defined unpaid care work as well as provided a deeper understanding of the gendered nature of unpaid care work. Unpaid caregiving is often a long-term responsibility with both physical and mental challenges for the person providing the care (Schulz and Eden 2016). Alongside self-employment, unpaid caregivers also report economic security as a key challenge and poverty rates have been shown to be higher for those with caring responsibilities than that of non-carers (Roberts et al. 2017).

Research into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work has focused on self-employed mothers, while research has yet to include working men with caring responsibilities, different forms of unpaid care and, most importantly, how the full spectrum of caring responsibilities intersect with paid work (Bünning and Pollmann-Schult 2016; Elson 2017). While this research has been valuable, the landscape of self-employment and caring is changing rapidly. There was therefore value in a synthesis that identified important underlying themes. To facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities in the evolved landscape an SLR was conducted, with the aim of understanding this phenomenon further and to identify any potential research gaps in this area. The next chapter is a detailed discussion on the findings of the SLR, before setting out how this research study proposes to further the understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

Chapter 3: The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care: a systematic literature review

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities by conducting an SLR to identify potential research gaps. Before discussing the outcome of the SLR in detail, a reminder of how self-employment and unpaid care work are defined in this study is important. For the purpose of the SLR, self-employment was defined as a solo self-employed individual with caring responsibilities. However, it is important to remember that the terminology “self-employed” and “entrepreneur” are often used interchangeably in academic studies (Mueller and Arum 2004; Dawson and Henley 2012; Richomme-Huet et al. 2013; Diamond and Schaefer 2013). In order to fully capture this debate, various search strings were used in the SLR to capture the combination of terms used in the entrepreneurial literature when exploring self-employment activity. Unpaid care work is defined as a private arrangement between the person caring and the person who is being cared for (Cromarty 2018). An unpaid caregiver can be someone who is caring for their spouse, their own parent and/or parent in laws and/or children (Battye et al. 2017).

This chapter begins with discussing the methodology adopted for the SLR, which was conducted in line with methods used previously in management research; in particular Tranfield et al.’s (2003) SLR procedures. This method yielded 66 empirical studies for analysis which led to the identification of three current and emerging debates in the research area – the roles of gender, economic security and social networks. The chapter then proceeds to a detailed discussion on the findings of the SLR, before setting out how the current study proposes to further the understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work by exploring the research question: How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work?

3.2 Methodology

Systematic reviews emerged from a need to conduct better evidenced-based research and are widely used in management research. The basic principles of SLR’s are to ensure transparency, clarity and focus when bringing together as many evidence-based studies as possible that are relevant to the research question at hand (Thorpe et al. 2005). An SLR was

therefore well-suited to explore this area, as it allowed for the mapping and synthesising of current research by following a procedure that ensures overall reliability (Tranfield et al. 2003).

A full SLR process was developed by the author, adapting Henry et al's (2016) stages of the SLR process approach. Table 3.1 below outlines each step taken in the SLR process before analysing the results and this will be discussed in more detail below.

Table 3.1 Stages in the SLR process

Stage	Description
1	Recent self-employment and unpaid care work literature was scanned to identify the appropriate search terms to use for the SLR search string
2	Key word search was conducted on Scopus and Web of Science with the full search term: self-employment OR "business owner" OR founder OR freelancer OR entrepreneur* OR home-based business OR home-based work OR self-employ* AND unpaid car* OR parent* OR caregiv* OR informal caregiving OR unpaid caregiving OR mother* OR father*
3	Search results were restricted to exclude medical journals. The initial search returned 3078 journal articles.
4	Resulting abstracts were then examined and the exclusion criteria was applied as follows: conference papers, book reviews, practitioner papers, conference presentations, conceptual papers were excluded. Any papers that did not specifically address the intersection of self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities was excluded. All papers had to be empirical work to be included in the final number for analysis.
5	Discussions took place with the researcher's supervisory team throughout the entire process to ensure that any further potential exclusions were discussed. This resulted in a final sample of 66 empirical studies for analysis.
6	A narrative check was conducted by looking at any relevant articles that were cited in articles found through the SLR, keeping to only empirical work. Further narrative checks were in place by ensuring discussion with the supervisory team to ensure that the SLR protocol followed the methodology correctly.
7	A thematic analysis took place on the remaining 66 articles by focusing on the findings of each article and utilising the Gioia et al. methodology (2013)

This chapter presents findings from an SLR of 66 empirical papers, with the aim of understanding the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work. Starting with

the research objective “What is the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work?” search strings were conducted to capture combinations around self-employment and unpaid care. Recent literature in the topic was scanned to identify the appropriate search terms to use for the initial search. This led to various terms being used to capture self-employment, for example “freelancer” and “founder.” This was repeated for unpaid care work with terms such as “informal caregiving.” To ensure that everything was captured the search terms were extended with the use of * to the stem of the words (e.g. unpaid car* and caregiv*). The full search term for the SLR was: self-employment OR "business owner" OR founder OR freelancer OR entrepreneur* OR home-based business OR home-based work OR self-employ* AND unpaid car* OR parent* OR caregiv* OR informal caregiving OR unpaid caregiving OR mother* OR father*. The review was conducted on Web of Science (WOS) and Scopus bibliographic databases to ensure effective coverage (Wang and Waltman 2016). WOS is the oldest Social Science scholarly source and provides extensive coverage of citation and bibliographic data going back to 1900s (Boyle and Sherman 2006; Chadegani et al. 2013). Scopus, while limited to post 1960s coverage, provides a wider journal range and 20% more coverage than WOS (Chadegani et al. 2013).

Search results were restricted to exclude medical journals. The initial search returned 3087 journal articles. The search results were checked for duplicates between databases and each abstract was then individually reviewed to determine eligibility for the study. After checking for duplicates between the databases the author was left with 2607 abstracts to sift. This was completed using the following inclusion criteria: a paper had to be an empirical study, specifically examining the intersection of self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities. The following exclusion criteria was applied: if the study only addressed self-employment on its own without intersecting with caring responsibilities it was excluded. If a paper only addressed unpaid care work on its own it was excluded, similarly if the person undertaking the unpaid care work was in employment and as such was not counted as self-employed. The paper had to also be empirical and published in a peer-reviewed journal. As such any conference papers, book reviews, practitioner papers, conference presentations and conceptual papers were excluded. The reason for excluding these types of outcomes is that conference presentations have normally not gone through the peer review process required to be published in a journal and book reviews focus on reviewing a book and essay collections are often only viewed by the editor (Booth et al. 2009). Practitioner papers are aimed at professionals in a particular working fields rather than the academic community, have more emphasis on practical implications than on research methodology and do not have to go through the peer-review process to be published (Emerald Publishing 2024). Finally,

conceptual papers focus on theory advancement and do not use data to empirically test their propositions (Gilson and Goldberg 2015).

The abstracts were then categorised depending on how relevant they were to the research question at hand. Where an article was deemed directly relevant it was reviewed in detail; if partly relevant, the article would be returned to confirm if it would be included or excluded; and if not relevant, the abstract was discarded. For example, empirical work by Connelly (1992) was picked up by the SLR and examined how pursuing self-employment is a way to balance childcare responsibilities. Due to examining the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work, as well as being empirical in nature it was included in the SLR and deemed directly relevant to the research question at hand. In contrast, empirical work by Heck et al. (1992) examined the utilisation of childcare by home workers looked like it could be relevant but once the article was read more closely it turned out that it was not directly relevant to the research questions. This is because the work by Heck and colleagues (1992) specifically looked at employed workers who were working from home and how childcare responsibilities looked for them. Other abstracts were clearer where the researcher could see that they were not relevant. An example of this is a study by Aldrich (2014) where the abstract clearly showed that the study examined gender inequality in US based entrepreneurial teams. As such this was discarded straight away as it had no relevance to the research question that the SLR was examining. Table 3.2 below has been developed by the author to show the breakdown of the number of journal articles the author started out with and how it was narrowed down to 66 empirical articles for analysis:

Table 3.2 The process of narrowing down journal articles for analysis

Stages	Number of journal articles
1. Initial search result	3078
2. Duplicate check result	471 duplicates
3. Number of abstracts left to check	2607
4. Studies deemed relevant to the research question	63

5. Studies deemed partly relevant and returned to for further examination	92
6. Studies that after further examination deemed relevant to the research question	3
7. Studies not deemed relevant to the research question and discarded	2541
8. Final number of studies to include in the analysis	66

This process resulted in 66 empirical studies for analysis. In addition to the systematic element of this search, a narrative check was incorporated to ensure rigor (Thorpe et al. 2005). This was done in two ways. The first way was by looking at any relevant articles that were cited in articles emerging from the systematic review, keeping to only empirical journal articles (Mallett et al. 2018). This did not yield any further journal articles to be included in the SLR analysis. Another way that a narrative check was conducted was through the supervisory team who provided useful narrative check on the methodology used (Gioia et al. 2013) and in identifying any possible oversights (Thorpe et al. 2005 p. 259). This allowed for the results to be checked, validated, and ensured a transparent process throughout. This also ensured that any articles deemed relevant were included if they were absent from the search result and any relevant articles were followed up; including any articles that were cited in the systematic review.

The final 66 empirical studies were then analysed using thematic analysis to synthesise the findings (Alhojailan 2012). Thematic analysis allowed the data to be coded and categorised into themes (Ryan and Bernard 2003; Alhojailan 2012). The cutting and sorting technique was particularly useful when analysing the data (Ryan and Bernard 2003). To ensure that themes were identified, a similarities and differences technique was used (Ryan and Bernard 2003). Breaking down the process further, of the articles that had been deemed relevant to the research question, the findings and methodology were examined much more closely and the Gioia et al. (2013) method (discussed in detail in chapter 5 section 5.5) was utilised to thematically analyse the results. The findings of each article were analysed and the main findings categorised as the 1st order. In the 2nd order the author's own interpretation of the

article's findings was developed and finally 2nd order coding was aggregated into three overarching key debates – gender, economic security and social network.

For example, in their qualitative study Duberley and Carrigan (2013) examined women's experiences of combining motherhood with self-employment. Examining the findings of this article revealed that mothers view self-employment as a way of combining caring responsibilities with income generation, and this study was categorised in this way in the 1st order concept to capture this. In the 2nd order theme, it emerged that primary caregiving necessitates self-employment. Finally, this study in particular was aggregated as a key debate in gender. The same process was replicated with each journal article in the thematic analysis, and as a result articles were aggregated as key debates in gender, economic security and social networks (see Table 3.4 in section 3.2) . The below table (3.3) has been created by the author of this thesis to show the analysis process, using the Duberley and Carrigan (2013) article as an example.

Table 3.3 An example of the thematic analysis conducted in the SLR

1 st order concept	2 nd order theme	Aggregate dimension/key debate
Mothers view self-employment as a way to combine income generation with caring responsibilities	Primary caregiving necessitates self-employment	Gender

3.2 Current and emerging debates in the research topic

What follows now is a discussion surrounding the main debates that seem to define the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care (see table 3.4), providing an overview of where the research is to date, before setting out the research questions that emerge from the SLR (see appendix 7).

Table 3.4. An overview of the studies included in the SLR

What is the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work?			
Source	1 st order concepts	2 nd order themes	Aggregate dimensions (key debate)
Joona 2017; Lewis et al 2016	Mothers with caring responsibilities are more likely to opt for self-employment	Primary caregiving responsibilities necessitate self-employment	Gender
Foley et al 2018; Jurik 1998; Wellington 2006; Diamond and Schaeede 2013; Drew and Humbert 2012; Hilbrecht and Lero 2014; Wellington 2006; Diamond and Schaeede 2013; Aure and Munkejord 2016; Brandth 2017; Naldi et al 2019	Gender differences in caring responsibilities shape entrepreneurial intentions		
Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Chou et al 2013; Craig and Powell 2012; Craig et al 2012; Cutillo and Centra 2017;	Self-employed women tend to be the primary caregiver		

Parasuraman 1996; Rouse and Kitching 2006; Sarkisian and Gerstel 2004			
Ekinsmyth 2013; Choue et al 2013; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Khan and Rowlands 2018; Jurik 1998	Self-employment allows mothers to combine caring responsibilities with income generation	The need to balance caring responsibilities with income generation is a motivation for self-employment	
Ehlers and Main 1998; Joona 2018; Connelly 1992; Gurley-Calvez et al 2011; Humbert and Drew 2010; Taniguchi 2002	Self-employment enables work life balance between unpaid care and income generation		
Ekinsmyth 2012; Drew and Humbert 2012; Loscocco 1997; Semerci and Volery 2018; Gabaldon et al 2015; Ronsen et al 2014; Wu and Wu 2015	Mothers view self-employment as a way to gain flexibility between unpaid care and paid work		
Carrasco and Ejrnæs 2012; Lim 2019	Mothers from low socio-economic background caring for small children are more likely to be self-employed	Socio-economic background can dictate self-employment	Economic security
Arráiz 2017	Self-employed women with caring responsibilities come from low socio-economic backgrounds		
Forson 2013; Leung 2011; Davis and Shaver 2012	Self-employed mothers avoid growing their businesses so they can provide unpaid care	Self-employed mothers constantly negotiate their time and earnings	
Simon and Way 2016	Self-employed mothers generate low earnings		

Kim and Ling, 2001; Gimenez-Nadal et al. 2012	Self-employed mothers work longer hours than self-employed fathers due to caring responsibilities		
(Boz Semerci and Volery 2018: Ufuk and Özgen 2001)	Social support reduces caring responsibility stress	Social support enables caring responsibilities	Social networks
(Sengupta 2019; Wang 2019)	Self-employed mothers' businesses deeply embedded in social networks	Space and place play a crucial role in self-employed women's businesses	

3.3 The gendered nature of self-employment

The majority of the studies in the SLR added to the gender debate in self-employment. Research into self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities has focused primarily on mothers to date (Craig et al. 2012; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Foley et al. 2018; Henry et al. 2016). These studies have approached self-employment and unpaid care work from several angles to generate insights.

Carrigan and Duberley (2013) have examined time management but have focused their study on self-employed mothers and intentions to pursue self-employment. In their qualitative work, where they interviewed 20 self-employed mothers, they specifically looked at how women allocated their time and their experiences of that allocation. They found that while the women appreciated self-employment for the benefits it had brought them, they did experience conflict when it came to time management. The study also found that self-employed mothers allocate time with caring responsibilities at the forefront of their minds (Carrigan and Duberley 2013). Craig and colleagues (2012) also examined how time is allocated. They used the Australian Time Survey to examine if being self-employed versus being employed made a difference to how parents with young children manage their dual roles. They found that mothers divide their time differently to fathers – specifically using self-employment as a way to combine their income generation with childcare. In contrast, fathers were found to prioritise work regardless of employment status, whether they were self-employed or employed.

To provide more context, triage is a process used in healthcare and refers to the distribution of health resources to patients based on the greatest need and success rate (Carrigan and Duberley 2013). Going back to Carrigan and Duberley's study (2013), while they established time-triaging as a time management strategy that the participants used, there is more that can be learned about time-triaging to understand better how solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities time-triage. In particular paying attention to how they time-triage in different situations, with different sets of caring responsibilities, and at times with a combination of caring responsibilities. This would also include not only examining the circumstances, but also what activities individuals may draw upon, and more so what influences the triage process itself. The underlying assumption of time-triaging is that when the needs outstrip the available time an individual must resort to deciding how to distribute their resources, and these choices may result in not all needs being met accordingly. However, never challenging the underlying assumption that caring responsibilities always dictate how time is allocated means that researchers may potentially miss looking at what else influences time-triaging in different situations and to see if caring responsibilities is always what dictates

how the time is allocated, as indicated in the studies so far. While this may have been the case when examining self-employed mothers and caring responsibilities, the same may not be applicable to an individual caring for their parent, in law and other family members. More importantly there may be other influences that affect their time-triaging apart from, or even in addition to, simply allocating time based on caring needs. While recognising that time-triaging occurs, researchers can gain deeper insights by examining it within the context of individual circumstances to further draw out the nuances on when and why individuals time-triage in particular ways in different situations.

Other studies have focused on exploring the reasons for mother-entrepreneurs pursuing self-employment and their experiences of independence (Foley et al. 2018). Some studies have fully focused on self-employed mothers, while others have used a male-female comparative framework that has indirectly led to a focus on self-employed mothers. One reason for this is because women, in particular mothers, have been driving the rise in self-employment and as such researchers have been examining this area more closely (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016; Taylor 2015). Mothers in particular have been repeatedly shown to pursue self-employment as a preference-based strategy to combine work with parenting (Besamusca 2020; Connelly 1992; Budig and Hodges 2010). However, several studies have highlighted that mothers often pursue this path out of necessity rather than opportunity (Foley et al. 2018; Hilbrecht and Lero 2014; Jeon and Ostrovsky 2019; Drew and Humbert 2012).

In addition to this, self-employed mothers face a significant and unique combination of tensions, challenges and barriers. Societal views dictate gendered stereotypes; women are responsible for family and are often the primary caregiver while men are the breadwinner with no main caregiving responsibilities (Semerci et al. 2018) This 'intensive mothering' has added pressure on mothers who are expected to dedicate their time solely on their children and accompanying leisure activities to create a purposive childhood (Arendell 2000; Hilbrecht et al. 2008; Johnston and Swanson 2006). Simultaneously, political rhetoric often positions mothers as failing and deficient, not contributing their "part" to national economic success (Orgad and De Benedictis 2015). Thus, mothers in particular have been drawn to self-employment and motivated by being a "good mum," while deriving satisfaction and achievement from their careers and being a "good worker" (Besamusca 2020). However, combining caring responsibilities and income generation requires flexibility that traditional work-life policies do not necessarily provide. This leaves many women with no other option than to pursue self-employment when seeking to stay in the labour market while taking care of their families. As such, self-employment is pursued as a solution that provides a dual pathway for women with caring responsibilities where they can generate an income, contribute

to economic growth and simultaneously maintaining their caring obligations (Lewis et al. 2015).

It is important to highlight that social structures have considerable impact on how women view their parental responsibilities, and they face contradictory societal expectations when it comes to motherhood and career success (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Liamputtong 2006). This means that women are expected to balance an income with caring responsibilities and to find solutions for how to make this work. This is deeply rooted in societal expectations and is considered by women when they are trying to find solutions to combine their income with caring responsibilities. However, these internal conflicts, and at times opposing, roles of a career driven individual and caregiving mother leads to more internal stress for mothers when it comes to work-life balance, resulting in significant tensions (Drew and Humbert 2012; Munkejord 2017). For example, self-employed women have been shown to work longer hours than employed women, and in low-income industries (Budig and Hodges 2010; Connelly 1992; Simon and Way 2016). In a study carried out to examine the interaction between business and family life, self-employed mothers were found to view being self-employed at odds with their roles as mothers (Ufuk and Özgen 2001). Low client demand, unreasonable expectations from family members, in combination with physical and mental fatigue, are some further stress factors quoted by these women when discussing their dual roles as self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities (Ufuk and Özgen 2001). These internal conflicts lead to self-employed mothers being reluctant to grow their firms, out of fear that it will destabilise the balance between work and caring responsibilities (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016). In return, this concern makes self-employed mothers more likely to be solo self-employed (Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016). This highlights how the logic of self-employment practices is at odds with the logic of caring - "intensive mothering". In other words, the market strives after profit and success while "intensive mothering" focuses on self-sacrifice (Hilbrecht and Lero 2014).

These studies highlight a clear discrepancy between the official discourse of economic growth that policy makers advocate, and the individual challenges and pressures that self-employed women face, which needs to be investigated from both an academic and practical point of view (Henry et al. 2016). However, research into self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities has focused primarily on mothers with childcare responsibilities and not examined the whole spectrum of unpaid care work (Craig, Powell and Cortis 2012; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Foley et al. 2018; Henry et al. 2016). This can also be viewed as a limitation because it is important to note that unpaid caregiving, regardless of what aspect of it that is provided, results in a widening gender gap in participation of paid work, wage gap and affects gender equality (Rizavi and Sofer 2010; Elson 2017; Bari et al. 2021). This became even more noticeable during the Covid19 pandemic which increased

the need for home-based caring responsibilities that in return disproportionately affected women's working conditions (Bahn et al. 2020). Thus failure to recognise, redistribute and reduce the full spectrum of women's caring responsibilities undermines women's economic advancements in all aspects of working life and further perpetuates the gender gap in the labour market and caring economy (Elson 2017; UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment 2016; Crompton et al. 2007; Perrons et al. 2007; Bahn et al. 2020)

Focusing research only on self-employed mothers with caring responsibilities is limited as it provides a narrow glimpse of one type of self-employed person with one type of caring responsibility. In reality, the solo self-employed population is heterogeneous, as is the full spectrum of unpaid care work. Conducting a study that would focus on gender comparative frameworks would therefore not provide any new insights that are needed in the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work today. In fact, the SLR analysis revealed that none of these studies examined the full spectrum of caring responsibilities nor discussed it. This means that what is little known about is how different types of caring responsibilities - including long-term, short-term, live in and long-distance caring - impact on solo self-employed individuals and their businesses. This is important because if you are caring for someone living with you it may be the case of caring around the clock, whereas caring for someone who does not live with you may provide bouts of break. This will affect how an individual time-triages to meet the demands of both income generation and caring. More importantly, the caring relationship itself may change over time - in terms of time needed and intensity of care provided. The current study therefore sought to go beyond focusing on self-employed mothers and addressed the limitations of previous research by focusing on the full spectrum of unpaid care work, by approaching it on the basis of live-in caregiving and long-distance caring and what impact this may have on the solo self-employed individual and their businesses. It is for this reason that the subsequent research questions developed from the SLR did not have a particular focus on gender; instead choosing to include solo self-employed people whether they were women or men, including the full spectrum, and at time combinations, of caring responsibilities in order to reflect, and address, the research gap accurately.

3.3.1 The role of economic security

As discussed in the previous chapter, self-employment can trap individuals in low-wages and situations with low-protection (Vanino 2016). One consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals is that of economic security (Meager 2015; Bennett 2019). The role of economic security is gaining more focus in the literature and several studies

in the SLR were shown to add to the debate of precarity when it comes to self-employment. Key studies found that self-employed women with caring responsibilities generate low earnings and tend to come from low socio-economic backgrounds (Simon and Way 2016; Arráiz 2018). This feature was even more pronounced with mothers who were caring for small children under the age of two years old (Carrasco and Ejrnæs 2012).

A study by Carrasco and Ejrnæs (2012) compared the labour markets of Spain and Denmark which represent countries with the highest and lowest rates of self-employment in the OECD countries. Their study used six waves of comparable micro data for both countries called the European Community Household Panel (ECHP). Findings of the study showed that in Spain where self-employment is high, mothers with small children and in situations where there is no financial security in terms of benefits, pursue self-employment the most. While the findings are striking in terms of economic insecurity this study used secondary data and conducted a large-scale comparative analysis. While this outlines the economic conditions and social security systems in each country that lead to self-employment as a whole, this does not necessarily generate the insights needed into how these self-employed individuals manage their self-employment with caring responsibilities. Also, while this does allow for a large-scale comparison to be made, it does not sufficiently allow for any heterogeneity of the self-employed population with caring responsibilities to be fully drawn out and examined more closely.

Simon and Way (2016) conducted a study where they examined differences in self-employment earnings for US millennial men and women. Their study used a nationally representative dataset and found evidence of caring responsibilities for children resulting in lower earnings for mothers. However, their study only used secondary data analysis and had gaps in their data due to participants being able to choose what survey questions they could answer. This approach also meant that they could not fully explain some of these differences which is a limitation of this study. Similarly, Arráiz (2018) used a large dataset of 2408 banking agents in Ecuador to explore profit differences by gender. They found that time devoted to unpaid care work, including children, domestic work and caring for elderly relatives explained a third in difference in profits between male and female run businesses. While this is an important finding the study still has the limitation of using secondary data collection and a sample size that, while looks at the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work, does not focus on the subgroup of solo self-employed individuals.

While studies have begun looking at economic security, they have focused on large scale comparisons using readily available data. It is clear that large proportions of the self-employed are not included in social security systems and while some may be partially covered by

statutory systems in place, others are not (Fachinger and Frankus 2015). Large proportion of the self-employed population are not included in any social security system, partly because these safety nets have been designed for employed people. Self-employed individuals are free to choose if they want to insure themselves against any social risk (e.g. illness, shortfall in income, disability) (Fachinger and Frankus 2015). However, this is difficult for individuals who are already shown to generate low incomes. Further, the more unpaid care a person provides the less time they have to dedicate to income generation. The corollary is also true – the more paid work an individual engages in, the less time they have to spend on caring responsibilities. In addition, caring responsibilities can fluctuate over time demanding more, or less, attention from the individual in different time periods. This too contributes to a level of uncertainty when it comes to income generation for those with caring responsibilities.

Finally, the precarious nature of self-employment was laid bare during the Covid19 pandemic when governments globally closed parts of their economies in imposed lockdowns (Block et al. 2022). While many countries instigated programs to support the self-employed population during the Covid19 pandemic, UK included, this group of workers still faced strong income losses (Block et al. 2022). Despite the rapid rise in solo self-employment little is known about the role that economic security plays in the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work. From the SLR analysis it was evident that economic security was an emerging area of research in this intersection but that more studies, and qualitative work, are needed to fully understand and explore the effects this has on self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities. While some research has looked more closely at economic security, it has focused on wellbeing and resilience of self-employed individuals (see Torrès et al. 2022; Caliendo et al. 2023), and not on how perceived economic security may affect decision making. This needs to be explored further and the current study sought to explore what influence perceived economic security has on solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities when it comes to managing their work with caring responsibilities.

3.3.2 The role of social networks

The role of social networks when it comes to solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities is emerging, but little research has been conducted to date. The SLR analysis found that businesses run by self-employed mothers have been found to be deeply embedded within social networks (Sengupta 2019; Wang 2019). Sengupta (2019) conducted a qualitative study with self-employed women in India. The findings highlighted that social support was crucial to enabling them to manage their caring responsibilities with their income generation. In particular this support came in the form of family – both close and extended. However, some

limitations of the study are evident: it does not reveal the number of women interviewed nor draws much conclusion in terms of social support. It is an interpretive study based on the authors own PhD thesis which seemed to be ongoing at the time of publication. It is not clear what data analysis method has been used and as such, while the findings are of use, there are questions about the rigour of the process used to establish those findings. Nevertheless, its qualitative nature and strong focus on self-employed women and caring responsibilities still generated some useful insights.

Wang (2019) conducted a mixed methods study in to examine how self-employed women's experiences shape and are shaped by their different communities. In this study the findings were based on five years of data from the American Community Survey and 40 in-depth interviews with self-employed women. The study highlighted that the communities in which their businesses are located within work as both a context and a "container" (Wang 2019). It argues that women's negotiations with their multiple identities and social roles (e.g. entrepreneur and mother) are not static, nor context-free and place-free (Wang 2019). The self-employed women in this study used their communities to find work, network and as a way to connect with other self-employed women. These findings are in line with previous research which states that self-employed women have been found to capitalise across spaces and places – local parks, schools and churches – that in return foster communal creativity (Ekinsmyth 2011). The business relationships forged by these women are "place-sticky" and many women utilise their local knowledge and mentoring opportunities available to them to start and grow their businesses (Wang 2019). Within gendered geographical theory place is understood in regard to the material (e.g. properties), institutional (e.g. childcare) and moral structures (e.g. good mothering) (Jarvis 2005). The individual make-up of these combined creates both opportunities and challenges within the negotiation of gender roles between women and men (Ekinsmyth 2013). However, this study focuses more on community in the sense of business community and the social support women seek in terms of their self-employed identity.

Other research has begun to draw attention to the role of social support and what this means for balancing self-employment with caring responsibilities. Boz Semerci and Volery (2018) in their study examined and tried to gain further insights into parental stress in self-employed individuals. Their study drew upon the Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia Survey and they conducted a quantitative analysis on the data of 2,051 self-employed individuals. Findings showed that social support is in fact a strong predictor of parental stress. However, this study, while generating valuable insights, is limited and confined to examining parental stress (Boz Semerci and Volery 2018). This also means that it is limited to only

examining the role of social support for self-employed parents. However, the findings are of importance; the more social support that is in place, whether this is emotional or practical, the less parental stress is felt by parent of both genders (Boz Semerci and Volery 2018).

It is noteworthy that while literature to date is scarce when it comes to examining social network support for solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities, research has looked at social networks separately for self-employed people and unpaid caregivers. When it comes to the self-employment literature the majority of research focuses more on social security support (Blundell and Machin 2020; Emmerson et al. 2020) such as economic security more than any social network support (which has been covered in chapter 2, section 5 of this thesis). However, the studies that have examined social networks more closely have found that self-employed individuals tend to connect with others who are self-employed in terms of seeking mentoring, as well as friendship and assistance (Hilbrecht 2016). Within this, family support also comes into the picture and participants in a qualitative study carried out by Hilbrecht (2016) revealed that self-employed individuals consider having a supportive family to be essential to their business success, in particular spousal support. When it came to support from extended family this would take shape in the form of grandparents helping out with childcare as well as providing emotional support (Hilbrecht 2016). Most notably, the study found that the support identified by the self-employed individuals in the study varied considerably but all had similarities in their patterns of support when it came to family, communities, institutional programmes (Hilbrecht 2016). In essence, the experiences of support were varied and complex, especially for those who were single income households (Hilbrecht 2016).

There has also been research conducted on social networks for unpaid caregivers that provides some interesting insights into this area. Del-Pino-Casado and colleagues (2021) conducted a meta-analysis and found that there were mixed findings in the literature when it comes to the relationship between social network support and caregiver burden. The studies they reviewed in the meta-analysis covered spousal caregiving; caring for the elderly; and elderly with medical conditions such as dementia (Ong et al. 2018; Lopez Hartmann et al. 2019; Lee et al. 2022; Miller et al. 2001; Shiba et al. 2016; Hughes et al. 2021). This is important as it reflects the changing nature of unpaid caregiving and the expected future pressures in unpaid care work which have been discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis. A longitudinal qualitative study by Oldenkamp and colleagues (2016) found that there are differences between caring for a spouse versus caring for a child that is deemed legally an adult. They argue that providing care for a spouse tends to mean a higher subjective caring responsibility burden (Oldenkamp et al. 2016). Subjective caring responsibility in this case means what the

participant perceives to be the caregiving burden in relation to themselves. This highlights the subjectivity of social network support and how it is different for each person, their circumstances and the caring relationship. Their findings underscore that when it comes to social network support for unpaid caregivers there is variety and complexity in how they define social network support, and that researchers need to take this into account (Oldenkamp et al. 2016).

While studies on social networks to date are scarce, those that do exist have focused on different types of support networks. Importantly, they highlight the important role of social networks in the intersection of self-employment and caring. During the Covid19 pandemic the role of social networks and social security support became even more apparent and subsequent studies drew attention to this. For example, self-employed women in particular were directly affected by government-imposed lockdowns as well as school and nursery closures, which lead to them taking on additional caring responsibilities (Caliendo et al. 2023). Research has also established the link between unpaid care work and effects on health – the longer an individual provides unpaid care for, the more detrimental effect it has on their health and labour market outcomes (Brimblecombe et al. 2018; Coe and Van Houten 2009; Sinha et al. 2013). But there is more to learn about the role of social networks and what they mean for the management of self-employment and unpaid care work. This study sought to explore how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities utilise their social network to balance the duality of their roles and extend this further to incorporate the full spectrum of caring responsibilities.

3.4 The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work: a research agenda

This SLR sought to facilitate greater understanding of how self-employment intersects with caring responsibilities. The analysis highlighted that previous research exploring the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work has been dominated by studies focusing on self-employed mothers. This SLR analysis generated three overarching themes that studies fall under. These three key concepts – gender, economic security and social networks - are all interconnected and provide a way of understanding the phenomenon at hand: the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work. Examining this relationship through these three key themes highlighted how self-employment intersects with unpaid care work and how new research into this intersection could generate valuable new knowledge in this area.

From previous research, it was clear that self-employment is presented as a dual pathway for individuals with caring responsibilities to generate an income maintaining their caring obligations (Lewis et al. 2015). This is because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with caring responsibilities (Burke 2015). Women, in particular have been driving the increases in self-employment, citing “work-family balance” and “flexibility of hours” and motivators (Hughes 2012). For these women “independence” and “freedom” seemed to be tied in with caring responsibilities when it comes to self-employment motivations (Kirkwood 2009). Mothers have been found to be drawn to self-employment and motivated by being a “good mum” and being a “good worker” (Besamusca 2020). Consequently, research into self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities has focused primarily on mothers to date (Craig, Powell and Cortis, 2012; Carrigan and Duberley, 2013; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Henry, Foss and Ahl, 2016; Foley et al., 2018). While undoubtably valuable research, it has yet to consider the environment, contextual factors and, more importantly, the full spectrum of care that self-employed people provide. Taking into account the environment that self-employed people operate in and how it is shaped by contextual factors will allow researchers to begin to draw out the individual differences within this population. This will also provide new insights beyond gendered lines by examining how self-employed individuals with a broad spectrum of unpaid caregiving responsibilities manage their dual working burdens.

Further, the links between dividing one’s time between caring and income generation are not straightforward – they often depend on the relationship between the unpaid caregiver and the person being cared for, the caring activity and the number of hours unpaid care is provided (Robards et al. 2015). Studies have identified that self-employed people with caring responsibilities are increasingly finding themselves with caring demands outstripping their available time (Craig et al. 2012; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013). As a result they are increasingly turning to time-triaging as a way to manage their time (Carrigan and Duberley 2013). However, there is more that can be learned about time-triaging - in particular, how it manifests itself in different situations, with different sets or combinations of caring responsibilities. This would include examining the circumstances, what activities individuals may utilise, and more so what influences the triage process itself.

Unpaid caregiving is often a long-term responsibility with both physical and mental challenges for the person providing the care (Schulz and Eden 2016). Focusing the research only on self-employed mothers with caring responsibilities provides a narrow glimpse of one type of self-employed person with one type of caring responsibility. What is little known about is how different types of caring responsibilities (long-term, short-term, live in and long-distance)

impact on solo self-employed individuals and their businesses. More importantly, the caring relationship itself may change over time - in terms of time needed and intensity of care provided. This study addresses the limitations of previous research by focusing not only the full spectrum of unpaid care work, but also by approaching it on the basis of live in caregiving and long-distance caring and what impact this may have on the solo self-employed individual and their businesses. Further, while studies have started to draw greater attention to the lived experience of unpaid caregivers (Knowles et al. 2015), there is more that can be learned.

In addition, self-employed individuals consistently mention economic security as an area of dissatisfaction (Meager 2015). Self-perceived economic insecurity has been found to affect a person's health (Lübke 2021). For example, if a person experiences economic insecurity they may experience feelings of anxiety, pressure, and exhaustion which will all affect their overall health (Lübke 2021). They may also start to feel that they have no control or the power to influence their own future resulting in further negative health effects (Lübke 2021). This precarity of self-employment was laid bare during the Covid19 pandemic when governments globally closed parts of their economies in imposed lockdowns (Block et al. 2022). While many countries instigated programs to support the self-employed during this time, UK included, this group of workers faced income losses (Block et al. 2022). Research has begun to look more closely at this but by focusing on wellbeing and resilience of self-employed individuals (see Caliendo et al. 2023; Torrès et al. 2022) and not on how perceived economic security may affect decision making. Again, studies to date have focused on self-employed mothers and yet to consider any other types of solo self-employed individuals when exploring this topic (OECD 2017; Bögenhold and Fachinger 2016; Ahl 2006).

Finally, the role of social networks and support is an emerging field in the topic but much more can be learned about it. Self-employed women in particular were directly affected by government-imposed lockdowns during the Covid19 pandemic as well as school and nursery closures which resulted in them taking on additional caring responsibilities (Caliendo et al., 2023). Research shows that the longer time someone provides unpaid care for, the more detrimental effect it has on their physical health as well as their labour market outcomes (Brimblecombe et al. 2018; Coe and Van Houten 2009b; Sinha et al. 2013). Post-pandemic research has revealed that the mental health of self-employed women was more affected than that of self-employed men and that this was directly linked to, amongst other things, an increase in their caring responsibilities during this time (Caliendo et al. 2023). Recent studies have begun to draw attention to the fact that social support is a critical factor for managing self-employment with caring responsibilities (Boz Semerci and Volery 2018). Businesses run by self-employed mothers have been found to be deeply embedded within social networks

(Sengupta 2019; Wang 2019). Women entrepreneurs capitalise across spaces and places – local parks, schools and churches – to foster creativity (Ekinsmyth 2011) and also rely on institutions (e.g. schools, early year sector, formal carers support etc.) to manage the duality for their roles. However, during the Covid19 pandemic the government-imposed lockdowns, which meant that these social networks were essentially cut off and caring responsibilities increased as a result, had a knock on effects on self-employed women in particular (Caliendo et al. 2023). While research has begun to explore how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities use their social networks to balance income generation and caring responsibilities, more is needed (Boz Semerci and Volery, 2018).

An SLR was well placed to facilitate understanding of how self-employment and unpaid care work intersect, and what research gaps there are in the area. The research questions developed for this study draw directly from the SLR analysis. To further the understanding of how self-employment intersects with unpaid care work this study sought to explore the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work by asking:

1. How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work?

This was explored through the sub questions:

1. How is the negotiation of dual responsibilities shaped by perceived economic security?
2. How do they make use of their social networks to negotiate their dual responsibilities?

The next and final chapter of this study's literature review will focus on the conceptual framework adopted for this research study – institutional logics – and demonstrate how this can be used to further the understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

Chapter 4: Conceptual framework - Institutional logics

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the conceptual framework adopted to study the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. The chapter begins with presenting the chosen framework – institutional logics – tracing its history in institutional theory. The chapter will then move towards defining institutional logics as a meta-theory and explain how it can be used as an analytical framework - the interinstitutional system – and applied to the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. The chapter will then continue by defining ‘logic’ in the context of this study, before setting out the institutional logic of the market order and explain how it shapes self-employment practices, focusing on what this means for individuals in this central logic. Further, it will demonstrate how the institutional logic of family shapes unpaid care work and what this means for participant within this central logic. At this point, the challenges of co-existing institutional logics are highlighted and the institutional pluralism that self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities negotiate. Finally, the chapter will conclude by explaining how adopting the institutional logics framework will allow for a detailed exploration of how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles and help generate new insights into this topic.

4.2 Institutional logics

It is important to adopt a suitable framework to examine the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. One way to further the analysis of this intersection is by adopting the institutional logics perspective. The institutional logics perspective emerged from institutional theory. One of the core aims of institutional theory is to understand organisational actions in more terms than purely strategic and economic reasonings (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). Organisations are positioned in society and society itself will go through changes in values and norms over time, resulting in various pressures on organisations (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). Institutional logics emerged as a way of drawing out the heterogeneity of organisations and individual behaviours within these settings (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). The focus of institutional logics is on how different logics impact individuals and organisations. The core assumptions of the interplay between individual agency and institutional logics, and the strong focus on individual context made institutional logics a valuable theoretical framework to apply to the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. Institutional logics is particularly useful for this study as it allowed the researcher to fully capture the institutional complexity faced by this group of individuals. The double working burden of being the primary caregiver

for someone else and having to simultaneously balance income generation from self-employment leads to a set of circumstances that can often be challenging for these individuals. The research question focuses on how these individuals manage their paid work and unpaid care work. This balancing of income generation and caring responsibilities are influenced by the institutional logics of the market, family and profession (discussed in more detail in section 4.5 of this chapter). This interrelationship is not always straightforward because different logics can influence the same situation in different ways and result in the individual feeling pulled in opposite directions. Then can then create challenges for the individual then in deciding how to manage their conflicting demands of income generation and caring responsibilities.

Institutional logics is a powerful framework that is able to capture this relationship between the individual and their self-employment and the complexity of this interrelationship between these individuals, self-employment and society. Using it as an analytical tool (discussed in more detail in section 4.3.1 of this chapter) allowed the researcher to fully capture and analyse different logics and how they may influence participants in this study. It allows researchers to fully draw out the contrasts and at times contradictions between the different logics that participants in this study face. This makes Institutional logics particularly useful for the research question because it allows the author to examine and gain analytical insights into what influences the managing of paid work and caring responsibilities. In order to further demonstrate that it is a suitable analytical framework for this study, Institutional logics will be broken down into subsections below.

4.3 Tracing the development of the Institutional logics approach

It is important to place Institutional logics within the context of institutional theory and analysis to be fully able to understand it. Research in institutional theory has been conducted for decades and began with the work of Selznick (1948, 1949, 1957) and with Parsons (1956) (cited in Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Selznick conducted empirical analyses of organisations and their institutional environments, while Parsons' work emphasised "how institutions function to integrate organisations with other organisations in society through universalistic rules, contracts, and authority" (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p. 100). In the 1970s a new approach to institutional analysis emerged with the work of Meyer and Rowan (1977) and Zucker (1977). These researchers were concerned with rationality in western cultures and took the view that any formal organisational structures are a part of society and prevalent cultural systems (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). Meyer and colleagues did emphasise the role of modernisation in taken-for-granted-rules which led to isomorphism in the formal structures

of organisations (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) extended Meyer and colleagues' focus on isomorphism from a macro-level societal level to and organisational field level. Specifically, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) focused their work on coercive (pressures on organisations from other organisations which they are dependent upon), normative (changes driven by pressures brought on by professions) and mimetic (when an organisation mimics another organisation's structure due to the perception that the latter organisations structure will be beneficial to them) isomorphism (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). This "new institutionalism" became largely identified as a rejection of rationality as an explanation for any organisational structures and more emphasis was now placed on legitimacy instead of efficiency when it came to explaining the survival and success of organisations (Tolbert and Zucker 1983 in Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

Building on this work, Alford and Friedman (1985) introduced the term institutional logics into the research field. With this work they moved away from the focus on isomorphism (whether in society or in the organisational field) and moved towards examining the effects of "differentiated institutional logics on individuals and organisations in a larger variety of contexts, including markets, industries, and populations of organisational forms" (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p. 100). The individual began to take a much more central role and Alford and Friedman's early work (1985) described the capitalism, democracy, and state bureaucracy as three institutional orders that each had different practices and beliefs, which in return shaped how individual engaged in political structures.

Alongside Friedland and Alford's early work, Jackall developed a variant of institutional logics through his ethnographic analysis, Jackall agreed with Alford and Friedland's view that institutional logics are embodied in practices that are sustained and reproduced by political struggles and cultural assumptions (Thornton et al. 2012). He defined institutional logics as:

the complicated, experientially constructed, and thereby contingent set of rules, premiums and sanctions that men and women in particular contexts create and recreate in such a way that their behaviour and accompanying perspective are to some extent regularized and predictable. Put succinctly, an institutional logic is the way a particular social world works (Jackall 1988 cited in Thornton et al. p. 46).

Jackall conducted empirical work on ethical conflicts in corporate organisation and focused on American managerialism (Jackall 1988; Thornton et al. 2012). Jackall's (1988) approach was both structural and normative (how things "should be"), meaning that he put the emphasis on the norm within institutions and the interinstitutional contradictions of different forms of

organisations. In his 1983 ethnographic study, Jackall focused on corporate structure – that is large corporations in America and was interested in the corporate power structure in these organisations (Jackall 1983). In particular, he argued that corporations tell their workers that hard work will lead to success but he was interested in what happens when individuals working in big corporations no longer view success as connected to hard work. He was keen to find out what happens to the social morality of the organisation when there is no longer an “objective” standard for what constitutes excellence to explain why and how some people succeed and some people fail. Jackall argued that in the end, for managers in these types of organisations to survive and succeed they should conform to the social environment of their organisation (normative), and that bureaucratic organisations shape moral consciousness (Jackall 1983). It is important to note that Jackall’s work was more concerned with the constraining aspects of institutions rather than any opportunities for agency they may present (Thornton et al. 2012).

While Jackall focused his work on the normative breadth of institutions and any intrainstitutional contradictions of organisations (structural), Friedland and Alford (1991) focused on symbolic resources and the interinstitutional contradictions of the interinstitutional system (structural) (Thornton et al. 2012). They differed from Jackall by having an emphasis on the structural and symbolic instead. Friedland and Alford continued to build on their pioneering work in the context of exploring the interrelationship between organisations, individuals, and society (Friedland and Alford 1991). They argued that that each institutional order has its own central logic and that these central logics in return guide the institutional order’s principles and provide the individuals within that order with motivation and identity. Friedland and Alford (1991) asserted ‘logic’ as a set of “organising principles” that in turn guide the institutional order.

Friedland and Alford (1991) defined the core institutions of society as consisting of five orders: the capitalist market, the state, family, democracy, and religion. Friedland and Alford explained these as the central institutions of western societies and that each of the institutions have a central logic. Friedland and Alford (1991 p. 248) define the central logic of the capitalist market as focused on the accumulation and the commodification of human activity. The state is defined as rationalisation and regulation of individual activity through legal and bureaucratic hierarchies. Democracy is defined as the participation and the attempts of popular control over human activity. The institutional logic of family is concerned with community and unconditional loyalty to reproductive needs. Finally, religion is concerned with truth and the symbolic construction of reality.

A key principle of the institutional logics perspective as developed by Friedland and Alford is the material and symbolic elements of institutions (Thornton et al. 2012). In the context of their work the material aspects of institutions refer to the structures and practices. For example, in self-employment this could be creating a business plan, being set up as solo self-employed in the tax system and more. In the context of their work the symbolic elements of institutions refer to ideation and meaning within that institutional order (Thornton et al. 2012). For example, thinking of self-employment again, the symbolic would refer to the idea that self-employment means you can control your own time and have agency. Friedland and Alford focuses on the material and symbolic resources of each institutional logic, and the intrainstitutional contradictions of the entire interinstitutional system – that is between e.g. the market, family, profession and the organisation (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p.101) which makes their work so applicable to this study. In particular one can already see how the institutional logics of these five pillars contradict each other – which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.5 of this chapter in the context of self-employment and caring responsibilities. Friedland and Alford's pioneering work on the institutional logics perspective continued to motivate research and was further developed in the context of exploring the interrelationships between organisations, societies, and individuals and eventually culminated in an analytical framework of how institutional logics shape power in organisations (Thornton and Ocasio 1999). This development is important as Thornton and Ocasio's research (1999) and empirical descriptions helped anchor the practices of individuals in changing social structures, and more importantly, stimulated further research interest in institutional logics (Johansen and Waldorff 2017).

4.3.1 Towards a meta-theory and analytical framework

A meta-theory refers to broad perspectives - in this context the combined work already done on institutional logics - regarding the nature of reality itself (Allana and Clark 2018). Friedland and Alford, and Jackall vary in their emphasis on institutional logics but when researchers draw across several theories there needs to be an underpinning meta-theory to make it work (in simple words, a theory about a theory). Thornton and Ocasio (1999, 2008, 2012) have done extensive work to develop institutional logics into a metatheoretical framework and they present institutional logics as an approach that incorporates structure, symbols, and normativity (drawing on work by Friedland and Alford 1985,1991, and Jackall 1983,1988). The theoretical importance of their research in developing institutional logics cannot be overstated. They argue that institutional logics accounts for both organisational and individual behaviours that is influenced by different logics in various sets of circumstances. Further, they also set out the ambition to use institutional logics as a tool for analysis where you can analyse the

different logics and examine any contrasts and contradictions between them to uncover how they may influence the same situation differently (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 pp. 104, 109; Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). Thornton and Ocasio suggest five guiding principles that guide institutional logics as a meta-theory and these are broken down in more detail below (Thornton et al. 2012).

The first key assumption of institutional logics as a meta-theory is embedded agency and embedded behaviour implies individual agency (Thornton et al. 2012 p. 79). Individual agency allows people to pursue their own self-interest and the satisfaction of their own needs (Thornton et al. 2012). However, individual agency is also guided by a person's social identity and what they identify with (March and Olsen 1989; Holland et al. 1998). An individual's social identification comes from their perception of oneness with a category of people (Ashforth and Mael 1989). In reality people have several social identifications they are a part of – e.g. work groups, organisations, professional field and more. So embedded agency refers to the idea that there is an interplay between individual agency and institutional logics which mediate decision-makings and outcomes. To put this into further context of institutional logics, this means that within each central logic there are assumptions, values, identities and interests of individuals (and organisations) are embedded within their current institutional logic. This is important because it is this institutional context that not only regularises individual behaviour but also provides opportunities for agency and change (Thornton and Ocasio 2008), meaning that the central logic of an institution shapes the practices within it. What is a crucial point here is that the decisions and outcomes are in fact the result of an interplay between both individual agency and institutional structure, making both the individual's interest and agency both enabled and constrained by the institutional logic (Jackall 1988; Friedland and Alford 1991; Thornton and Ocasio 1999). An individual may seek power or status but what is important to understand is that both the means and ends of their pursuit and agency is both enabled and constrained by the institution logics (Giddens 1984 and Sewell 1992 in Thornton and Ocasio 2008). This assumption is referred to as "embedded agency" and assumes the partial autonomy of individuals, institutions in society, and organisation when explaining social structure and action (Friedland and Alford 1991). Thornton and Ocasio (2008) argue that society has three levels – a) organisations in conflict and coordinating b) individual competition and negotiation, and c) institutions contrasting each other yet being interdependent on each other – which all are necessary to fully understand society itself. They argue that these three levels are embedded, and this the perspective of embedded agency suggests that individual as well as organisational action is embedded within institutions. In return, these institutions are socially constructed which means that the institutions themselves are constituted by individual and organisational action (Berger and Luckmann 1967). This core assumptions of

the interplay between individual agency and institutional logics, and the strong focus on individual context makes institutional logics a valuable theoretical framework to apply to this topic.

The second assumption of institutional logics as a meta-theory is that of the interinstitutional system of society. Friedland and Alford helped conceptualise society as an interinstitutional system which was defined as the five social orders of society - the capitalist market, the state, family, democracy, and religion (Friedland and Alford 1991). Each of these institutional orders have their own distinct logic which represent a different set of expectation for individual behaviours and social relations. Viewing society as this interinstitutional system allows researchers to examine sources of agency and heterogeneity as well as observe the contradictions between the different institutional logics (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). More importantly, this means that there is not just one source of rationality for individuals to draw from, but rather multiple sources. In this sense, the institutional logics approach views context as something potentially influenced by opposing logics of different societal orders. For example, health care is shaped by logics of the market, medical care, and democracy (Scott et al. 2000). In this way the institutional logics theory can be used as an analytical framework by applying the interinstitutional system to analyse the interrelationships between organisation, individuals and society. Thornton and colleagues furthered this interinstitutional system of the five orders of society to a typology of seven institutional logics of society: capitalist market, the state, democracy, family, religion, profession and community (see Thornton 2004; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Thornton et al. 2012). It is the interinstitutional system, as defined by Thornton and colleagues (2012), that this study will adopt to investigate the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

The third key assumption of institutional logics as a meta-theory is that each institution has its own material and cultural characteristics. For example, the market logic is not considered part of the cultural sphere, yet it is directly shaped by both culture and social structures (Granovetter 1985 cited in Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p. 105). Granovetter (1985) argued that to fully understand economic activities one must understand their embeddedness in social structures, which in return create different types of cultural spheres that individuals operate in. Another example of this is that while the family and religion logics are not considered part of the economic sphere, they are directly involved in producing, reproducing, and consuming goods and services (Becker 1976 in Thornton and Ocasio p. 105). The institutional logics approach recognises that it is the interplay between these two forces developing and changing institutions.

The fourth key meta-theory assumption of the institutional logics approach is that of historical contingency (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). This focuses on how large environments affect both individual and organisational behaviour. For example, earlier western society emphasised family and religion whereas modern societies have greater emphasis on state and corporate influences (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). In this sense the objective of recognising historical contingency allows researchers to explore if the effects of the structural, economic, political, and normative influences affecting individuals and organisations are confined to a particular time in history, or universal through time (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). The final key assumption of the institutional logics approach as a meta-theory is that it can be applied to institutions at different levels. It represents frames of reference for individuals where they draw upon the principles, practices, and symbols of each institution and helps researchers examine how these in return shape individual experiences and decision-making processes (Thornton et al. 2012).

At this stage, it is important to note that the institutional logic theory's popularity has not come without its own set of challenges. While it is widely used by researchers, there are also some noted theoretical concerns which are important to acknowledge and address (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). These concerns are threefold; there has been a variety in how researchers define and empirically study 'logic'; there is difficulty in understanding how institutional logics are reproduced and interrelate over time; and there are concerns with the building of grand theories to connect micro, meso and macro levels of analysis (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022).

The first challenge, relating to how to empirically define and study 'logic' feed into the latter issues. The definition of logic broadly falls into two different categories. The first one includes studies that take a field-level analysis approach where logic is characterised as "recurring patterns of action, meaning and interests" (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022 p. 7). For example, this approach was taken by Friedland (2014) who understood logics as "grounded in unobservational substances" (2014, p. 245) that "center each institutional domain" (2014, p. 246). Similarly, Ocasio and colleagues (2017) define institutional logics as something existing independently of a researcher's analysis of it. The second type of studies characterise logics as a tool that individuals draw on to make sense of the situations they find themselves in, and this sensemaking in return facilitates actions (Lounsbury et al. 2021). This approach relates directly to Friedland and Alford's (1991) conceptualisation that states that institutional logics are "available to individuals and organisations as bases for action" (1991 p. 253), and also shares similarities with Jackall's early work in 1988. Importantly, this does highlight that how logics are defined empirically remains challenging and calls have been made for a deeper theoretical discussion (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022; Johansen and Waldorff 2017).

The second challenge identified with this approach relates to understanding the interrelation between and reproduction of logics. This specifically relates to how and why institutional logics are defined as patterns of interaction. One field where this is being sub-theorised is in hybridity, where institutional logics are used as tools “to acknowledge and analyse conflicts between differing interests” within hybrid organisations (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022, p. 9). This specifically relates to the co-existence of several institutional orders and how these can give rise to tension and conflicts in various situations (Friedland and Alford 1991). These types of tensions and conflicts have been observed in hybrid organisations and this issue has long been examined in hybrid organisations in sectors subject to competition – in particular, the intersection of the logics of profession, market and bureaucracy (Alvehus and Andersson 2018). Studies in this field often agree that institutional logics are patterns of action, so the question here relates to what hybridity actually is. Alvehus and Hallonsten (2022) raise the question of when a hybrid pattern becomes a new logic. They observe that while these studies imply changes in institutional logic, the same logics seem to stay intact.

The final challenge is particularly aimed at the meta-theoretical framework (Thornton et al. 2012). While Thornton and colleagues present institutional logics as both a theory and an analytical tool, others have argued that it is too complex and intricate to use it this way (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). The five key assumptions of institutional logics as a meta-theory provide researchers with opportunity to develop research across multiple levels of analysis – e.g. organisational level, markets, industries, and geographical communities. The recognition of the interplay between the economic and cultural sphere in developing and change institutions makes it particularly applicable to examining the intersection of paid work and unpaid care work. In addition, the core assumptions of the interplay between individual agency and institutional logics, and the strong focus on individual context makes it even more valuable for a topic where the onus is on exploring the individual at the centre of multiple institutional logics, and their decision-making processes. Further, the assumption of historical contingency makes it particularly interesting for a study where the economic sphere has developed faster than the culture sphere which includes the family and caring responsibilities. It is this exact meta-theory nature of it being a theory and at the same time working as an analytical tool which makes it particularly applicable for this study.

However, it is important to note that these challenges are not primarily empirical and that the theory itself has proven itself as a vehicle for empirical analysis in many insightful studies (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). In many ways the same criticisms that are levelled at institutional logics are the ones aimed at institutional theory in general: “it is also difficult to

agree what an institution is not - because institutions have become everything” (Alvesson and Spicer 2019 p. 205). In fact, there is a general consensus that the institutional logics perspective is a powerful meta-theoretical framework that is particularly applicable to studies interested in examining the interrelationships between organisations, individuals, institutions, and social reality (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022; Thornton et al. 2012). As such the insights it can generate into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work will be useful as it will allow for not only the examination of the formal relationships, but also the informal, and how these interrelationships combined influence the management of the dual roles.

4.4 Defining ‘logic’

As mentioned in section 4.3 of this chapter, the definition of logic can be challenging, so it was important to settle on a definition before undertaking the current study. Thornton and colleagues defined central logics of institutions as: “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values and beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton and Ocasio 1999 p. 804). This means that institutional logics are both material and symbolic, meaning that there is a set of formal and informal rules that in guide and constrain decision making process of individuals within each institution (Ocasio 1997). In return, these formal and informal rules constitute values and a set of assumptions, which are usually implicit, about how an individual is to interpret the organisational reality and what is constituted as appropriate behaviour within that institution (Jackall 2009; March and Olsen 1989). Institutional logic itself is in this sense a link between “individual agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and rule structures” (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p. 101) and this is what provides individuals with meaning to their social realities. This preceding definition of the central of ‘logic,’ as defined by Thornton and Ocasio (1999), is frequently cited by later research (Johansen and Waldorff 2017) and the definition that study also adopts.

4.5 The institutional logics of market, family and profession

It important to outline the co-existing institutional logics which the participants in this study are embedded within, in order to understand what it means to be an individual within each institutional context. However, before doing so it is important to define the market, family and profession order further. Friedland and Alford argue that each institutional order has a central logic. This central logic guides and provides individuals with particular vocabulary of motive

and a sense of identity. These different practices and symbols exist in each different institutional logic and are available to individuals to further elaborate, or manipulate, and use to their own advantage (Friedland and Alford 1991 pp. 232, 248, 251–252). For Friedland and Alford, the core institutions of society – which include the capitalist market, family and profession – each have their own central logic that can both enable and constrain individual behaviour. In essence, one can view an institutional logic as the way one particular social world works.

The market order focuses on the accumulation, codification and pricing of human activity and the institutional order of family focuses on converting social relations into unconditional, and reciprocal, obligations that orient the individual towards reproduction of family members (Friedland and Alford 1991 p. 249). If researchers analyse self-employment as a set of practices shaped by the market logic, they can begin to uncover how it is shaped in the sense of providing both opportunities and constraints for individuals. Self-employment is presented as a dual pathway for individuals with caring responsibilities to a meaningful economic contribution (Lewis et al. 2015). But while presented as a solution to control one's time and income, in practice self-employed people face precarity and constant time-triaging to meet the demands of their paid and unpaid work (Craig et al. 2012; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013). Nonetheless, individuals with caring responsibilities have been drawn to self-employment because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with caring responsibilities (Burke 2015). Mothers, in particular have been repeatedly shown to pursue self-employment as a preference-based strategy to combine work with parenting (Besamusca 2020; Connelly 1992; Budig and Hodges 2010). The institutional logic of the market order reinforces that self-employment means freedom and flexibility, and provides an individual with agency, and as such this is the norm within this logic. Individuals looking for flexible working arrangement and autonomy are drawn to self-employment as a means to manage income generation with caring responsibilities. The market order then reinforces this message through a set of practices that individuals follow and provides them with frames of reference on what it means to be self-employed. Even if the individual faces internal constraints, the central logic of the market order is that self-employment is flexible, an opportunity and provides both agency and autonomy for the individual pursuing it. In this way it works as both an enabler and something that constrains individuals and affects the decision-making process once they are operating within this institutional logic. This is because the self-employed individual will draw upon the set of formal and informal practices and norms within the market order to aid them in decision making processes and reinforce the central logic of the market - strive for profit and success.

In contrast, caring responsibilities are shaped partly by the institutional logic of family. The central logic of the family order is that women are responsible for family and are often the primary caregiver while men are the breadwinner with no main caregiving responsibilities (Boz Semerci et al. 2018). Within this central logic an individual is expected to care as and when needed and expected. For mothers in particular, 'intensive mothering' has added pressure on them and they are expected to dedicate their time solely on their children and accompanying leisure activities to create a purposive childhood (Arendell 2000; Hilbrecht et al. 2008; Johnston and Swanson 2006). Interestingly, in addition to the family logic unpaid caregiving can also be viewed as being shaped by the market logic – meaning there may be two logics shaping the one practice, simultaneously. In the context of rising social care demands and needs, the importance of unpaid caregivers and the contribution they make to the UK economy and society cannot be ignored. Unpaid caregiving is not only shaped by the logic of family, but also the logic of market as is it seen as a recourse and as a 'given' by social providers in a mixed welfare economy (Twigg and Atkin 1994). Unpaid caregiving often lies on the margins of formal support and while unpaid caregivers are rarely the target of a direct intervention, they are part of care that needs to be provided regardless of the nature of it (Twigg and Atkin 1994). This ambiguity and difficulty to conceptualise the relationship between unpaid caregiving and formal caring support extends not only to local agencies, but also to policymakers (Twigg and Atkin 1994; Foley et al. 2023). As a result, unpaid caregivers are often viewed as a resource that is seen as being available to formal agencies (Twigg and Atkin 1994). This is important because it shows that on the one hand unpaid caregiving does operate within the family order, but also that the complexities of the relationship between unpaid caregiving and formal caring support may mean that it can also be shaped by the market logic.

Thirdly, the landscape of professional work has evolved, and individuals are now not just relied upon for their expertise but are also expected to meet effectiveness and efficiency standards (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Freidson (2001) developed a framework based on Weber's model of rational-bureaucracy and Adam Smith's model of the free market (see Weber 1949 and Smith 1976) that brought different perspectives of professional research together and proposed that it can be organised by three different logics: rational-legal bureaucracy, market and professional. In doing so Freidson (2001) suggested that professional work is organised by all of these three logics, but his model presented one of competition without the necessary theoretical arguments for explaining any co-existence of logics or how individuals can manage the co-existing logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011). The question of tension between co-existing logics has received more attention through the institutional logics lens but focused primarily on societal level. Applying it to an individual level analysis and building on conceptions of logics with ideal types can provide more insights (Freidson 2001; Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

Goodrick and Reay (2011) identified the ideal type of profession logic in their study on professional work and multiple institutional logics. They argued that the ideal type of profession relies on their knowledge to perform their work alone (or in partnership), have some professional control over the content and how they organise this work. For example, physicians would practice medicine alone - they would not be employees. Similarly, the ideal profession type in accounting would mean that industry sets the appropriate standards. This conceptualisation of the profession logic also creates scope for examining individuals engaging in different industries.

The interinstitutional system does a good job of reminding researchers to look beyond the formal rules and consider the informal rules that exists in the social context of society. While on the surface the central logic of the market makes self-employment an attractive route for those with caring responsibilities, complex interplay between the two co-existing logics exists. The central logic of the market means that a self-employed person has agency and freedom to dictate how they spend their time working and caring. In contrast the central logic of the family order focuses on self-sacrifice and unpaid caregiving is often in response to the demand of the person(s) needing care. In reality, this means that a self-employed person with caring responsibilities moves between two institutional logics and must navigate both, and at times, as has been suggested, the unpaid caregiving is shaped by both the market and the family logic simultaneously. For example, self-employed women with caring responsibilities have a constant negotiation between paid and unpaid work identities (e.g. “entrepreneur” and “mother”, “market trader” and “elder carer”) taking place. This has shown to lead to poorer mental health as well as an increase in time-triaging in efforts to meet dual demands. The SLR findings highlighted that self-employed mothers in particular, expressed struggling to balance their time between dual responsibilities. This points to a constant negotiation taking place in any given situation to decide which task receives priority over the other. This negotiation does not only take place internally, but it also shaped by the institutional logics in which the dual identities sit. Applying the institutional logics perspective may therefore be a valuable tool in generating new insights into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid caregiving.

4.6 Institutional pluralism

It is clear that self-employed people with caring responsibilities navigate co-existing logics. When individuals are faced with multiple simultaneous institutional logics (e.g., market, family and profession) which they must maintain and balance, it can be explained as being faced with something called ‘institutional pluralism’ (Kraatz and Block 2008). Institutional pluralism, coined by Kraatz and Block (2008) arises when individuals are operating within several

institutional logics, each which comes with its own set of rules and norms. For example, the participants in this study already face several institutional logics which means they are already operating in pluralistic environments. The institutional logics of market and family poses different challenges, and at times opportunities, for the participants. The same institutional logic for one individual may provide them with agency and opportunity but deem to bring challenges for the next individual who may feel that the institutional logics are at odds with each other. The framework itself allows researcher to more closely examine these individual social contexts that self-employed people with caring responsibilities face.

Previous research has established three different explanations for when several logics co-exist in the way that does for the participants in this study (Goodrick and Reay 2011). The first explains the relationship between several logics in terms of one dominant logic and then a subsequent logic that exists but does not guide any behaviours (Goodrick 2002). The second conceptualises the relationship between logics as one of battle and competition and that with time it resolves by one logic wins and becomes the dominant logic for some time (Hensmans 2003). The third stream of research suggest that the relationship between institutional logics that co-exist and competition does not always resolve it, and that different logics can be associated with different individuals, geographical communities and/or types of organisations places (e.g., competing logics held by different segments within an industry) (Goodrick and Reay 2011; Lounsbury 2007; Thornton et al. 2005).

However, while this work combined has addressed the relationship between multiple institutional logics in professional work, it has not articulated how a single group of professional's work is organised collectively by different logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Research has begun to draw attention to the fact that logics can co-exist in a so called 'constellation of logics' because the influence of each logic is divided up in some way (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Constellation is a term coined by Goodrick and Reay (2011) to describe a combination of institutional logics that guide behaviours in individuals at any point of time. The term itself refers to constellation of stars and is conceptually useful as the pattern of multiple logics constellation is made up of items that can be identified as a pattern, when viewed from different perspectives. Viewing co-existing logics as a constellation can help researchers see the ways in societal logics can combine with each other to influence professional work. The concept of a constellation allows the pattern of which the multiple logics are combined at any given time, to be fully captured (Goodrick and Reay 2011).

While previous research has looked at competing logics and explained them as one dominating the other, studies of co-existing logics point to a more dynamic understanding of

the relationship between logics. These point to that individuals can move between different logics depending on time and challenges at hand. This would allow for analyses to be more nuanced because it captures how co-existing logics work together (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). This process of diving up the logics is labelled as “segmenting” and is suggested to be fundamental in understanding how several institutional logics can co-exist. In essence this means that multiple logics may co-exist by individuals segmenting their time based on the influence of the different logics, to mitigate the impact from competing logics. This makes the institutional logics perspective even more applicable to a study that is examining how individuals with co-existing logics manage income generation and caring responsibilities.

While there is value in researching self-employment and unpaid care work separately, it does not allow researchers to fully explore the intersection of self-employed work meeting unpaid care work as a whole, and what it really is like for the individual at centre of it having to manage it all. This study was concerned with understanding this interrelationship between co-existing institutional logics and how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work (Goodrick and Reay 2011).

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the chosen framework to examine the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work – institutional logics. Emerging from institutional theory, the institutional logics perspective has become an increasingly important framework for researcher to examine the interrelationships between organisations, individuals, institutions and social reality (Thornton et al. 2012). The core assumption of institutional logics is that there is an interplay between individual agency and institutional logics which mediate decision-makings and outcomes (Friedland and Alford 1991).

Friedland and Alford (1991) argued that the core of institutions of society consists of five institutional orders - the capitalist market, the state, family, democracy, and religion – and that these could be used to examine the relationships between organisations, individuals, institutions. Subsequent research further developed the ‘interinstitutional system’ which has advanced the institutions of society to be defined as: capitalist market, the state, democracy, family, religion, profession and community (see Thornton 2004; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Goodrick and Reay 2011; Thornton et al. 2012).

One way of applying the interinstitutional system to gain further insights into this topic is to analyse self-employment and unpaid care work through the institutional logic of the market,

family and profession order. If researchers analyse self-employment as a set of practices shaped by the market logic, they can begin to uncover how it is shaped in the sense of providing both opportunities and constraints for individuals. Similarly, caring responsibilities are partly shaped by the institutional logic of family as well as the market logic. Thirdly, the landscape of professional work has evolved, and individuals are now not just relied upon for their expertise but are also expected to meet effectiveness and efficiency standards (Goodrick and Reay 2011). The interinstitutional system does a good job of reminding researchers to look beyond the apparent and take into account the informal rules that exists in the social context of society. While on the surface the central logic of the market makes self-employment an attractive route for those with caring responsibilities, complex interplay between co-existing logics exists. It is this interrelationship that the institutional logics framework allows researcher to uncover, analyse and examine more closely.

The core assumptions of the interplay between individual agency and institutional logics, accompanied by the strong focus on individual context, made institutional logics a useful framework for the current research. The institutional logics approach allows researchers to more closely examine the individual social contexts that self-employed people with caring responsibilities face and how their decision-making processes enable them to manage their dual roles. Applying the institutional logics framework to the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work therefore helped further the understanding of this important intersection, and generated new insights into how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work.

Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline how the research question and sub research questions, which emerged from the SLR, were explored. The ontological and epistemological position of this research study will be explained. Insights will be provided into the research design – qualitative, cross-sectional study – including a discussion on the sampling and analysis methods utilised. Research ethics and limitations of this study design are also considered within this chapter.

5.2 Research Questions

This research project explored the intersection of solo self-employment and unpaid care work in the United Kingdom by answering the following research questions:

1. How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work?

Sub questions:

1. How is the negotiation of dual responsibilities shaped by perceived economic security?
2. How do they make use of their social networks to negotiate their dual responsibilities?

5.3 Theoretical assumptions

A research paradigm functions as a framework to illustrate both the philosophical approach and the mechanisms that will be applied when undertaking research (Scotland 2012). Each research paradigm has its own ontological and epistemological position, which in return defines the way in which the research will be conducted (Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffitte 2014; Scotland 2012). Ontological assumptions are concerned with what constitutes reality – that is how things are and how things work - and researchers need to take their position in regard to this before conducting any studies (Scotland 2012). The next two sections will expand on the philosophical approach taken in this study, explaining the ontological and epistemological position of this research and how they inform the chosen research paradigm.

5.3.1. Research paradigms

The concept of paradigms exerts considerable influence when it comes to management research (Shepherd and Challenger 2013). The nature of reality is often thought of as what Burrell and Morgan (1979) call subjective and objective (discussed in more detail in section 5.3.2 of this chapter). Paradigms serve as frameworks that illustrate the philosophical approach one can take when conducting research (Shepherd Challenger 2013) and Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that there are four distinct paradigms: functionalism, radical humanism, radical structuralism, and interpretivism that can be utilised by researchers. Burrell and Morgan regard these four paradigms as defined by basic meta-theoretical assumptions that researchers then use as a frame of reference, mode of theorising and *modus operandi* when conducting research (1979 p. 23). These four paradigms offer alternative ways of viewing social reality and so to understand the nature of all four would mean to understand four different views of society. One cannot synthesise them as they do contradict each other, but they can be viewed as alternatives in the sense that “one *can* operate in different paradigms sequentially over time, but mutually exclusive, in the sense that one cannot operate in more than one paradigm at any given point in time, since in accepting the assumptions of one, we defy the assumptions of all the others” (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 25).

The first one, the functionalist paradigm, the dominant one when it comes to studying organisations, approaches matter from an objectivist view point. This paradigm seeks to offer rational explanations and is a pragmatic and problem orientated approach which focuses on providing solutions to any practical problems. The second one, the radical humanist paradigm, is concerned with a subjective standpoint. The frame of reference here is focused on “overthrowing or transcending any limitations of social arrangements” (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 32). Thirdly, the radical humanist approach places a central emphasis on the human consciousness, radical change, contradictions, modes of domination and emancipation (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 32). The radical structuralist approach also seeks radical change but from an objectivist approach. Burrell and Morgan (1979 p. 34) put it succinctly when they argue that while it too is concerned with the human consciousness, radical change, contradictions, modes of domination and emancipation, it differs in the sense that it approaches this from a positivist standpoint. Radical structuralists focus on already existing structural relationships within the social world and argue that radical change is already built in “to the very nature and structure of contemporary society” and seek to try to explain these relationships (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 34). Finally, the interpretive paradigm, which this study adopts, is concerned with a subjective point of view on reality. This paradigm seeks to understand the social world as it is from an individual’s subjective experience. Within the

interpretivist paradigm the social world is seen a social process which is created by individuals within it. More importantly, the focus is to understand this social reality and the everyday world in terms of an ongoing process (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 31).

The interpretive paradigm's intellectual roots are often traced back to the work of early German idealists, most notably it has been shaped by the work of Dilthey, Husserl, and Weber (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that the interpretive paradigm itself should be considered as four distinct but related categories which they distinguish by their level of 'subjectivity'. These are defined as: solipsism, phenomenology, hermeneutics and phenomenological sociology. The first one, solipsism represents the most extreme form of subjectivity and "denies that the world has any distinct independent reality" (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 238). The second one, phenomenology is discussed under two different categories – transcendental phenomenology and existential phenomenology (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Transcendental phenomenology is often associated with the work of Husserl and his preoccupation that science is characterised by 'intentionality' (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Husserl argued that there is no independent reality but also that reality is not constructed by individual consciousness. He argued that consciousness is intentional and was concerned with understanding how it related to other things, and this could only be done subjectively (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Existential phenomenology is associated with the work of Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Sartre and Shutz. Burrell and Morgan (1979) argue that Shutz's work links the work of Weber and Husserl, and also draws on the philosophy of Bergson. Shutz argues that consciousness is a stream of lived experiences that have no meaning in themselves, but rather the meaning is dependent on reflexivity. Reflexivity in this context is the process of looking back at oneself and what has been going on and meaning is then attached to the actions retrospectively (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 244). The third one, hermeneutics, draws on the work of Dilthey and is concerned with interpreting and understanding "the products of the human mind which characterise the social and cultural world" (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 235 – 236). Finally, phenomenological sociology, is also discussed under two categories – ethnomethodology and phenomenological symbolic interactionism. Ethnomethodology derives from Shutz's phenomenology and is the study of the world through everyday life drawing on practical activities and circumstances and examines how people make sense of their everyday lives (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 247). Phenomenological symbolic interactionism focuses on "emergent properties of interaction, through which individuals create their social worlds" (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 251). The societal world is made by individuals rather than meaning being derived and imposed on individuals (Burrell and Morgan 1979).

While the interpretive paradigm has different school of thoughts, researchers all share a common perspective – the primary purpose “is to understand the subjective experience of individuals” (Burrell and Morgan 1979 p. 253). To further understand the research paradigm adopted for this study – interpretivism – the next sections will explain both the ontological (section 5.3.2) and epistemological (section 5.3.3) position of this research.

5.3.2. Ontology

Each research paradigm has its own ontological and epistemological assumptions, which defines the way in which the research will be conducted (Hlady-Rispal and Jouison-Laffitte 2014). Ontology in research is what an individual believes about the nature or reality (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). But as Burrell and Morgan (1979 p. 253) point out with their four paradigms, and in particular the interpretive paradigm, the nature of reality is not a simple binary, but rather points on a spectrum or what they would deem as an ongoing process. Subjectivism asserts that the world is socially constructed and “language brings facts into consciousness. It plays a constitutive role” (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 443; Burrell and Morgan 1979). This means that there can be multiple interpretations of reality and there is no single observable reality (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). This study adopts a subjective ontological position; specifically, the Institutional logics perspective.

Central to institutional logics is that institutions are socially constructed assumptions, values and beliefs that have historical patterns of material practices, and these values, beliefs and social rules are shaped and reproduced by individuals to organise their time, space and in return provide a meaning to their social realities (Thornton and Ocasio 1999). The institutional logics perspective is a meta-theoretical framework (as discussed in detail in chapter four of this thesis) that allows researchers to analyse interrelationships between institutions, individuals, and organisation in social systems (Thornton et al. 2012 p. 2). Institutional logic itself is in this sense a link between “individual agency and cognition and socially constructed institutional practices and rule structures” (Thornton and Ocasio 2008 p. 101) and this is what provides individuals with meaning to their social realities. In other words, the institutional perspective argues that reality is socially constructed, in line with a constructionist ontological position.

Friedland and Alford (1991) argued that the core institutions of society are defined as the capitalist market, the state, democracy, family and religion. Thornton and Ocasio (1999) identified a sixth one to be profession, and later Thornton and colleagues (2012) identified a further one being community. A key principle of the institutional logics perspective is that each of the institutional orders - market, the state, democracy, family and religion, profession and

community – have material and symbolic elements to them. Thornton and colleagues define the material and symbolic elements as the following: “by material aspects of institutions, we refer to structures and practices; by symbolic aspects of institutions, we refer to ideation and meaning, recognising that the symbolic and the material are intertwined and constitutive of one another” (Thornton et al. 2012 p. 10). Zilber (2008) defines symbols as something that is embodied in the material – that is the structures and practices – and the material in return both express and affect the meanings of symbols. In addition to this, symbols are not something forever stable, meaning you cannot determine their meaning once and for all in a linguistic system, but rather they can break with context and in that way take on different connotations (Zilber 2008 p. 161). Friedland and Alford (1991) do a good job of reminding researchers why any institutional analysis has to consider both symbols and practices. For example, family and religion may be considered as not part of the economic sphere but are actually directly involved in production, consumption and re-production of goods and services (Becker 1976). Similarly, the market order may not typically be viewed as part of the cultural sphere but is, partly, directly shaped by culture and social structure (Granovetter 1985). What makes the institutional perspective unique is that it accounts for the dynamics of both the material and the symbolic. These formal and informal rules in return constitute values and a set of assumptions, which are usually implicit, about how an individual is to interpret the organisational reality and what is constituted as appropriate behaviour within that institution (Jackall 1988; March and Olsen 1989).

The core emphasis here is that in order for researchers to understand both individual and organisational behaviour they must examine it from within the social and institutional context that it takes place, because it is this institutional context that not only regularises individual behaviour but also provides opportunities for agency and change (Thornton and Ocasio 2008). There is a general consensus amongst researchers that the institutional logics perspective is a powerful framework which it is particularly applicable to studies interested in examining the interrelationships between individuals, institutions, organisations and social reality (Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022; Thornton et al. 2012).

5.3.3 Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge and epistemological positions are divided between those that are based on foundationalism and anti-foundationalism (Hughes and Sharrock 1988). These two starting points of foundationalism and anti-foundationalism are important due to the interrelationship between the key components of research which are ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods. Foundationalism believes that “true

knowledge must rest upon a set of firm, unquestionable...indisputable truths which our beliefs may be logically deducted, so retaining the truth value of the foundational premises from which they follow" (Hughes and Sharrock 1998 pp. 4–5). This means that reality exists independently (objectively) of individual knowledge. Foundationalism is the foundation of positivist and realist traditions of research (Grix 2010). In contrast, anti-foundationalists do not believe that the social world exists independently from individual knowledge from it, but rather that human actors socially and discursively construct reality. In addition, they believe that "there are no central values that can be rationally and universally grounded" (Grix 2010, p. 64). Anti-foundationalism follows the interpretive traditions of research (Burrell and Morgan 1979). Based on the interpretive paradigm and subjective ontological position of this study, the anti-foundationalists approach was the most applicable.

There are several approaches to both collecting and interpreting the knowledge one has of reality (ontology) (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009; Junjie and Yingxin 2022). Positivism is concerned with what is observable and can be measured, believes in the concept of science and often leads to social science positivists systemising data through statistical analysis (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009; Junjie and Yingxin 2022). Interpretivism is concerned with the subjective and has its roots in symbolic interactionism and phenomenology. Interpretivism, rallies against the positivist approach and argues that it is the subjective experience that matters and there is no universal truth but rather that how people view an object is what determines the nature of that object. In other words, reality is socially constructed (Junjie and Yingxin 2022). This made the interpretive approach to collecting and interpreting data the most appropriate for this study.

This study explored, in-depth, solo self-employed individuals' experiences of managing their income generation with their caring responsibilities. These experiences were highly individualised and context driven based on their perceived economic security and the level of social support each individual had available to them. Self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities negotiate on a daily basis – they negotiate their time, their identities and their roles within these internally. This negotiation itself is shaped by what is accepted and expected within the institutional logics that they are a part of. This study was concerned with understanding the relationship between multiple institutional logics and how self-employed individuals paid and unpaid work is managed and influenced by those institutional logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011). This meant that an interpretivist approach was most applicable to exploring the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work as it allowed for the subjective experience of each individual to be fully explored and analysed to gain new insights into the area.

5.3.4 Capturing Institutional logics qualitatively

The interpretive nature of qualitative approaches makes them particularly useful for investigating institutional logics (Reay and Jones 2016). When researchers study logics it is important that they “ground their insights and abstractions to the context through quotes, observations and thick description” (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 442). This also means that within these qualitative studies different researchers reveal and interpret institutional logics in different ways. As such, understanding research approaches to capturing logics is important, as most researchers discern and compare several logics at play within one organisation (Reay and Jones 2016). This situation is called “institutional complexity” and is borne out of institutional pluralism which is when different individuals face several institutional logics at once (Reay and Jones 2016; Greenwood et al. 2011). One approach is called “pattern inducing” and is used by researchers to capture logics through analysing their qualitative data from a “bottom up, inductive approach” (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 449). Within this technique researchers can gather their data through interviews and personal experiences. They then identify logics by analysing and coding the data in a way that can show how behaviours, or beliefs, are guided by a particular logic. This approach attempts to draw upon the concept of logics as something both symbolic and material (Reay and Jones 2016; Friedland and Alford 1991). In this approach researchers capture logics by showing as much of the raw data as possible (e.g. taking direct quotes from interviews).

Some challenges are associated with pattern inducing techniques: explanations are only relevant to the context of the study and maintaining a close connection between the raw data and the context means that it is tailored to each specific case. However, the benefits of this approach are that researchers are able to provide nuanced descriptions of practices from which patterns associated with particular logics can be highlighted. Secondly, it allows researchers to demonstrate the richness of the data through the presentation of direct quotations from the participants. Thirdly, this approach allows researchers to provide insights into the participants’ own explanations for a particular behaviour, in return helping to demonstrate the values and beliefs that guide those practices. Finally, the pattern inducing technique is an interesting way to build new theory (should that be the focus of the study) and allows the linking of micro-level phenomenon to institutional concepts (Reay and Jones 2016 p. 451).

In summary, adopting the constructionist ontological position in the form of the institutional logics framework, followed by an epistemological approach of interpretivism allowed for a full

exploration of the research questions and understanding of the conditions in which self-employment intersects with unpaid care work.

5.4 Research design

This research project adopted a qualitative design, as its primary concern was with exploring the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work from the participants perspectives (Neergaard and Uihøi 2007). Qualitative research draws from the philosophies of constructionism, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). Merriam and Tisdell (2015 p. 6) explain that “qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences”. In addition to constructionism informing interpretivism, there is phenomenology and symbolic interactionism which are of importance as well (Merriam and Tisdell 2015) . Kvale and Brinkmann (2015 p. 30) do a good job of pointing out that “generally, in qualitative research phenomenology is a term that that points to an interest in understanding social phenomena from the actors’ own perspectives and describing the world as experienced by the subjects, with the assumption that the important reality is what people perceive it to be”. Symbolic interactionism focuses on shared meaning and interpretation that individuals create and share through their common interactions (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). This allows researchers to fully understand and examine a phenomenon from the participant’s perspective, considering their individual experiences and symbolic interactionism which gives a shared meaning and interpretation of their social worlds.

Merriam and Tisdell (2015 p. 27) state that “to get to the essence or basic underlying structure of the meaning of an experience, the phenomenological interview is the primary method of data collection”. Qualitative interviews aim to gain nuanced accounts of different aspects of an interviewees world and encourages participants to describe their experiences and feelings as precisely as possible (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). A qualitative research design with semi-structured interviews was particularly appropriate for this study. The research questions in this study were explored using individual semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper insight to participants’ experiences, challenges, and pressures they faced while managing their dual roles (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). There are some standards researchers can follow to ensure that they conduct interviews well. The key to collecting good data is to ask good questions and to practice interviewing – a pilot study is a good way of doing this and is discussed in the next section (5.4.1) (Merriam and Tisdell 2015). Good interview questions are those that yield descriptive data and open-ended questions, such as “tell me about a time when...” as well as probing questions work well (Merriam and Tisdell 2015 p. 99). An interview schedule was also developed to ensure detailed, rigorous examination of the research

questions, reflecting the themes that needed to be examined more closely (see appendix 6). Semi-structured interviews also allowed the researcher to pursue emerging topics of relevance, reflecting the exploratory nature of the study (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). It allowed the researcher to explore how the participants experienced their self-employment and unpaid care work and how they navigated the challenges, tensions and at time opportunities to be able to manage the duality of their roles and gain a rich and deep insight into this phenomenon.

5.4.1 Pilot study

Researchers often find themselves in situations where they have to make educated guesses based on theory and validity of their research design. Pilot studies are an underutilised technique which can be crucial to understanding, and at times reshaping the final study (Kezar 2000). While it is often not a requirement of conducting a study, and researchers often may find themselves not having enough time, nonetheless it can be a valuable tool. In the context of this study, a pilot study was conducted between February – March 2020 to test the recruitment and interview strategies and to ensure greater rigor in the methodological approach adopted.

Based on the literature review the eligibility criteria for the participants for the pilot study were the following:

- Participants who are either a) living with the person they care for or b) not living with the person they care for
- Self-employment a primary source of income
- Live in Tees Valley, North-East of England. Tees Valley includes Redcar and Cleveland, Darlington, Stockton-On-Tees, Hartlepool and Middlesbrough.
- Not claiming Carer's Allowance
- Parents will be excluded unless their caring responsibility is in addition to childcare

The pilot sampled three people who lived in the North-East, England, who were solo self-employed and engaged in unpaid care work. The reason or the geographical focus was because self-employment has been especially encouraged in regions such as Teesside – a region that battles with high unemployment and low social mobility, while experiencing an above national average of women in self-employment (Greene et al. 2008; Johnston et al. 2016). Significant increases in self-employed mothers – 15% of all self-employed people are mothers, an increase of 70% since 2008 – represent radical changes in economic

participation, parenting and, potentially, broader social organisation (Lorely Burt MP 2015; Ekinsmyth 2011; Kitching 2016). Participants had to either be living with the person they were caring for or caring at long-distance. Based on the SLR, it was decided that the inclusion criteria for caring responsibilities should exclude parents unless the child was in addition to other caring responsibilities that were taking place (e.g. caring for a spouse).

The pilot was invaluable and allowed for the refinement of the inclusion criteria of participants and feedback from the interviewees. The pilot helped finalise the interview schedule and allowed practice runs of interviewing and judging the recruitment process. It was difficult to recruit for participants to take part in interviews but the researcher did their best to recruit for participants. Participants were found through online recruitment and word of mouth. The initial interview schedule had been developed off the back of the SLR, and as a result took an educated guess that gender would be at the forefront of what participants wanted to discuss. The researcher asked participants for their feedback on the interview schedule to see if there was anything they could expand on or had missed to ask about. Feedback received was that the researcher should probe more and not be afraid of asking more about economic security as this was an issue at the forefront of their minds. As a result, the interview schedule was amended accordingly to ask more about perceived economic security.

Further feedback received was in relation to asking directly about gender differences when it came to caring responsibilities. None of the participants alluded or mentioned gender being a factor throughout their interviews. In fact, they fed back that they did not think gender played a role in their situations and wanted to talk much more about their self-employed work and what this meant for the management of their caring responsibilities. Based on the feedback on the pilot the researcher gained a deeper understanding of what this group of people wanted to speak about and amended the interview schedule accordingly. This does not mean that participants in the data collection later on did not allude to any gender differences, but these were more talked about in the sense of institutional norms going backwards due to the Covid19 pandemic (discussed in more detail in chapter 6 section 6.6). The pilot study allowed the interview schedule to be further refined helped fully ground the researcher's understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

In addition, it proved difficult to find participants who did not have only childcare responsibilities. It became clear that to exclude parents would potentially mean missing out on rich and valuable data. This is because if someone is caring for a child with additional needs it would still be classed as childcare even though the caring responsibilities are heightened. As such and based on the SLR and the results of the pilot study, the researcher

refined the eligibility criteria to include those who only had children as their caring responsibilities as well. In terms of the geographical focus the pilot study did not alter this. In fact, it was due to the Covid19 pandemic that interviews could not be conducted face to face, which in return allowed for the geographical focus to be expanded to United Kingdom as a whole. The pilot study helped reshape and refine the research study in terms of the inclusion criteria as well as the interview schedule before conducting the data collection and helped shape the research design further to capture rich data.

5.4.2 Sampling

Participants were recruited through purposive sampling, a widely used sampling method employed in qualitative research (Gentles et al. 2015). This non-random technique allowed for the selection of information-rich participants, who were relevant to the research question, to gain deeper insights and understanding for the context in which self-employed individuals with unpaid caring responsibilities operate (Etikan 2016; Gentles et al. 2015). The study sampled people who lived in the United Kingdom, who were solo self-employed and engaged in unpaid care work. Participants had to either be living with the person they were caring for or caring for them at long-distance.

To recruit suitable participants, a poster was created that was shared online on the social media platforms Twitter, LinkedIn and Facebook. Emails were also sent to several organisations, including: Darlington Carers Support, Carers Trust National, Carers Trust Scotland, Carers Trust Wales, Carers UK. In addition, a bulletin was added internally at University of Stirling. The recruitment was primarily online as it was lockdown in the UK and face to face was not an option so all recruitment took place online.

A qualitative approach allowed for the examination of the depth, complexity, variation, and context surrounding self-employed individuals (Gentles et al. 2015). Specifically, a maximum variation sampling, also known as heterogenous sampling, ensured the exploration of the topic from all angles and allowed the researcher to select participants from a broad spectrum of backgrounds related to the research question (Etikan 2016). While there is no exact number of participants that fits each study, researchers have general principles and recommendations to follow to ensure data saturation levels are reached, such as data triangulation (Fusch and Ness 2015). When conducting interviews Bernard (2012) states that it is difficult to quantify the number of interviews needed to reach data saturation, but rather that the researchers take what they can get when it comes to interviews. One way to ensure rigor is to collect rich and thick data and to choose a methodology that has been used before in the area that one is examining (Fusch and Ness 2015; Bernard 2012; Porte 2013). In line with this, adopting

purposive sampling allowed the researcher to account for a small pool of data-rich participants (Etikan 2016; Suri 2011).

The eligibility criteria for the main data collection were the following:

- Participants who are either a) living with the person they care for or b) not living with the person they care for
- Self-employment a primary source of income
- Live in the United Kingdom
- Not claiming Carer's Allowance

In total 30 participants were recruited and interviewed. Out of these 30 participants six agreed to a second interview three months after the first was conducted. The follow up interviews were because initially the research study was due to be longitudinal but circumstances outside of the researcher's control, the Covid19 pandemic, meant that the study was later changed to cross-sectional. In addition, the follow up interviews were conducted when the participants were still in lockdown and as such did not yield any new insights into their situations. During data analysis 5 participants had to be excluded from the study for either not being fully self-employed or set up as a limited company:

- Limited company with 10 employees (construction)
- Self-employed with cottages and hired contractors
- Limited company but a partnership
- Pension income as well and had 1 employee
- Limited company and used the furlough scheme

While every step was taken to ensure that participants were eligible, some information only became known during the interview. These participants had noted down that they were self-employed both in the survey and pre-interview communication. However, to ensure rigor the data only consists of solo self-employed individuals who received no other informal help with their businesses. As such, these participants had to be excluded from the study to stay in line with the research aim. The final number of participants included in the subsequent data analysis were 25 participants.

The nature of this study required access to not only discussion of the participants' businesses but also their personal lives during a time of severe challenges. In order to facilitate this as much as possible recruitment took place at a time during the day or evening that suited each individual participant. Some participants did touch upon sensitive subjects that elicited

emotional responses. Participants were fully debriefed (see appendix 4) after each interview and provided with information to any support groups, if they required it.

5.4.3 Main Data collection

Following the pilot study, the interview schedule and the questionnaire was finalised and another ethics application was applied for. The ethics application 'The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work 0206' was approved on 14th of January 2021 (see appendix 1). Initially, the research study was due to be longitudinal and some initial follow-up interviews were conducted. However, due to the Covid19 pandemic which resulted in severe pressures for not only the researcher, but also other industries, the data collection was changed to cross-sectional to capture the challenges that this group of self-employed people faced. The Covid19 pandemic provided the researcher with a unique opportunity to explore the intersection of self-employment and caring responsibilities during times of crises – in this case a pandemic, providing an insight into a research gap that arose from the global situation. Due to the Covid19 pandemic, the data collection fell during the third lockdown in the UK when all formal support institutions (excluding early years and key worker's support) were closed. All participants were interviewed during January – February 2021 and as such all interviews were conducted online using Microsoft Teams. To find suitable participants a poster was created that was shared online through social media channels. Participants contacted the researcher via social media providing their email address and would receive a follow up email with more information about the study. Many participants also shared the call for research in their own respective networks which enabled a reach into different industries as well as receiving more participants to conduct the study.

If participants agreed to proceed, a suitable time was set up to conduct the online interview through Microsoft Teams. The average length of each of the 25 interviews was 42 minutes, with the longest interview being 1 h 15 minutes and the shortest being 30 minutes, with a total time of 990 minutes (16.5 hours) of interview material. The interviews resulted in 248 pages of transcripts for analysis, highlighting the richness of the data collected. In addition to semi-structured interviews, a short questionnaire was used to gain demographic information about each participant (see appendix 5). This allowed the researcher to gain insights into their gender, age, how long they had been self-employed, their access to government support, marital status, and form of caring responsibilities. Grix (2010) noted the value of combining questionnaires with semi-structured interviews. The participants all returned the questionnaire and consent form before the interview commenced which allowed the researcher to have a look at the information beforehand. Questionnaires are also a good way to ask participants if

they will agree to a follow up interview (Grix 2010). While this was not asked through the questionnaire, the researcher did ask at the end of each interview if they were allowed to contact the participant three months later to see if they were interested in doing a repeat interview. However, it transpired that three months later the UK was still in lockdown, so the six participants who opted for it were in the same circumstances as they had been when the first interview was conducted. As such, the repeat interviews did not yield any new data worthy of inclusion in the new analysis.

Using semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire collecting demographic information allowed the researcher to make some check and balances to ensure that the information received in the interview was in line with what the participants had provided in their questionnaires. In this way, although data triangulation was not an option, it was possible to conduct some checks to ensure the validity of the data (Grix 2010).

Participants in the sample were drawn from the UK and ranged in ages from 25 to 54 years old. In total, 16 interviewees were married, five were single, two were divorced, one was cohabitating and one was in a civil partnership at the time of interviews. The caring responsibilities of the interviewees varied: six had a combined caring responsibilities of childcare and caring for their parent/spouse/in laws, five had childcare responsibilities which included one child with additional caring needs, one cared for her mother, one cared for her grandmother, one cared for their mother and father, and 13 who had childcare responsibilities only. In terms of industry representation, the data includes sectors such as marketing, creative industries, events management, public sector, health and fitness, equestrian therapy, agriculture and healthcare. Table 5.1 below provides details on the background of the participants, and pseudonyms have been used to protect both their identities and privacy.

Table 5.1 An overview of the 25 participants that took part in this study

Participant	Gender	Age	Marital status	Years s-e	Industry	Govt grant	Type of care
Mollie	Female	25-34	Married	<1	Public Sector	No	1 Child
Esme	Female	35-44	Married	5	Writing and baking	No	2 Children
Laura	Female	35-44	Married	6	Interior Design	No	4 Children
Sarah	Female	35-44	Married	<1	Health and Fitness	Not eligible: Too recently self-employed	2 Children and caring for her Spouse
Megan	Female	35-44	Single	1.5	Equestrian Therapy	Not eligible: Too recently self-employed	Mother
Alexandra	Female	45-54	Married	8	Photography	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	3 Children which included 1 child with additional caring needs

Alice	Female	45-54	Married	25	Arts	Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS) and Arts Council Grant	1 Child and Mother
Olivia	Female	35-44	Single	<1	Program/workshop design and facilitation	No	Grandmother
Tara	Female	45-54	Other - Cohabiting with partner	6	Conferences, events and exhibitions	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	2 Children which included 1 child with additional caring needs
Rose	Female	45-54	Married	10	Early Year Education	SEISS plus a grant from Newcastle City Council	2 Children
Ava	Female	35-44	Married	5	Healthcare (Optometry)	Yes (not specified which one)	2 Children
Christine	Female	35-44	Married	3	Creative Industries	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	2 Children and Mother and Father

Mary	Female	35-44	Married	2	Communications/m edia/advertising	Not eligible: Too recently self employed	2 Children
Sharon	Female	45-54	Married	9	B2B – business support and website design	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	2 Children
Ben	Male	45-54	Married	7	Furniture design	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	Mother and Father
Thomas	Male	45-54	Divorced	16	Business consultancy	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	3 Children which included 1 child with additional caring needs
Eve	Female	35-44	Divorced	<1	Marketing	Not eligible: Too recently self employed	2 Children
Pearl	Female	35-44	Married	15	Agriculture (Farming)	No	3 Children and Mother and Father
David	Male	35-44	Single	10	Communications	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	1 Child

Izzy	Female	35-44	Married	4	Marketing	No - not stated why	2 Children
Lily	Female	35-44	Single	7	Marketing	Yes, the Self-Employment Income Support Scheme (SEISS)	1 Child and Mother
Beth	Female	45-54	Civil Partners hip	2	Creative Industries	Not eligible: Too recently self employed	2 Children and Partner
Jane	Female	35-44	Single	3	Pet Services	No - not stated why	2 Children
Jacob	Male	45-54	Married	5	Translation Services	No - not stated why	1 Child
Willow	Female	35-44	Married	5	Graphic Design	No - not stated why	2 Children which included 1 child with additional caring needs

5.5 Data analysis

The transcribe function of Microsoft Teams converts speech to a timestamped text transcript. This was used as a starting point for transcription but was checked by the researcher word-by-word, using the timestamped audio playback, to ensure accuracy. Each transcription was then reviewed for accuracy before moving on to the next set of data transcription of this study.

Thematic analysis was adopted as it allows for coding and categorisation the data into themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Alhojailan, 2012). To begin the thematic analysis the guidance of Ryan and Bernard (2003) was followed - specifically, the cutting and sorting technique was adopted as this is useful when analysing rich data. After each interview had been conducted and transcribed, the data was divided into quotes. Pattern inducing became very useful when analysing the data and allowed for the analysis to draw out the nuances between each participant while maintaining a close connection between the raw data and the context (Reay and Jones 2016). This also allowed for the richness of the data to be highlighted while providing insights into the participants' own explanations for their different behaviours.

At the beginning of any analysis several codes and categories may emerge, as was the case with the data for this study. Gioia and colleagues (2013) have summarised a systematic approach to analysing qualitative data which was useful for the analysis of this study. At the first stage of their approach, it is important to keep the participants terms and to not try to look for any categories and themes across the interviews. In this 1st-order analysis, the researcher started looking for similarities and differences that allowed for categories to emerge. Using this technique enabled themes to be categorised accordingly. This is what Gioia and colleagues (2013) identify as 2nd order. At this stage, the researcher began to think at multiple levels – at the level of the participant terms and at the more abstract answering the question “What is going on here?” (Gioia, Corley and Hamilton 2013 p. 20). This brought the researcher into the theoretical realm and allowed for a deeper examination to see if the themes were concepts that could help explain the phenomena at hand, summarising the themes further into “aggregate dimensions”. Once the full set of 1st-order terms, 2nd-order themes and aggregate dimensions were identified, the data was configured into a visual aid that provides a graphic representation of how the researcher progressed from the raw data to different terms and themes in conducting the analysis – key in demonstrating rigor in qualitative research (Gioia et al. 2013; Tracy 2010; Pratt 2008).

To further demonstrate this technique, table 5.2 below shows a worked example in the context of this research. When interviewing one of the participants, Mollie, she described how her husband worked full-time and that she conducted all of her self-employed work around his schedule. The 1st order level shows the participant's own words in quotation marks. Once the researcher began to draw out more 1st order quotes from other participants, the 2nd order theme was generated through the cutting and sorting technique and looking for similarities and differences (Ryan and Bernard 2003). In the case of Mollie, the second income stream made her the primary caregiver. When analysing further across all participants it became evident that when there was a second income stream in the household the individuals expressed perceived economic security. The 2nd order themes were then further analysed to identify concepts that could explain the phenomena at hand further, and these were aggregated into 'economic security'.

Table 5.2 A worked example of the analysis process of economic security

1 st order	2 nd order theme	Aggregate dimension
"So, my husband works full time so I do the Tuesdays and Thursdays kind of the full days when she's at home and when she's at home because nursery won't take her because there's been covid in her room. We kind of split Monday Wednesday Friday so we do half a day each so one of us is the morning shift and one of us is afternoon shift. Yeah so that's where I get my day and a half of work when she's at home. There's kind of Monday afternoon Wednesday afternoon Friday afternoon as well."	second income stream makes her the primary caregiver	Economic security

This was the first part of the analysis, regarding economic security, which is discussed in more detail in chapter 6 of this thesis. Continuing with Mollie as an example, the analysis was expanded and began to capture the institutional complexity that she faced. Once it was clear that Mollie was the primary caregiver, perceived herself to be economically secure, it was important to understand how she managed her paid and unpaid work and what she drew from to do so. At this stage it was also important to capture in her own words how she managed her time between work and caring. This is illustrated in Table 5.3 below in the 1st order with quotation marks. The researcher began examining what Mollie was describing more closely and identified different activities that Mollie undertook to manage her time. These were categorised as the 2nd order theme. Finally, after further analysis this was aggregated into different time management practices. In Mollie's case she drew from proactive, reactive and multitasking time management practices to manage her paid work and her unpaid work. Once

the analysis was conducted across all participants a typology of four different time management practices were identified as aggregate dimensions. The typology of time management practices is discussed in detail in the findings chapter 7 of this thesis.

Table 5.3 A worked example of the analysis process towards the development of a typology of time management practices

1 st order	2 nd order theme	Aggregate dimension
"We kind of split Monday Wednesday Friday so we do half a day each so one of us is the morning shift and one of us is afternoon shift [...] a calendar reconciliation process at the end of the week saying what's happening next week'. " Actually, you're not participating in something, just listening because it's listening to stuff, if she's, if she's just playing you can listen into half hour call If you're not kind of presenting something. So yeah we just kind of take it as it comes really" "So ideally she's not at home Monday Wednesday Friday [...] The only difficulties would come out there supposed to be dropping out and suddenly a meeting or event kind of appears which is supposed to be dropping off Uh yeah we largely sort of sit down in it who's calendar says what is that movable."	time sharing - proactive	pro-active time management strategy
	calendar reconciliations - proactive	reactive time management strategy
		multitasking time management strategy
	concurrent working and caring inside home - multitasking	
	engaging formal care - proactive	
	engaging additional informal care - reactive	

The way institutional logics began to emerge was when the researcher began to examine why different time management practices were used. It was evident in Mollie's case that she had challenges in how to manage her paid and unpaid work, and the way she dealt with it was influenced by her perceived economic security and her being the primary caregiver, but also being able to draw on formal social support (early years setting). This began to show the

complexities of her circumstances and pointed towards several institutional logics being at play (market, family and profession – discussed in detail in chapter 4). In Mollie's case she drew from several time management practices as a way to deal with the institutional complexity that she faced (discussed in detail in the discussion chapter 8 of this thesis).

Qualitative research suffers from criticism when it comes to adequately justifying its assertions. To combat these criticisms Gioia and colleagues developed the systematic approach of 1st-order terms, 2nd-order themes, and aggregate dimensions to combat the criticism of reliability and validity in qualitative research (Gioia et al. 2013). The researcher adopted this approach to bring “qualitative rigor” to these findings. However, to ensure further reliability and validity, it has been suggested that researchers should involve an independent reviewer for feedback to ensure validity of emerging themes (Alhojailan 2012). The reason for this is that data validation is beneficial at the first stage of theme coding as you are then less prone to errors at the second level of theme identifications. The researcher's supervisory team was consulted in both the first phase of theme identification as well as the end of the analysis period to further verify and validate the list of themes (Alhojailan 2012). Regular meetings were held with the supervisory team throughout the data analysis stage.

5.6 Ethics

Ethics is important to consider in all forms of research. Researchers have their own set of moral principles that guide them in how they conduct themselves in regard to topics such as anonymity, confidentiality, professionalism, legality and privacy when conducting research projects that include human participants (Blaxter et al. p. 148). Any social research must be justified, and participants must be properly informed about the research, including any risks and benefits and they must not feel coerced in taking part in the research (Webster et al. 2014). Ethical principles that guide any scientific research is based on the assurance of human dignity and on freedom (Taquette et al. 2022). These are normally expressed through ethical codes and guidelines used by Research Ethics Committees, which in return regulate any research that is conducted with human beings with the purpose of protecting participants by ensuring that the research project is ethical throughout its development (Taquette et al. 2022).

Ethical approval for the study was sought from the University of Stirling's General University Ethics Panel before the study commenced (see appendix 1). All participants received an Information Participation Sheet (see appendix 2) that detailed the nature of the study and contained contact details should they wish to withdraw from the study at a later date. Participants were only able to withdraw before data analysis had commenced and were informed of this on the Participant Information Sheet. Informed consent was sought from each

participant taking part in the study and is stored in compliance with UK GDPR law (see appendix 3). All participant data is stored on University of Stirling OneDrive which is secure and encrypted and uses a multi-factor authorisation system (University of Stirling 2024). In line with University of Stirling requirement, all data from this research will be securely stored for a minimum of 10 years from the date of any publication that is based on the data (2024). Pseudonyms were given to each participant to protect their identity throughout the study (University of Stirling 2019).

However, research ethics research is not just limited to the approval of an ethics committee, it is also about respecting norms and values. Qualitative research is an often-complex activity where the researcher is inserted as a subject in the topic they are examining. Because it is conducted with human beings rather than on human beings it also means that there is an influence of context which may require the researcher to adapt ethical rules and norms to the situation (Morse 2015). This means that the ethical integrity of the research is under the responsibility of the researcher and if the ethical principles are not upheld there is no quality in the data collected (Taquette et al. 2022). Understanding ethics beyond ethical approval and embedding it into the entire process of the research is important to fully embrace ethical practices.

Qualitative research ethics should be approached and understood as “processual, relational, situational and emergent” (Taquette et al. 2022 p. 10). In the context of this study, it meant that the researcher had to take extra care throughout the course of the semi-structured interviews and apply reflexivity along the way. For example, participants were interviewed during lockdown and sometimes touched upon sensitive challenges in managing the duality of their roles. When this happened, the researcher took extra care to ensure that the participant was comfortable to continue with the interview, as well as reminding them that their wellbeing was always at the forefront of the study and that the interview could be ended if they felt uncomfortable in any way. Every effort was made to ensure that the participant felt comfortable to either continue or end the interview. The researcher also offered to send them a list of organisations that support unpaid caregivers. This was welcomed and often the participants thanked the researcher for taking a caring approach to difficult subjects being shared. To further ensure ethical procedures were always followed, the researcher would have a conversation with the first supervisor to ensure that they had followed the correct steps before continuing with the next participant and set of interviews. While this only occurred with two participants it does highlight the importance of approaching ethics as “processual, relational, situational and emergent” and was helpful in ensuring that participants were protected from any risks and harm throughout the study (Taquette et al. p. 10). It also means

that there can be confidence in that the data collected is ethical not just because it went through an ethics committee, but also because the researcher ensured that ethics was always at the forefront of the research study and ensuring that consent was continuous throughout the entire research process. By approaching ethics this way the researcher was able to ensure that the integrity and quality of the research and respect for the participants' liberty and dignity were certain through the study.

5.7 The researcher role and position

Axiology is concerned with how the researcher's own values and assumptions influence the research process, as well as any actions that the researcher takes with the produced findings (Lincoln et al. 2013). The role of the researcher's persona and integrity is integral to the quality of ethical decisions in qualitative research, as well as the scientific knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Morally responsible research behaviours encompass the researcher's moral integrity, sensitivity, as well as a commitment to any moral issues and actions (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Researchers have an ethical obligation to their participants and are positioned as the more powerful in the relationship, making the participant relatively vulnerable (Brinkmann 2007). This means that being familiar with any ethical guidelines, value issues and ethical theories may guide the researcher to make choices that are ethically sound throughout the research process (Brinkmann 2007). These ethical requirements also extend to a strict adherence to scientific quality of any published knowledge. This means the results must be checked and validated fully, through a transparent process (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015).

However, it is important to note is that in the end it is the researcher's knowledge, experience, fairness and honesty that will be the deciding factor and so the researcher's axiological stance is important. Aristotle argued that ethics is there to make people good rather than there as an abstract theory of the good (Aristotle 1994). When conducting qualitative research, it is not enough to tick boxes, but the researcher must reflect and make ethical decisions throughout the research process. The moral conduct of the researcher can be tied to the practical skills of situated judgement (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Aristotle (1994) described this as *phronesis* which is having the intellectual virtue to show good judgement when recognising and responding to what is the most important in a situation. The ethical conduct of the researcher in this study were shaped by Aristotle's virtue ethics and values on how to be an ideal qualitative researcher. This is summed up by Nussbaum (1990 p. 84) as "being responsibly committed to the world of value before her, the perceiving agent can be counted on to investigate and scrutinize the nature of each item and each situation, to respond to what

is there before her with full sensitivity and imaginative vigour, not to fall short of what is there to be seen and felt because of evasiveness, scientific abstractness, or a love of simplification". For the researcher in this study creating a safe, respectful and confidential space for the participants was very important. A way of achieving this was, in addition to ethical considerations discussed in the previous sub section, by adopting this axiological stance and continuing to reflect on her role and responsibilities as a researcher throughout the entire research process.

5.8 Limitations

When conducting semi-structured interviews, it is important to not lead the participants in any way, so you prevent response bias and contamination of your data (Bott and Tourish 2016). While there is always a risk of this when conducting interviews, researchers can use generic probes to mitigate this risk and strike the necessary balance between dialogue without invoking biased responses (Bott and Tourish 2016). The researcher was mindful of these considerations and tried to be flexible in asking for clarification, and exploring any unexpected lines of discussion that arose, to further minimise any contamination of data.

While face to face interviews are considered the norm in qualitative research, the Covid19 pandemic accelerated the need to find alternative ways for conducting in-depth interviews (Saarijärvi and Bratt 2021). In the current study, video interviews were conducted with each participant which made it possible to still gauge their body language and facial expressions. It also removed the barrier of geographical distance while collecting data for this study (Saarijärvi and Bratt 2021). While face to face interviews is still considered the gold standard, previous research has highlighted that conducting interviews in a private setting leads to participants sharing more deeply personal experiences (Brenners and Myer 2018). Research has also found that individuals with busy and complicated schedules find online interviewing to be more accessible, which made it particularly useful for a study that is asking people with little time to give the researcher time to explore how they manage their multiple paid and unpaid work commitments (Saarijärvi and Bratt 2021). In this sense while conducting these interviews online may seem like a limitation initially, in the end it may have led to richer data collected from a wider geographical range than would have been possible if conducted face to face.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter explored the methodology adopted for this study, which aimed to allow for exploration of how solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities negotiated their dual roles during times of crises. This research project examined the intersection of unpaid

care work and solo self-employment in the United Kingdom during times of crises by answering the following research questions: How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work? To further aid with this exploration two sub questions were defined focusing on economic security, and social support networks.

This study adopted an interpretivist approach and applied the institutional logics framework to the research project. A qualitative approach allowed for the full exploration of how solo self-employed individuals manage their dual responsibilities during times of crises. The research project adopted a qualitative approach, using individual semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper insight to participants' experiences, challenges, and pressures they faced while negotiating between their dual roles (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). The use of semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to pursue emerging topics of relevance, reflecting the exploratory nature of the study (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Participants were recruited through purposive sampling and the study sampled people who live in the United Kingdom, who are solo self-employed and engaged in unpaid care work. Participants had to either be living with the person they are caring for or caring at long-distance.

A pilot study was conducted between February – March 2020 to test the recruitment and interview strategies. The pilot helped finalise the interview schedule and allowed a practice run of interviewing and judging the recruitment process, and most important time to refine everything before conducting the data collection. Following the pilot study, the interview schedule and the questionnaire were finalised, and another ethics application was submitted and approved before the main data collection was commenced.

Due to the Covid19 pandemic, the data collection fell during the third lockdown in the UK when all formal support institutions (excluding early years and key workers' support) were unavailable. All participants were interviewed during January – February 2021 and as such were all conducted online using Microsoft Teams. The final number of participants included in the subsequent data analysis were 25 participants. The data was analysed using thematic analysis and applied Gioia and colleagues (2013) systematic approach. High level findings include that participants experienced perceived economic security and insecurity depending on the income set up in their household and whether there was any dependency on the self-employed income. This in turn had implications for how they managed their paid work and unpaid care work. The perceived economic security and social support networks played a major role in demonstrating the institutional complexity faced by these participants. This led to them adopting different time management practices to manage their institutional pluralism and the researcher developed a typology of time management practices from the data analysis.

The chapters that follow will discuss these findings in more detail. It will begin with chapter 6 exploring the data in terms of perceived economic security, perceived economic insecurity and what these meant for participants in term of managing their paid work with their unpaid care work. This chapter will also discuss the data in terms of self-employment versus risk and the influence of social institutional norms on caring responsibilities. Chapter 7 further dives into the data and demonstrates how further analysis of the data led to the development of a typology of time management practices. This chapter also discusses the role of social support when it came to time management practices.

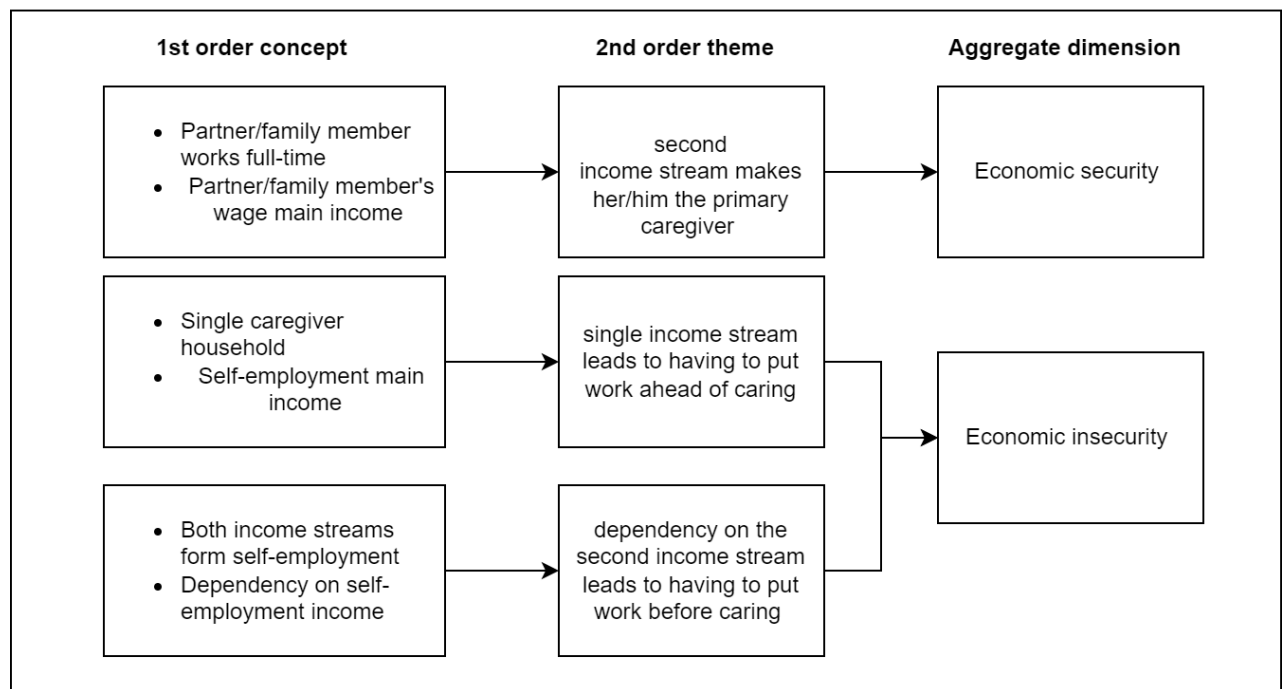
Chapter 6: Perceived economic security

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the topic of perceived economic security which emerged through the interview process and subsequent data analysis. It will examine perceived economic security and the implications of this for self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities. From the data analysis it was clear that economic security and economic insecurity were relevant to each participant, and that this in return had implications for how they negotiated between self-employment and their caring responsibilities. The process itself was very context driven and often driven by the participant's perceived economic security and economic insecurity. Following analysis, two categories emerged which will be discussed in this chapter. These categories were: perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). These findings are of particular importance as they begin to paint a picture of the different contexts in which participants found themselves, providing an insight into how these factors influence, and at times determine, the negotiation between self-employment and caring responsibilities.

The first part of this chapter will set out to define economic security to highlight how it is a subjective experience and an individual-level phenomenon. The following figure (6.1) was developed by the researcher through analysis of the data to reach the aggregate dimensions of economic security and economic insecurity. As seen below in figure 6.1, the 1st order concept captures the participants' different circumstances and the second order interprets these various situations and identifies emerging themes (Gioia et al. 2013). These are then aggregated into Economic security and Economic insecurity. This figure will be broken down further throughout this chapter to illustrate the analysis fully, focusing on economic security in sections 6.2, 6.3 and 6.3.1 and focusing on economic insecurity in sections 6.4 and 6.4.1.

Figure 6.1 Economic security and economic insecurity



Throughout the chapter this will be broken down in the following ways. Firstly, the chapter will set out the perceived economic security and the implications of perceived economic security for participants in this study. Following this, a closer look will be taken the implications of this, as highlighted in the aggregate dimensions as economic security and economic insecurity. The second part of this chapter will highlight that while economic security was an overarching theme that influenced much of the negotiation between working and caring, it was often offset against the benefits of being self-employed. The second part of the chapter will conclude with an examination of how social and institutional norms interacted with economic security to influence how participants managed their work and caring responsibilities.

6.2 Defining economic security

Economic security was a recurring topic of discussion amongst all participants. Perhaps this is not surprising as a theme to emerge from the analysis, as one consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals is economic security (Meager 2015). When defining economic security there are a few noteworthy points to make when it comes to how it is measured which relate directly to why this study examined perceived economic security at respondent level.

Firstly, most measures tend to focus on economic shocks that are beyond people's control, and as such look at it retrospectively to aggregate different groups of people and the level of risk they may face (Anon 2018). Secondly, while researchers examine "risk" of economic loss it is positioned as a prospective outlook, while in fact it is often retrospective measurements of risks that people and households face in their past experiences. Finally, some measures are more specific to people and households (e.g., levels of economic security amongst specific types of households) (Hacker 2018). However, these are only measures of observed security because they rely on observing the outcomes within different sets of populations. The issue with these approaches is that they measure economic security on a group level and in relation to external factors but security is an individual-level phenomenon which means that individuals, rather than groups, experience different levels of insecurity (Hacker 2018). This is important because it highlights that economic security is a subjective experience which needs to be examined at a respondent level.

This subjective nature of this experience became apparent when participants of this study spoke about economic security. Each participant touched upon their own perceived economic security, and each participant touched upon their own sense of economic security, or insecurity, as a self-employed individual. It is also important to note that while economic security is examined at an individual level, external forces shape the level of perceived economic security (including buffers people may have against it) these actually operate at household level and higher (e.g. firms, regional, national etc) (Hacker 2018). This was also evident in how participants spoke of ways they tried to combat the feelings of economic insecurity (e.g. savings) and, as will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, as something highly context sensitive when it comes to working and caring. When examining economic security in the data it emerged that participants fell into two categories: perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). This categorisation was developed to highlight the subjectivity of economic security and to allow for full exploration of the implications of this for the participants in this study. In addition, the categorisation allowed for exploration of the contexts that led to the participants feeling economically secure/insecure at time of study.

6.3 Perceived economic security

The key factor that distinguished an economically secure participant was that they lived in households where there was a second income stream. All participants who expressed perceived economic security had an additional income stream to the household from either their partner or family member. This income stream from another person living with them

seemed to create a sense security, and one of the benefits these participants expressed was that this second income stream did in fact lead to perceived economic security. However, it is important to note that just because participants expressed a sense of perceived economic security, this did not mean that they were financially well off. The self-employed income stream was often viewed as additional income and was often not relied upon in the household. This also had implications for how the participants negotiated between working and caring, and created situations where other things had to be put in place in order to achieve perceived economic security. These will be further drawn out and discussed in this section, highlighting some of the complexities and nuances that emerged between participants who had perceived economic security.

Esme is a married mother of two who is a self-employed author and baker. For Esme it was common to be self-employed in her industry and she had been working as self-employed for five years. At the time of interview Esme was homeschooling her eldest child while utilising nursery for the youngest child three times per week. For Esme and her family, caring responsibilities always took priority and as a consequence she had dialled down her work in order to care for her children. Esme was able to do this due to her husband bringing in a steady income and working full-time. This gave Esme and her family perceived economic security, which allowed her to put caring first when negotiating between self-employment and caring responsibilities. Esme described it in the following way:

We are very lucky that we can manage financially without me having another job as well. Very, very lucky.

Megan had been self-employed over a year in the equestrian therapy industry and cared for her mother who was suffering from ill health. Before pursuing self-employment, Megan experienced a life-changing accident that required her to move back home and receive care from her family. Once she had recovered, her mother fell ill and she decided to stay in her family home to continue caring for her mother; she now shares her caring responsibilities with her stepdad. Megan spoke of economic security in terms of feeling privileged. While she admitted to worrying about money, she spoke of having the basics, such as food and shelter and how this gave her a sense of security not having to worry as her stepdad worked and brought in a steady income to the household. Despite describing challenges when it came to money, Megan still described experiencing a sense of economic security which she measured in terms of food, shelter and even being able to have her pet continue to live with her. Megan described the following:

I'm very, very lucky to have both food, a roof over my head even for my dog [...] yes, I'm very, very worried about money and yes, I don't spend any money because I haven't got any, but that's all based on the security of a warm home and a full belly and I am incredibly privileged to be in this situation. The luxury of being able to pursue self-employment when I need supporting and also to be able to care without having to then try and somehow make a job work.

Olivia, who had a similar set of circumstances as Megan, in that she also lived with family and helped to care for other family members, also spoke of perceived economic security. Olivia lived with and cared for her grandmother with the help of family and attributed her experience of perceived economic security down to living in a household with a second income stream:

I think partly because we have means [...] so I was living in my grandparents' house and then for groceries and things they were supporting that.

Olivia's situation was that she had savings and she expressed that she thought that she did not need, nor had a right to, any help from other sources. At the time of interview, Olivia was living off her savings as well as living with her aunt who had a steady full-time income. Olivia had gone from living in a household with her grandparents who paid for the basics, to her aunt who also paid for the basics. This led to Olivia describing her circumstances as economically secure as she did not need to worry about making an income from her self-employment to survive. It was clear that living in a household with an additional income provided her with this sense of security and enabled her to be the primary caregiver.

While it was clear that a second income stream into the household created a sense of perceived economic security for several participants, others spoke about additional steps they had taken to enable them to feel economically secure. This was often spoken about in terms of savings and having created a buffer to be able to worry less about their income. This is interesting as it highlights what other research has shown - external forces shape the level of perceived economic security and that these actually operate at household level (Hacker 2018; Stiglitz et al. 2018).

Mary, a married mother with two children discussed this in terms of making sure they were a low-expenditure household. Mary's husband worked full-time, and his salary was the main income stream that the family relied on for the basic. As Mary's income fluctuated so much the family decided to buffer against perceived economic insecurity by creating a pot of savings. At the same time as building their savings, they spent less overall ensured as a family. By

creating these three layers of buffer – one, not taking Mary's fluctuating income into consideration in the household budget and two, by saving and three, by ensuring they kept their spending low as a family – they had been able to create a set of circumstances at a household level which enabled Mary to have perceived economic security. It is interesting that while it seems on the surface that Mary had perceived economic security this could only be achieved by being careful with money. One could argue that this is in fact economic insecurity, but the self-perception of economic security here is key – Mary experienced perceived economic secure as a result of the conditions they created in their household:

We have always had quite a low expenditure because my job path has always been extremely up and down, so we're quite cheap to run as a family anyway, so we've always just been quite practical and saved money.

Alice - who had been self-employed for 25 years - had a similar set up as Mary and described a similar situation. Alice was a married mother of one and cared for her mother who suffered from early onset dementia and lived a short drive away. Alice's husband worked full-time and his income was the main income stream. This meant that Alice's earnings were used for any additional expenses, such as yearly holiday. Like Mary, Alice also described taking additional steps to create a buffer against any perceived economic insecurity by having some savings. Alongside creating savings, they also made sure that they were a low expenditure household. Alice described that this is how they have lived as a family for over two decades and that if she were to lose her income they would still manage to get by. They had been able to create and maintain a situation at a household level which enabled Alice to have perceived economic security.

But I've always got a bit of money just as a buffer, yeah so, I mean I'm lucky my husband works so my wages pay for things but his wage covers mortgage and bills, and you know if we lose my wage then maybe we might eat beans for a while but yeah we can squeak by.

It was clear from the data analysis that economic security was a subjective experience for each participant and highly context driven. The self-employed income was often spoken about as an additional income, and an income that was not relied upon within the household budget for necessities. For some participants this meant that they did not rely on their incomes for any of the basics such as food and housing. While some spoke about perceived economic security, they attributed this to having a second income stream in the household from a partner or another family member that would pay for all the necessities. Their self-employed income

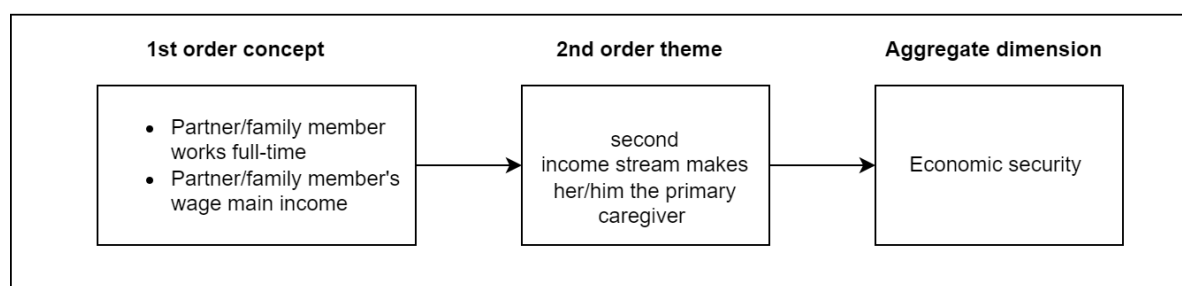
was always described as something extra, something that was a bonus for the household (e.g. used for holiday expenditure). For some participants, this steady second income stream from a partner/family member was enough to create a sense of economic security.

However, while participants expressed a sense of security, in reality this did not always mean they were financially well-off. For some participants self-employment also caused other complexities where things had to be put in place to achieve perceived economic security. These participants often engaged in activities such as saving money to make up for their fluctuating incomes from self-employment and ensuring that they were low-expenditure households which enabled them to feel more economically secure. While one could argue that this pointed to economic insecurity, all these participants described perceived economic security due to having these buffers in place. This further highlighted the subjectiveness of economic security and the nuances within each set of circumstances of participants. The key factor that all participants had in common was that they could count on a second steady second income stream into the household. These factors combined allowed for the participants to be categorised as participants with perceived economic security.

6.3.1 Perceived economic security enable participants to prioritise caring

The categorisation of participants as experiencing perceived economic security and insecurity highlighted several implications when it came to negotiating between self-employment and caring responsibilities. From the analysis it was clear that the key factor that enabled participants to describe perceived economic security was that they could count on a steady second income stream into the household. Their income was not relied upon to pay for any basics and this had implications for how they could negotiate their time between working and caring. In figure 6.2 below, developed by the researcher, the 1st order concept captures all participants who had expressed having a partner/family member who worked full time, or having a partner/family member's wage as the main income into the household. In the 2nd order theme these were categorised as the second income stream makes her/him the primary caregiver. Following further analysis these were aggregated into economic security.

Figure 6.2 Economic security



Interestingly, not only did the second income stream allow participants to experience economic security, but when negotiating between self-employment and caring they were able to put work to one side and prioritise their caring responsibilities. This means that these participants often found themselves being the primary caregiver.

Laura, a married mother of four, described a situation where the caring had intensified to the point that it had overtaken everything else in her life and had become all-encompassing. Laura was a married mother of four with a husband who works full-time. Laura described circumstances where her caring responsibilities had automatically increased while her husband had an increase in the hours he was working, as captured by the 2nd order theme, making Laura the primary caregiver due to having a second income stream to the household. Due to perceived economic security Laura was able to increase the time she spent caring relatively easily, without having to worry about keeping the self-employed work going alongside her caring responsibilities. The way Laura balanced self-employment and caring responsibilities was by pausing all her work to enable her to care for her children:

Fundamentally I am the mom to four girls, and I want to be there for them and self-employment, whether its covid or not I guess gives me that flexibility [...] It's basically fallen completely to me. Obviously with not having any additional help and with the hours and things he works. That is just kind of carried on as normal, if anything his hours developed because his job slightly changed.

Thomas, who lived with his partner and two children, one from each of their previous relationships, described a similar set of circumstances. For Thomas, in addition to his regular caring responsibilities, he was also caring for his daughter who had additional caring needs and was being homeschooled permanently. Due to his fiancée's full-time income, as captured in the 2nd order theme, Thomas described perceived economic security which enabled him to care more easily and extensively for his teenage daughter with additional caring needs. At the time of interview Thomas had stopped all his self-employed work and was spending all of his

time caring for his family, helping his children be homeschooled during the day, and engaging in domestic chores around the home:

It's moved more mortar to online as default to Google Classroom and all the rest, so we've been trying to do as we've gone through the in terms of supporting them with that is to say, 'look this is your online timetable'. As and when I am able in terms of other coursework to go and go to room knocking and say 'look don't forget this is the time to' because she struggles with the time in terms of keeping track of time and awareness. Yeah so, I have to give that prompt to go 'it's an online class coming up' [...] As like as my fiancé works full time [...] So I'd take care of the family meal [...] And then tidying him at the weekends, so going through the Hoover, do laundry, fixing all that.

Similarly, Alexandra, who cared for her two children, one who also had additional caring needs, described a set of circumstances where caring always took priority over anything else. Alexandra had an added challenge; in that her daughter Amy only wanted to be with her, due to struggling with mental health problems. Having a husband that worked full-time, as captured in the 1st order concept, meant that Alexandra had automatically become the primary caregiver as the family did not have to rely on her income to pay for any necessities. In return, the perceived economic security meant that when Alexandra had to negotiate between working and caring she could automatically prioritise her caring responsibilities:

Yeah, well caring takes you know priority because actually I need to know that you are safe and I can't, she can't be on her own so if I can't have childcare [...] the only childcare can come from my husband and he's in a full-time job. So, caring always takes responsibility [...] I would carry less of the caring responsibility, so whether that be through Amy feeling more comfortable to be with my husband, because she used to be, but she's developed this like very intense separation anxiety which means that it's even hard for me. You know it's not easy for me to leave him here with her now.

Olivia, who cared for her grandmother with the help of her aunt, described how she was living off some savings but also did not have to worry about an income as her basic needs like food and housing were supported by the combined household income at the beginning of caring for her grandparents (before her grandfather passed away and she continued to care for her grandmother). Olivia then moved in with her aunt and her two young nieces to continue to care for her grandmother after her grandfather passed away. While Olivia described sharing the caring responsibilities with her aunt to some extent, Olivia was the primary caregiver, as

captured in the 2nd order theme, of her grandmother, who lives in the same household now. Olivia mentioned that she was not worried about money as she also had some savings which she had used for taking a gap year and as such was able to prioritise caring. Like other participants with perceived economic security, Olivia's income was not something that the household depended on and as such when she had to negotiate between work and caring she was able to prioritise her caring responsibilities over work:

I wasn't sort of particularly anxious or concerned about seeking work although I was doing cause in my head I wish to run my kind of exploratory gap year and I was thinking well we're in this situation, there's no point in in panicking and rushing [...] Since September I've been trying to be more active in getting more and more work but at the same time I notice that I'm not completely proactive about it because of time commitments and sort of allow some of it down to luck and chance and circumstance or like certain relationships as opposed to really gunning for and pushing for it.

While participants often had different set of circumstances when it came to their caring responsibilities, often riddled with its own challenges, the one thing they did not have to worry about was a steady income into the household that would take care of all the necessities they needed to live. Their perceived economic security enabled them to become the primary caregiver for the person/s they were caring for and when it came to having to negotiate between working and caring they were able to prioritise their caring responsibilities. As such, for the participants in this category the implications of perceived economic security meant that they became the primary caregiver and were able to prioritise their caring responsibilities without having to worry about generating an income.

6.4 Perceived economic insecurity

The key factor that contributed to economic insecurity for participants was if the household was a single income household. Perceived economic insecurity can lead to a raft of health issues, such as heightened feelings of worry, feeling like one is not in control over their own future, and can trap individuals in low-wages and situations with low-protection (Meager 2015; Vanino 2016; Lübke 2021). These circumstances and feelings were highlighted by participants who only had their self-employed income to live on. Lily, a single parent of one who also cared for her mother, described the same feelings but spoke of it in terms of pressure. Lily cared for her daughter and helped her sister to care for their mother who lived alone. Interestingly Lily's sister was officially the main caregiver and contact for their mother, even to the point of having

power of attorney. But in practice Lily, described that she was relied upon nine times out of ten for any caring responsibilities with her mother. Lily put this down to being self-employed and living closer to her mother than her sister. Lily was in a situation where it was difficult for her to put caring before work, and she had begun to worry more extensively about her income. Lily explained that her perceived economic insecurity had started leading to feelings of anxiety that would keep her up at night:

...If I had more money coming in I wouldn't you know feel quite so much that that pressure is off because at the end of the day you know if I'm awake at three in the morning I'm usually not worrying about my mom or my daughter [...] but it's the money and the serious thought that I don't know, you know 'how am I going to pay the rent and what will happen, is there still, can the landlord kick me out' or you know things like this that it at three in the morning the other things that I'm thinking about.

Beth, who was newly self-employed in the creative industries lived with and cared for her two children and her husband who had a debilitating chronic illness that made him bedbound. Beth expressed a level of acceptance for her situation but spoke about how mentally draining it was to manage "on the knife edge" and how they had to use credit cards to stay afloat. This meant that they had accrued debt that she was concerned about and explained how she would need an injection of several thousands of pounds to come out the other side. But Beth also expressed that she had managed like this for so long that she somehow just accepts her situation for what it is and thinks that at some point it will get better:

It's very financially, it's so difficult, and I keep just like hoping at some point we're going to rise above the debt and the financial worries and of you know being a one person income. Yeah, like I've had a lot of worries about that. Like what I mean we're not in like super major debt, but you know I do have credit card debts for like use it using those credit cards just for living expenses and trying to get through and paying bills [...] I've spent that long managing it on the on the knife edge that I sort of just know where we're at with it. You know we're at the end of all of our, you know, what we can afford, but just carry on with where we are you know. I would need probably an injection of about 10 grand to get out of that. But you know, I just can, I just keep continuing to manage where were at on the knife edge of debt and so far that seems to be OK [...] It is a bit mentally draining and it's not where I want to be but it's where we're at.

Similarly, Pearl a mother of three who also cared for both of her parents, spoke of a level of acceptance and trying to shift her ways of thinking to be able to cope with the economic

insecurity of her work. While Pearl described a situation where her money was tied up in what she described as “assets”, Pearl experienced perceived economic insecurity due to not having the money in the bank. This is important because while one could argue that while the money was there if she were to need it, for Pearl this created perceived economic insecurity due to her not having access to it immediately if she needed it. Pearl described that in her industry, agriculture, there is a “big lack of security”, which she seemed to perceive and internalise in her own situation by expressing that she perceived herself to be economically insecure. Again, key here is that Pearl perceived economic insecurity and as such described her set of circumstances as economically insecure:

There's a big, big lack of security [...] So it is a little bit you have to be a bit of a gambler to do this job [...] I might not have any money in the bank but I have quite a lot of assets close at hand and I think that's how I cope with it, because you know yes the bank balance looks rubbish for the first half of the year but you have to look outside and think 'well I have assets, I'm not in debt, I've just invested'.

While analysing the data there were also two participants that while falling in the same category of perceived economic insecurity, the reasons for it were different than having just a single income into the household and this being from self-employment. For these two participants they had a second income stream, but the household was reliant on the self-employed income stream as well to pay for necessities. Willow was a married mother of two with a husband who is also self-employed. For Willow this meant that both income streams into the household were unreliable and fluctuated. This made her household particularly vulnerable to economic insecurity and had created a situation where she was constantly juggling and having to catch up on work around caring. When it came to negotiating between working and caring, Willow had much more challenge and had to prioritise work differently:

I juggle it completely constantly. Probably the last few weeks, probably got more caring [...] at the moment I seem to be working kind of in and out all day, and then throughout the weekend.

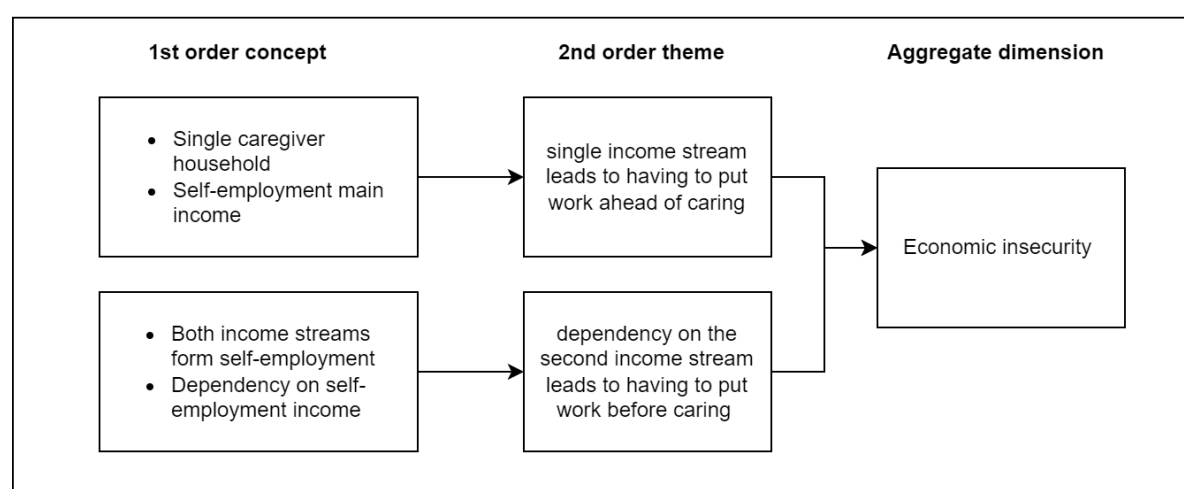
Overall, all the participants that expressed perceived economic insecurity highlighted levels of worry, anxiety, lack of control and a dependency on the income they were receiving from the self-employed work. This sets them apart from the participants with perceived economic security where the main income source was from a second income, and the self-employed income was used as a way to top up their income every month. This also created situations where these participants, when having to negotiate between working and caring, simply had

to put work first even though they expressed not wanting to. These factors combined allowed for the participants to be categorised as participants with perceived economic insecurity.

6.4.1 Perceived economic insecurity results in prioritising work before caring

Participants with perceived economic insecurity highlighted experiencing several implications when it came to negotiating between self-employment and caring responsibilities. From the analysis it was clear that the key factor which enabled participants to describe perceived economic insecurity was that they only had one income stream into the household to live on. This income was relied upon to pay for any necessities and this reliance had implications for how they could negotiate their time between working and caring. Figure 6.3 below has been developed by the researcher. There are two 1st order concept in this figure that need to be explained further. The first one (top) captures all participants who had expressed being in a single caregiver household and/or a household where self-employment was the main income. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as the single income stream leading them to having to put work ahead of caring. These were aggregated into economic insecurity. The second 1st order concept (bottom one) of figure 6.3 below captures participants where both income streams into the household were from self-employment and those participants where there was a dependency on the self-employment income in the household. These were categorised in the 2nd order theme as showing a dependency on the second income stream leading to having to put work ahead of caring responsibilities. Further analysis aggregated these into economic insecurity.

Figure 6.3 Economic insecurity



Interestingly, not only did the single income stream that participants express become aggregated into perceived economic insecurity, but when negotiating between self-employment and caring they often found themselves in situations where they had to put work first and caring second, as shown in the 2nd order theme. This meant that for these participants their single income stream often led to difficulties when managing between work and caring.

For Jane, a single mother of two, having a sole income from self-employment, as captured in the 1st order concept, meant that she often had to engage in what was categorised in the 2nd order theme as prioritising work ahead of caring responsibilities but had still experienced a loss of income due to lockdown and her clients not needing her services anymore. This also meant that she went through all of her savings to be able to survive financially:

I have lost a few clients but then because of people that are working from home and don't have to walk the dogs. I've gained some on the second lockdown, so obviously the first lockdown I really struggled and had to use all of my savings but I'm quite doing quite OK with business now to be fair.

Jane also struggled with gaining any financial support but did not think that she was eligible for any state support or grants and in the end, she did not apply for anything:

I did look into a few bits. There were loans but my credit rating isn't good after I left my partner so I didn't think that would be eligible for any of them either.

Jane's circumstances were that she had to bring her youngest child (primary school aged) with her to her dog walking services and leave the older one (teenager) at home. She described feeling guilty that she could not homeschool them and that she simply had to work as it was her only income source paying for necessities. Jane described situations where work always had to take priority, even when she was unwell and physically could not really work, she still forced herself to work. For Jane, the perceived economic insecurity was so much that she described being left with no choice and that she could not take any time off work, regardless of the circumstances:

I can't really take time off work; I can't let people down especially when they're not in the house and the dogs need looking after. I have been ill with tonsillitis once and contacted them saying 'look I'm not going to be able to walk them, but I will go and let them out for a wee'. Thankfully I'm not ill very often not but I just get on with it I don't really have an option [...] I mainly have to put my job first to be able to pay the bills [...]

I've had the children off school but I'm still at work because I obviously needed to make a living, and while homeschooling, and it's been a nightmare.

For David, a divorced and single father of one, he described how he experienced economic insecurity and described it as being a “nightmare” unfolding for him when he lost all of his clients and work:

It's been in nightmare in terms of work. It's been so strange [...] I have two freelancers I'm quite close to and we hang out, we work together and one thing is that you never know, there's no rhyme or reason in that you could be having a totally fellow patch and then three months later it will kick off again [...] There's no kind of formula for it, or we haven't found one and it was very, very strange in the in the first month, no maybe two months locked down. I lost my work, just evaporated and shut, I was like, it was like my worst nightmare come true in that it was so fundamental, it was a thought of like 'is this whole thing over'. You know it wasn't just like have I not got work for a bit, it was like 'will the work ever come back' and it was a very, very stressful time. [...] I couldn't get any work or that kind of thing. That period lasted I want to say two, maybe three, months where I was having to do a lot of work or with me to sort of like calm myself down to get up in the morning and be like 'OK you can't freak out about this now, your daughters downstairs, you got to go about your day'. [...] after with the after three months things started to pick up again for me and basically a big public sector client who would work with me before and randomly were like 'do you want to do three days a week for us for the foreseeable' [...] But the mental health side has been horrendous, financially I've actually been OK. It's been the year to survive not thrive definitely like.

David also described that juggling between work and caring was an impossible situation and that there were times he simply had to put work first. This led to feelings of guilt, and he did not take it lightly having to prioritise work before caring, as captured in the 2nd order theme, but as the main breadwinner he expressed being left with no other choice than to prioritise work:

It's an impossible situation isn't it, because if I don't work I don't bring home money, but my god I want do the best thing for my daughter [...] So it's impossible, you just have to go with what's in front of you, and if there's a client I really need to talk to right now I've got to do that. But if I can equally get some time to kind of check in with my daughter, and kind of like see how her schoolwork is going and try and offer support and emotional support then I do.

Interestingly, David had savings but still described perceived economic insecurity. For David he described that no matter how much money he would save he still worried about work coming in and about being left in a situation where he would not have enough money. David described that if he were to approach it rationally then he had enough to keep him secure, but he still experienced perceived economic insecurity and as such, always prioritised work to mitigate against economic insecurity, despite the challenges he faced doing so. This is important because while his savings gave him a buffer against economic insecurity, in contrast to other participants in similar circumstances, in terms of savings, he still described perceived economic insecurity. This once again highlights how economic security was subjective and context sensitive for participants in this study.

For other participants, the implications of economic insecurity also led to them to prioritising work and describing being beholden to their clients. Lily, a single mother of one who also cared for her mother, described how experiences of economic insecurity had implications for being able to push back against unreasonable work demands made by her clients. While Lily described that it got to the point of not wanting to work with a particular client, her perceived economic insecurity resulted in her putting up with, what she described as, unreasonable demands in order to secure the income. Lily described a particular scenario where she was ill with Covid19 while caring for her daughter and had to try and push back against a demanding client, and the challenges that this brought:

So, I was really busy and then I was in a situation where I had my daughter at home, and I was trying to be diplomatic. Basically, I was working for a client who had no concept of boundaries and would, if he if he asked me a question and I didn't answer immediately, he would try and contact me on other platforms until I answered. At one point I said to him 'don't worry you can WhatsApp me over the weekend because I mute you at the weekend because it's the weekend' and when he realised I did that he just started sending me text messages and like so I would have a constant barrage of things from him. I had a couple of situations where there was one Saturday in particular remember I was just crying going 'I can't afford to get rid of this guy but I also you know I need to look after my child and I also need to have just time to myself and it's really stressful' and then and I was just thinking 'I really wish I was in a position where I could go out and find another client' [...] but at the moment that's not happening. It's quite, I think this is like quite early in the lockdown and then the government announced the grants and I thought 'I can't apply for a grant, can't fire a client and then apply for a grant because that wouldn't be right', and then the client finds me the next day and

said 'I'm really sorry, I can't afford you anymore' and it was the happiest phone call of my life. I just said 'great' because I just got so stressed with trying to, I mean I wasn't even bothering with homeschooling at that point, I was just trying to make sure that we left the house every day for a walk and that my child was looked after, and that I was helping with my mom, and you know all of these other things outside of work and this guy needed me to be available 24/7 I just couldn't do it.

Lily, who had been a marketer for seven years, was in situation where she had to be careful with any money that she had and was looking for ways to diversify her income to combat against the economic insecurity she was experiencing, but this was proving to be challenging at the time of interview:

I think it's probably made me think I need to be like looking at different streams of income and different ways of doing things and maybe doing something like creating like a product or something that I sell, so that I've got more control over things.

While participants often had different set of circumstances when it came to their caring responsibilities, often riddled with its own challenges, having to worry about an income seemed to add further pressure. Their perceived economic insecurity did not just mean that they were the primary caregiver for someone else, but they were also the primary income source to the household. This highlighted challenges where they were often beholden to their clients and described the tensions of having no other choice than to prioritise work over caring, despite describing feelings of unease and guilt that came with that. The implications of perceived economic insecurity led to persistent situations where the negotiation between work and caring became especially fraught.

Throughout the analysis of participants with perceived economic security and those with perceived economic insecurity, and the implications of this, it became clear that in each category participants faced different challenges and tensions, and clear differences emerged between their various sets of circumstances. While two participants may have savings, it was often the case that one described perceived economic security while the other described perceived economic insecurity. It was evident from the analysis that economic security is in fact a highly subjective experience and while overarching similarities (e.g. second income stream) allowed for participants to be categorised in one way or the other, in reality economic security is a complex topic and one which has implications for how participants in this study negotiated between working and caring. Drawing out these complexities and nuances are important in order to further the understanding of how self-employed unpaid caregivers

negotiate between working and caring and the different practices they use to enable this negotiation, which will be discussed further in chapter 7 of this thesis.

The remainder of this chapter will continue to draw out some of these nuances and highlight how while economic security was one overarching theme, this was often mentioned with the topic of the flexibility that participants gained from being self-employed. The remainder of this chapter will therefore discuss self-employment flexibility versus risk and draw upon social institutional norms that were prevalent for some participants in this study, which had implications for how they negotiated their working and caring roles.

6.5 Self-employment flexibility versus risk

While economic security was an overarching theme that influenced much of the negotiation between working and caring, it was often offset against the benefits of being self-employed. Even though participants expressed either gratitude for feeling economically secure or discussed challenges that economic insecurity posed, each accepted that there was always a level of risk associated with being self-employed. In return, this level of risk was often outweighed by the flexibility that self-employment allowed them to have. While economic security was a recurring theme for many participants for many participants, those who experienced economic insecurity often spoke of the benefits of self-employment being that they gained the flexibility they needed for their caring responsibilities.

This was particularly the case for Izzy, a married mother of two. Her husband, while working full-time, had a very inflexible job and this, combined with the inflexibility they experienced in her industry (education), led to Izzy having to leave her employed job in order to pursue self-employment for the last four years. For Izzy and her family, the entire reason she went self-employed was to gain the flexibility that they needed to work around their caring responsibilities. Izzy's family experienced inflexible employment policies from both sets of employers and as a result they decided that Izzy would pursue self-employment to gain the flexibility they needed in order to care for their children. Being dependent on the self-employment income put her and her family firmly in the economic insecurity category. But for Izzy and her family economic security was offset against the flexibility gained from being self-employed:

I actually was given a part time contract but it's just the demands of the job alongside having the two kids, because when I when I only had one, I was able to manage it. Alongside the absolute lack of the total lack of flexibility from his employer, so I think

for us as a family had we had more flexibility then yes, I would have stayed employed as a teacher.

Similarly, Beth, a mother of two who also cared for her husband who was bedbound with a chronic illness, expressed that the flexibility gained from self-employment was worth the economic insecurity she experienced in her set of circumstances. For Beth, she described her family life as on the “knife edge of debt”, highlighting the economic insecurity her family experienced. While Beth did mention that it did affect her mental health and how they would need an injection of several thousand pounds to start gaining any economic security, she still expressed that the flexibility gained from self-employment offset any feelings of economic insecurity. Beth described these benefits, speaking specifically about flexibility and autonomy over her own time:

Honestly, the flexibility to say do you know what this is not working for me today we are going to the park or we're going to McDonalds, and not having to answer to anybody. Obviously, you have to answer to your clients eventually at some point you know, and you do prioritise them as much as you can, but the ability to you know just to walk away from being overwhelmed. You know if it's not working for everybody and the given particular moment then you have the choice just to pick everybody up and change the situation. That is the that's the benefit of being self-employed.

For these two participants, and other participants in similar situations experiencing economic insecurity, the autonomy over one's time seemed to outstrip any feelings of economic insecurity and gave a sense that it was worth the insecure employment status due to the level of control gained from it. Despite experiencing often-challenging caring responsibilities, coupled with economic insecurity, the participants spoke of self-employment in positive terms and how it enabled them to negotiate their work with caring responsibilities with the flexibility they needed. This flexibility outstripped any negative effects that self-employment posed, such as economic insecurity.

Similarly, for participants who experienced economic security the benefits of self-employment outstripped any level of precariousness that it might have brought. While these participants were not reliant on the self-employed income for necessities, they hailed self-employment for the benefits it brought them and their families. This was highlighted by Sarah, a married mother of two who was also caring for her husband. Sarah's situation was different as she experienced economic security due to her husband's full-time income and the fact that they were not dependent on her income for necessities. Sarah's caring responsibilities had been

particularly challenging, leading to her seeking support for her own mental health. However, despite these challenges, for Sarah the upsides of what self-employment meant for her particular set of circumstances made it all worth it:

It's lovely being able to have that flexibility and also kind of like having a blank week and being able to design it exactly the way I want it to work, so that it can work for us as a family [...] I love how much freedom and flexibility I have and I think that's why like every day I would wake up with such a big smile on my face because I could make those choices, it's quite freeing and quite empowering.

This sense of control was also echoed by Thomas, who had been self-employed for over two decades and had a fiancée who worked full-time. Thomas cared for his stepdaughter who had additional caring needs. Due to his fiancée's full-time income the family had perceived economic security, enabling Thomas to put caring before work. For Thomas though, he had been self-employed for over two decades and noted that the best part for him was the flexibility that self-employment allows him and his family to have. It is due to the economic security that Thomas had which enabled him to also hone the best parts of being self-employed, in contrast to other participants who describe being economically insecure and unable to push back against clients as they need the work and income. But for Thomas, the economic security allowed him to fully take advantage of the flexibility and autonomy over his own time:

The best part is that there is actually that flexibility with it that says I'm not beholden to an employer who says, 'no you have to work these hours, or you lose your job'. I can make that call, and I can choose not to earn money, to spend time with them.

Similarly, Christine, a married mother of two who also cared for her elderly parents, also described similar experiences. Christine had perceived economic security and spoke of the flexibility that she gained from being self-employed. Due to feeling economically secure Christine was able to gain all the benefits of managing her own time and able to take decisions about work and caring without having to worry about an income:

I love the flexibility and love like, to be my own boss I suppose, like managing my own time, manage my own day. I love that kind of possibility that there's always a new, exciting thing around the corner.

Tara, a married mother of two who also perceived herself to be economically secure described the same experiences when speaking about self-employment and the flexibility and control it allowed her to have:

The thing that I love most about being self-employed is that I can walk away from something [...] I can keep it healthy distance because I can say this doesn't work out I've only got six weeks to tolerate this person who's changing their mind every 30 seconds about what they want or what they think they should be doing and doesn't seem to know what they're talking about so I can take a big deep breath and go 'right not long to go'.

Across the spectrum of participants, whether they described experiencing economic security or economic insecurity, the one thing all participants had in common was that they all accepted that self-employment comes with a level of risk. But crucially, this level of risk was often offset by the level of flexibility and control that they gained from being self-employed. Specifically, the flexibility, autonomy over one's own time and the feeling of control seemed to outstrip any negative feelings and challenges that self-employment posed for these individuals. While it was clear that economic security was an overarching theme, which had a significant influence on how participants negotiated between self-employment caring responsibilities, flexibility went hand in hand with perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity and every single participant spoke about how it was key to their self-employment intention, and the one things that offset any economic security and insecurity challenges they may have faced.

6.6 The influence of social institutional norms on the caring role

In addition to economic security and economic insecurity, and the implications of this when it came to working and caring, some participants highlighted the social institutional norms that were prevalent to them. While both men and women engage in unpaid care work, in practice attitudes are still often suffused with gender assumptions about women bearing the responsibility for domestic agendas (Gatrell and Cooper 2016; Maume 2016). Social structures have considerable impact on how women view their parental responsibilities, and women face contradictory societal expectations when it comes to motherhood and career success (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Liamputtong 2006). However, these internal conflicts, and at times opposing, roles of a career driven individual and caregiving mother leads to more

internal stress for mothers when it comes to work-life balance, resulting in significant tensions (Drew and Humbert 2012; Munkejord 2017). Female participants in this study often touched upon these social and institutional norms in the form of the internal battle they often felt when trying to negotiate their self-employed identity with the identity of caring for their family. The expectations of being the primary caregiver were something that also spanned across those women in this study who felt both economically secure and insecure (Elson et al., 2000; Lilly, Laporte and Coyte, 2007; Craig et al. 2012; Ferrant et al. 2014; Marcus 2018).

However, for the participants in this study, the reason that they took on the bulk of caring was not always clearly divided along gendered lines. In fact, participants with perceived economic insecurity highlighted how they believed that caring tended to fall on them, not because they were women but, because they were in self-employed and as such, they were expected to drop everything and care as and when needed. Many expressed that while self-employment enabled flexibility, this does not mean that they do not have to work. The flexibility meant that they could choose when and how they perform the work, but the work itself still needed to be completed. Eve, a single mother of one who cared for her elderly parents and experienced economic insecurity, described how she felt that employment was seen as the social norm and that she did not gain the same level of respect for her working time as her brother did who was employed:

You know there's little things like If I need something picking up they asked me to do that rather than my brother, that extends to kind of like 'let's not interrupt him because he's got you know he's working and he can't take time out during the day' [...] You know sometimes they might surprise visit which is lovely but you know [...] And it's like they wouldn't do that to my brother because he's working, you know his employer expects his work until 5 o'clock. But it just seems that you know because I'm at home self-employed that I could just chill out and drop things, have a cuppa, and take the afternoon off.

Izzy, a married mother of two, described similar circumstances where her working time was not, in her own words, afforded the same status as someone who does not work from home. Izzy touched upon how the social norms are that you are employed, and that self-employment is still considered a choice. Izzy described how this resulted in that other people could interrupt her as and when they pleased, and that she was then expected to just drop everything to spend time with family members. Izzy described that while she did not want to point the finger at any family members, she did get her working day interrupted often by people showing up unannounced and expecting her to spend time with them. For Izzy she expressed that this

only happened because she was self-employed and expressed that if she were based in a workplace, she believes that this would not occur:

I think because the work isn't visible in the same way as going to a workplace, it's just people it's given less important perhaps or just less, I don't know, recognition. It's kind of like 'oh you work from home so you're available for this and this', like you know I can just drop in it's not a problem to interrupt your working day [...] and you know it feels sometimes that it's not afforded the same status as work that would involve me going to workplace and being at a particular location.

While these participants who were all economically insecure described how they experienced that caring fell on them due to them being self-employed, other participants expressed different reasons for being the primary caregiver. As highlighted by research, some participants who expressed being economically secure described how societal expectations and norms left them with little choice than to take on a higher burden of caring responsibilities when these intensified. Laura, a married mother of four children has a husband that worked full-time and described having perceived economic security which had enabled her to put caring before work. While Laura described having this set of circumstances before the Covid19 pandemic lockdowns, she did speak about how she thought that society has regressed back two decades when it came to the roles of women and caring. Interestingly, Laura described that before lockdowns occurred she had a choice, and she chose to manage her self-employment and caring responsibilities flexibly by putting her role as a mother first. This suggests that before lockdown there was a different balance between working and caring for Laura, and her children were at school and nursery. Perhaps most importantly the element of choice was a prominent feature of this time, where Laura could control how she managed between working and caring. However, once the institutional support network of school and early year setting was no longer available to her family during lockdown, Laura described how caring intensified and automatically fell on her. Laura described this as how society having had gone backwards for women and that the expectations on them as primary caregivers had intensified:

I think within the last year it's been massive, sort of feel a bit like you know we've gone back almost kind of 20 years a little bit. But you know unfortunately Carl is the main breadwinner and I'm not, and it is It is my work that suffered It is my kind of career If you like that suffered. I've had to sort of put things on [...] So I feel like I've gone back a year but maybe even longer than that, so I guess that you know feel that it's impacted a little bit more than just the last 12 months.

Similarly, Sarah, a married mother of two with a husband that worked full-time, described perceived economic security and was able to put caring before work. Sarah also described her frustrations at how caring had automatically fallen to women during the Covid19 pandemic, and how she experienced becoming the primary caregiver through expectation and how she, in her own words, automatically lost out on running her own business as a result of societal expectations of her being the primary caregiver and giving up work when her caring responsibilities intensified:

I suppose for me one of the things that I have felt frustrated about is that being a mom I feel like I have time and time again in the one you had to take the slack. So obviously I've lost money in the first lockdown because my classes were reduced because I couldn't teach them all, and once I got a few weeks into that I did start to feel this sense of resentment [...] why does it automatically mean that I have to I have to lose out and lose the business and yeah I feel that probably this time again it's it moms who lose out when you're in this situation.

Alice, a married mother of one who cared for her mother who lived separately from her, was also economically secure and she described the weight of responsibility that she experienced as a result of caring for her mother, and the worries it was causing her:

You know I've always been quite happy being an only child until now, and that the weight of responsibility is huge and that you know that there's nobody else, it's me [...] I feel like I'm being forced into a role that I don't really want. I want to be a daughter and I want to be you know I would have a nice time with my mom, and now I'm being kind of shoehorned into being the person has to tell her what to do [...] So I'm quite I'm quite frustrated at myself, because I thought I would be better at this I just realise that I am not. I don't want to be a full-time carer and that's not, I guess I love my mom but that that's not where my talent lies.

While not all participants touched on social and institutional norms, it was clear that for some participants this played a role in how they negotiated between working and caring, regardless of their economic security status. In line with previous research, this finding did further highlight the internal conflicts arising from the perceived external societal and institutional norms of self-employment and gender, and that this affects the negotiation of working and caring for some individuals in this study.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter explored the topic of economic security which arose through the interview process and subsequent data analysis. In particular, it examined perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity, and the implications of this for self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities. From the data analysis it was clear that economic security was a very subjective experience for each participant and highly context driven, which supports research in this area (Hacker 2018).

Following analysis, two categories emerged - perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). This categorisation was developed to highlight the subjectivity of economic security and to allow for full exploration of the implications of this for participants in this study. In addition, categories as perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity allowed for exploration of the contexts that led to the participants feeling economically secure/insecure at time of this study.

The key factor that made participants fall into what was aggregated as perceived economic security was that in each of these households there was a second income stream from their partner or family member whom they lived with. The implications for perceived economic security meant that they were able to prioritise caring when negotiating between self-employment and their caring responsibilities, as captured by the 2nd order theme. In contrast, the key factor that contributed to economic insecurity for participants were when the household was a single income household. The implications of perceived economic insecurity led to persistent situations where the negotiation between work and caring became especially fraught.

In addition, while economic security was an overarching theme that influenced much of the negotiation between working and caring, it was often offset against the benefits of being self-employed. This was a common overarching theme for all participants, whether they experienced economic security or economic insecurity. Finally, some participants highlighted social institutional norms on top of their economic security/insecurity which, in combination, affected how they negotiated between work and caring. This further highlighted the internal conflicts arising from the perceived external societal and institutional norms of self-employment and gender affected the negotiation of working and caring for some individuals in this study.

These findings and background highlight the different sets of circumstances in which solo self-employed individuals in this study find themselves in, providing a detailed overview of the factors that influence how they manage their dual roles. The analysis of these findings allowed for further detailed exploration and allowed the researcher to develop a typology of time management practices that participants adopted to negotiate between self-employment and caring during times of crises. This typology of time management practices will be further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Typology of time management practices

7.1 Introduction

The findings covered in the previous chapter begin to demonstrate a richer picture of the different sets of circumstances in which solo self-employed individuals in this study found themselves in. Economic security and economic insecurity was explored in detail in chapter 6, demonstrating the important role it has in the participants' lives, as emerged through the interviews and subsequent data analysis. Through the analysis of the data, it became apparent what a central role economic security has, not only when it came to what the participants worried about but also its direct influence in how they prioritised their time between working and caring. This means that the participants' perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity directly fed into the different time management practices that the participants draw upon when they were faced with situations where they needed to manage their paid work with their unpaid care work. To fully understand how they time-triaged one has to understand the different economic circumstances they found themselves in and therefore a chapter was dedicated to their different circumstances, to fully draw out these important nuances. These sets of circumstances are crucial because they allowed for a deeper examination into how self-employed people manage their work with their caring responsibilities, which will be continued to be explored in this chapter by discussing the typology of time management practices that was developed from further analysis of the data.

This further analysis is captured in figure 7.1 below, which shows the full analysis of how the researcher developed the typology of time management practices. The analysis of these findings allowed for a detailed exploration to understand the different types of activities that the participants adopted to manage their dual roles. Specifically, four types of time management practices emerged: proactive time management, reactive time management, multi-tasking time management and passive time management practices. Figure 7.1 will be broken down throughout this chapter (sections 7.3.1, 7.3.2, 7.3.3 and 7.3.4) to clearly illustrate the analysis process of reaching each time management practice. But figure 7.1 has been developed by the researcher and shows the full analysis of all data to reach the typology of four time management practices. Specifically, it highlights how it emerged from raw data, which is the participants' own words shown in quotation marks (1st order concept), categorised in to activities in the 2nd order theme and finally aggregated into different time management practices.

Figure 7.1 Typology of four time management practices

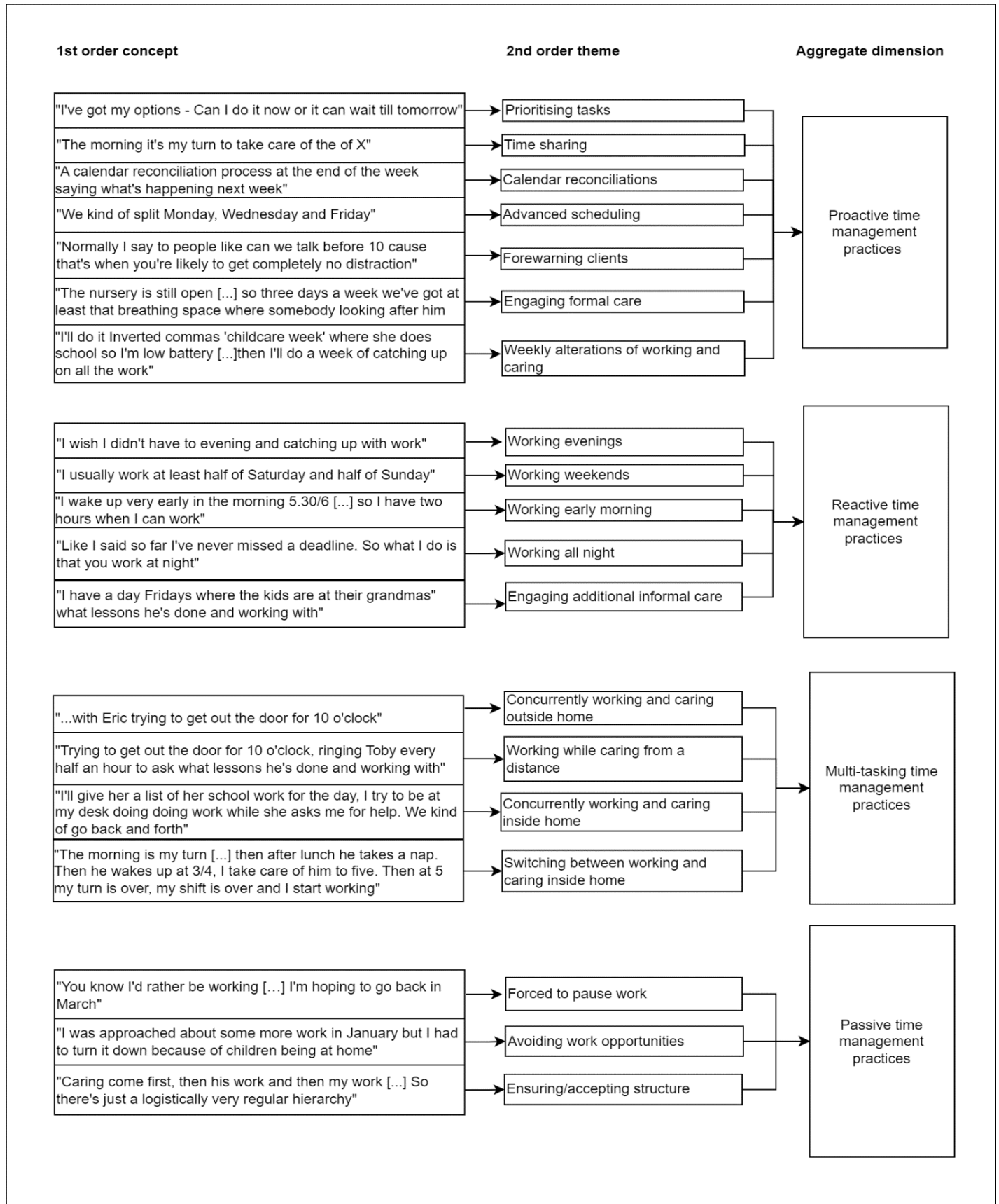


Figure 7.1 outlines the key activities that are undertaken by participants in the 2nd order themes that emerged throughout the analysis and how they were aggregated into a specific types of time management practice. Each typology of practice will be further examined in this chapter, taking into consideration the social network support available to the participants in their particular circumstances. Examining these practices allowed for full exploration of the tensions and challenges that the participants faced, which led them to adopting different time management practices to manage their work with their caring responsibilities.

This chapter will begin with setting out the types of available support which emerged from the findings and examine the importance of these when it comes to participants negotiating which practice to use, in order to balance their work with their caring responsibilities. Following this, the chapter will set out the typology of time management practices which were developed from the analysis, uncovering and examining each one more closely. To begin, the proactive time management practices will be examined more closely. These are often decided in advance to ensure that work and caring has structure in place. This includes activities such as advanced scheduling and engaging formal care. Secondly, reactive time management practices will be explored. This includes activities that are not pre-planned and unanticipated. Thirdly, participants adopted multi-tasking time management practices as a way of negotiating between work and caring, often trying to work and care simultaneously. Lastly, passive time management practices were adopted by a set of participants who were simply forced to pause their work due to the high volume of caring responsibilities they had. Finally, the chapter will conclude with highlighting how the context and available social support dictated which practices the participants in this study adopted to manage their self-employment and caring responsibilities.

7.2 Available social support

As discussed in chapter 3 section 3.3.2, studies examining social support for self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities are scarce, but research in both areas separately agree the important space social support that when it comes to both being self-employed and being an unpaid caregiver (Hilbrecht 2016; Oldenkamp et al. 2016). During the Covid19 pandemic, the role of social networks and support became even more apparent (Caliendo et al. 2023). In order to fully understand why participants chose a particular practice to aid them in their negotiation between working and caring during times of crises, it is important to understand what social support were available to the participants during the time of this study. Following data analysis, a set of available social support categories emerged: government assisted

support, informal support (e.g. family/spousal), formal support (formal carers), early years (nursery), and school (primary and secondary) support.

Depending on their personal circumstances the majority of the participants in this study qualified for government assisted support during the Covid19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns in the UK. In March 2020, the government announced the Self-Employed Income Scheme (SEISS), which was intended to mirror the support received by furloughed workers, where qualified self-employed individuals could claim 80% of their average monthly income as a taxable grant (HM Revenue and Customs 2022). In total, five SEISS grants were made available to self-employed individuals to apply for between March 2020 – September 2021 before the scheme closed (HM Revenue and Customs 2022).

Ava, a married mother of two who had been in the healthcare industry for five years, accessed the SEISS scheme several times during consequent lockdowns and was awaiting news on the fourth round during the time of her interview:

I have been lucky enough to get all three grants and will hopefully be getting the last one that comes up.

Several participants accessed one to three SEISS rounds of grants at the time of interview and described the process as straightforward and easy to conduct online. At the time of interview, during the third lockdown in the UK, several participants were waiting for news on the fourth round of grants to be confirmed and announced by April 2021.

A selection of participants also had access to formal support in terms of helping them with their caring responsibilities. This was more common for participants that cared for their elderly parents who needed extra support in their homes or care homes in which their family member resided. This was the circumstances that Alice found herself in. Alice, a married mother of one, cared for her mother with early on-set dementia who was living alone at the time of interview. Alice received help from a formal carer two days per week with her mother:

...the carers have just started going in on an evening tea time so that's good, that's good because that's another pair of eyes so somebody will be there in the morning and somebody will be there at tea time [...] carers first started going in on the morning I think November just a little while and then we literally just started a few days ago on an evening.

Participants with small children could also utilise early year settings if they chose to do so. While some participants chose to not send their children to early years setting during the Covid19 pandemic, other participants opted to do so. Some participants were able to still utilise this available support and deemed it helpful in terms of managing their work with caring responsibilities. This was the case for Mollie, a married mother of one who had been self-employed for nearly a year at the time of this study. While Mollie found that her daughter's attendance to nursery was erratic, due to Covid19 protocols and suspected Covid19 cases, they did try to utilise the early year sector for childcare needs for their daughter as best as they could:

...my daughter was at home when all the nurseries were closed and then has been so far sent home from nursery twice for being close to somebody with Covid [...] then she goes back for two weeks and she can't go anywhere for two weeks [...] in theory she supposed to be in nursery Monday, Wednesday Friday.

Most participants also had school aged children, whether in primary or secondary school, and college, and at times children attending all three settings under the same roof. For these participants, their circumstances were more challenging as schools were closed to all children except keyworkers during lockdowns in the UK. The majority of participants were homeschooling at the time of interview.

The types of social support available to participants is important as it often, as will be discussed throughout this chapter, enabled participants to choose different time management practices depending on what available support they had access to at the time of managing their work and caring responsibilities. This will be further evaluated in the sections for each practice adopted.

7.3 Towards a typology of time management practices

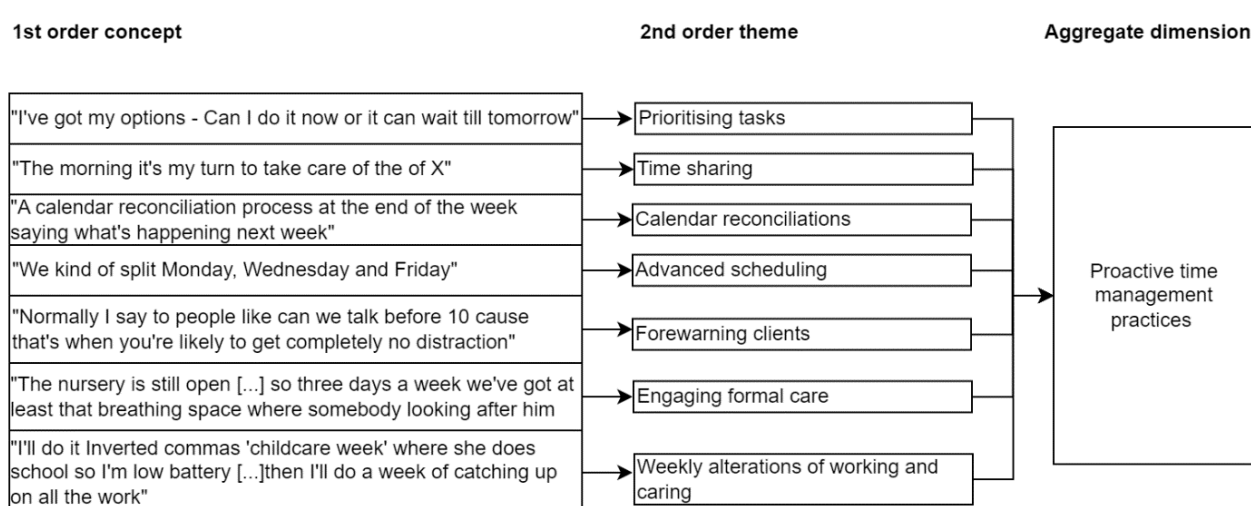
It is important to begin with demonstrating how the typology of practices was developed, before examining how participants combined several practices simultaneously to manage their dual roles. The analysis of the findings allowed for further detailed exploration and developed four time management practices which will be further explored separately. It is important to note that analytically there is four distinguished time management practices, but in reality, as will be discussed throughout of this chapter, participants drew upon multiple time management practices simultaneously in order to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. However, it is important to demonstrate how the time management practices emerged and the

activities which formed part of each one, before being able to fully understand how the participants made use of the different time management practices in reality.

7.3.1 Proactive time management practices

Several participants engaged in different activities that, when analysed further, aggregated into what the researcher terms as proactive time management practices. The proactive time management practice category included activities that were self-initiated and focused on the things participants expressed that they could control. Figure 7.2 has been developed by the researcher to illustrate the analytical journey to the proactive time management strategy. In the 1st order concept, the raw data is captured in the participants own words and shown in quotation marks. Taking the top one as an example the participant speaks of their options and how they have to decide if something has to be done now or if it can wait till tomorrow. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as prioritising tasks. Taking the second 1st order concept as an example the participant states that in the morning is it their turn to take care of their child. This was categorised as time sharing with their other half. This process was done for each participant and categorised into activities in the 2nd order theme. Taken together these were all then aggregated into proactive time management practices. Figure 7.2 illustrates all the 1st order concepts, 2nd order theme (activities) and how they were aggregated into proactive time management practices and these will all be further discussed in detail in this section.

Figure 7.2 Proactive time management practices



Some participants engaged in activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as prioritising tasks. Willow, a graphic designer and mother of two often found herself **prioritising**

different tasks as a way of trying to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. As shown in the 1st order concept she explained in her own words that:

...I've got my options 'can I do it now or can it wait till tomorrow'.

Other participants engaged in activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as sharing the time they would work and care with their spouses or other family members in the household. Jacob was a married man and a father of a one-year-old who he was the primary caregiver for. He described how his wife and he had **devised a schedule** where they would take turns working and caring for their son. This agreement also had to work around his wife's job which was inflexible with the hours she had to attend work remotely. As explained in his own words in the 1st order concept, Jacob said:

So basically, the thing is my wife she's working from home as well you know and she's supposed to and expected to work from 9 to 5, 8.30 to 5 actually. So that's a bit complicated you know because as you can understand Jack is 2 years old. You either, you know, look after him or you work, you can't do both you know. So, what we do is basically we try to split our day and of taking care of the baby.

Mollie who had similar set of circumstances as Jacob, had a different set up with her full-time working husband. Her husband had more flexibility in his job despite being employed and this enabled them to adopt activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as **calendar reconciliation** and **advanced scheduling**. As seen in the the 1st order concept Mollie shared the following:

... a calendar reconciliation process at the end of the week saying 'what's happening next week' so we've got a plan in structures. So ideally, she's not at home Monday, Wednesday and Friday [...] we largely sort of sit down and see calendars 'saying what's that'.

Olivia, a programme and workshop facilitator who cared for her grandmother, instead resorted to activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme **as forewarning her clients** so that she could book her meetings on times where she was less in demand from her caring responsibilities. As captured in the 1st order concept Olivia shared this:

...For example this call now I said I've got a call at 8 pm and so everyone said 'OK' you know because when I am visibly doing something that's normally engaging with

another person then everyone steps up [...] But I also will try and schedule stuff when I know I'm less in demand from my gran, so normally I say to people like 'can we talk before 10am' because that's when you're likely to get completely no distraction from the kids or from my Gran or late in the evening. So, it's trying to set aside those times.

Other participants such as Sarah, a mother of two, described activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **engaging formal care** for her youngest child in early years setting. As seen in the 1st order concept, Sarah described it in the following way:

The nursery is still open [...] so three days a week we've got at least that breathing space where somebody looking after him.

David, a father of one who shared the custody of his daughter with his former partner, engaged in activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as **weekly alternations of working and caring**, in line with the weeks when he had his daughter staying with him. In his own words, captured in the 1st order concept, he described it as being a "lifeline" to have these weekly alternations:

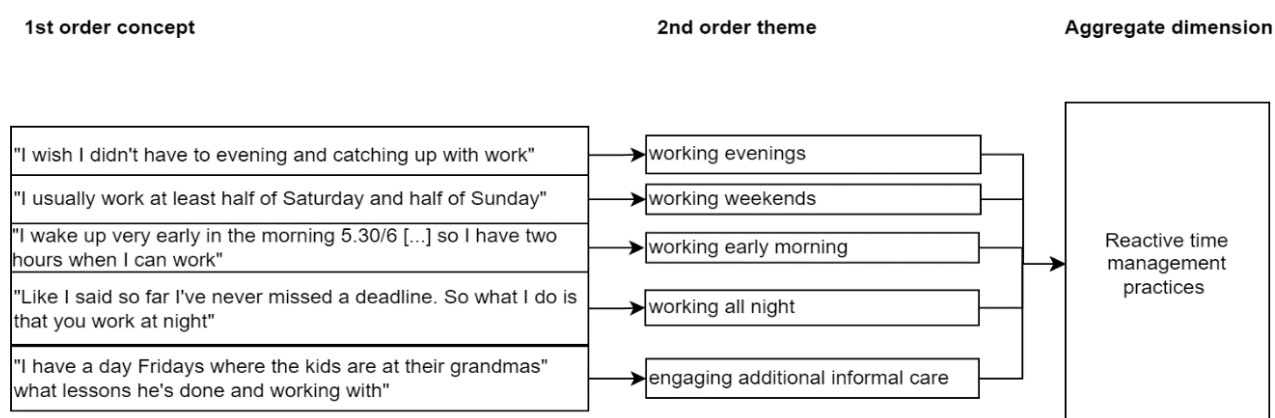
Yeah, that's been a lifeline for me because, well what's happened is that in my head I thought 'brilliant' so do I'll do it inverted commas childcare week where she does school so I'm low battery [...] then I'll do a week of catching up on all the work but I'm just so frazzled.

While all these participants undertook different activities to manage their work with their caring responsibilities, the one element they all shared was that the activities were often self-initiated and focused on situations they could exert some form of control over in advance. This is also what makes this practice distinctive as the participants tried to pre-empt any challenges in advance by adopting different activities. It also meant that they focused on the things they perceived that they could control in the future instead of those situations which they could not control. This did not mean that situations and challenges would not occur, but these participants sat down and actively tried to plan as much as possible in advance around the things they felt they had control over to ensure they could manage their income with their caring responsibilities. These activities all became aggregated as proactive time management practices.

7.3.2 Reactive time management practices

In contrast to proactive time management practices, other participants engaged in what was defined as reactive time management practices. The reactive time management practices category included activities that were outside of the participants' control and activities that they adopted as a reaction to a given situation. These were not self-initiated and planned activities but rather were in response to increased work or caring responsibilities during a particular week or day. This means that the fluctuation in the increase of work was outside of the participants' control, and this meant that the participant could not be proactive in their planning, but rather they had to resort to what activity they could at the time of the conflict between managing their income and caring responsibilities would arise. Figure 7.3 has been developed by the researcher and shows the analytical process of reaching the reactive time management strategy. In the 1st order concept, again the raw data is captured in the participants own words which are shown in quotation marks. Using the top quote as an example the participant spoke of how they wish they did not need to spend evenings and weekends to catch up on work. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as working weekends. In the second quote a participant expressed that they usually work half of both Saturdays and Sundays. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as working weekends. This process was followed for all participants and aggregated into reactive time management practices. Figure 7.3 illustrates all the 1st order concepts, 2nd order theme (activities) and aggregate dimension (reactive time management practice) and these will be further discussed in detail in this section.

Figure 7.3 Reactive time management practices



Some participants engaged in working unsociable hours to enable them to balance their work commitments with their caring responsibilities and this was categorised in the 2nd order theme as either working evenings, weekends, early morning and all night. Willow, a graphic designer and mother of two often found herself engaging in activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **working evenings**. She described this, as captured in the 1st order concept, as the following:

I mean I wish I didn't have to evening and catching up with work because every time my husband is watching telly and I'm kind of watching it half working. So, I'm kind of being sociable but not, without actually seeing and talking and relaxing and doing so [...] I'll be working late evenings at the moment [...] and then throughout the weekend.

Izzy, a marketer and a married mother of two, drew from activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **working weekends** to manage her work with her caring responsibilities. While she shared her caring responsibilities with her husband, she was the primary caregiver due to his employment circumstances being inflexible. In the 1st order concept, she used her own words to describe this set up:

Usually, it's about 4pm I sit down to do a little bit of work, then I stop, I make dinner but unless my partners available sometimes he makes dinner and then I sit down again at about 6pm to start work, and depending on how much work I've got on cause it just fluctuates depending on what week of the month it is, I work from 6pm until 9pm sometimes 10, sometimes later. Yeah, that's hard and then weekends, so then I usually work at least half of Saturday and half of Sunday sometimes like that. Then last weekend just gone I worked all of Saturday and half of Sunday.

Jacob, a translator and a married father of one had a similar set of circumstances where his spouse was in an inflexible job. Jacob adopted several activities from the reactive time management practice to enable him to balance his work with his caring responsibilities. Jacob tended to adopt activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **working early in the mornings** when the work became more than planned:

I wake up very early in the morning 5.30/6 [...] so I have two hours when I can work.

In addition, if Jacob had a specific work deadline for a client he would tend adopt activities categorised as **working all night** to be able to meet it. As shown in the 1st order concept, Jacob described this in the following way:

you know sometimes client put very strict deadlines you know, which sometimes I hate to put the deadlines on Friday night you know [...] But anyway you know what do you do? You, like I said so far I have never missed a deadline, so what I do is that I work at night. You know that's what you can do, you know when he sleeps. You know, now he's sleeping, you know I don't have any deadline for tomorrow thank God, but if I had and I know I'm late I could work now and have a cup of coffee and start working all night.

Other participants drew from activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as **engaging additional informal care** to enable them to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. Mary, a married mother of two who worked in the communication industry, relied on engaging informal care to manage her dual responsibilities and being able to get her work down, despite going down in hours as much as possible. She had reached a stage where it was unsustainable and would as a result engage informal care due to the double working burden. She described this in the following way which is captured in the 1st order concept:

I felt like the kids were at their limit of how much is that they could take. They really needed attention from adults. They couldn't be in the same house as us and not have somebody's attention on them. And it was just like just overwhelming feeling that I couldn't. Yeah, we couldn't have carried on the way we were [...] I have a day, Fridays, where the kids are at their grandmas.

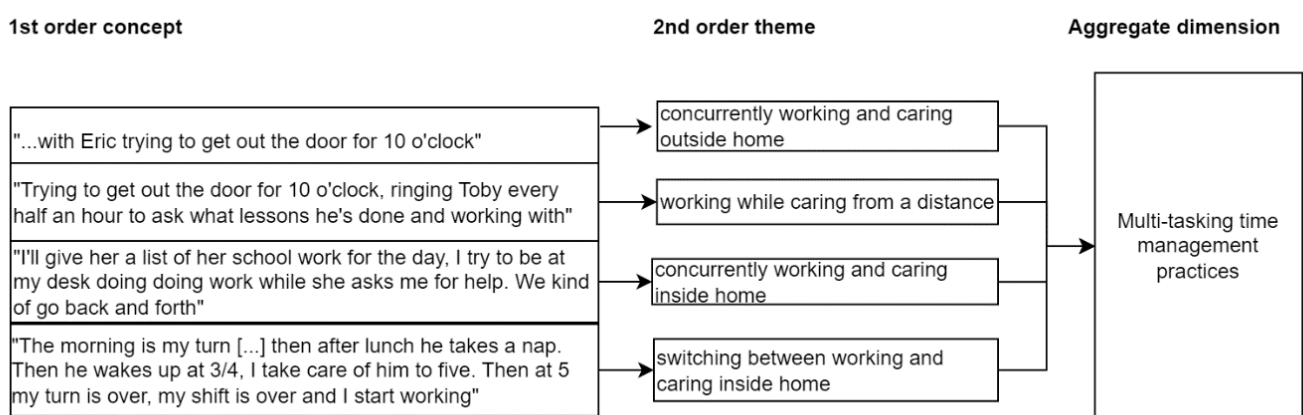
While all these participants undertook different activities to manage their work with their caring responsibilities (and as will be demonstrated further into the chapter that they balanced several practices to enable them to do so) the one element they all shared was that the activities were outside of their control and reactive to circumstances they would find themselves in on a particular given day or week. This allowed these activities to be aggregated into what the researcher terms as reactive time management practices.

7.3.3. Multi-tasking time management practices

The third practice to emerge from the analysis was multi-tasking time management practices. Several participants engaged in activities that, when analysed further, aggregated into so called multi-tasking practices. These participants faced situations where they could not rely on social support and were often the sole income generator and either the sole or primary caregiver in the household. This meant that they found themselves having to multi-task and

find solutions where they could work and care at the same time. This category included activities that were often performed with a duality element to them. Figure 7.4 has been developed by the researcher and demonstrated the analytical process developing the multi-tasking time management strategy. In the 1st order concept, the raw data is captured in the participants own words and are shown in quotation marks. Using the bottom (last one) quote as an example the participant explained how it is their turn in the morning, then that their child takes a nap midday before he takes care of him again until 5 pm. Then he describes it as his own shift of work begins after 5 pm. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as switching between working and caring inside the home. Another good example is the second quote from the bottom where the participant describes giving her daughter her list of her school work for the day, while the participant proceeds to try to work at her desk and support her daughter throughout the day. She explains how they go back and forth that way. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as concurrently working and caring inside the home. The same process was followed for all these participants and these 2nd order themes were finally aggregated into multi-tasking time management practices. Figure 7.4 illustrates all the 1st order concepts, 2nd order theme (activities) and aggregate dimension (multi-tasking time management practice) which will be further discussed in detail in this section.

Figure 7.4. Multi-tasking time management practices



Participants who adopted multi-tasking time management practices were often either switching between tasks or balancing several activities concurrently. Jane, a dog walker and single mother of two, often found herself drawing from activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **concurrently working and caring outside the home**, while simultaneously also

working while caring from a distance. Jane was able to do this as her youngest child, who was primary school aged, would have to come to work with her, while her older child, who was secondary school aged, was able to stay at home and do schoolwork by himself. As captured in the 1st order concept, Jane described this in the following way:

.... with Eric trying to get out the door for 10 o'clock, ringing Toby every half an hour to ask what lessons he's done and working with.

Lily, a marketer and single mother of one who also cared for her mother who lived alone, would draw on activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **concurrently working and caring inside the home.** Lily described (as seen in the 1st order concept) how her setup with her daughter enabled her to work and care simultaneously:

We get up and have breakfast and I try and have my daughter eating breakfast like 7.30/8is and then I'll give her a list of her schoolwork for the day. I try to be at my desk doing schoolwork, doing work, she asks me for help, we kind of go back and forth.

Jacob, a translator and a married father of one would draw from activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **switching between working and caring** and described it like having different shifts in a day, swapping between him and his wife when it came to managing his work with caring responsibilities. He described this, as can be seen in the 1st order concept, in the following way:

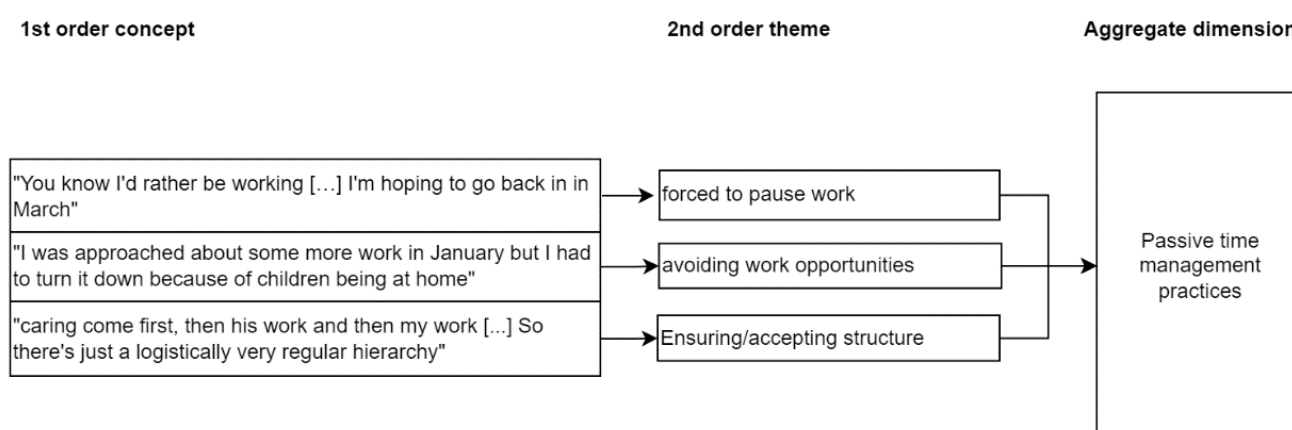
...the morning is my turn [...] then after lunch he takes a nap [...] Then at 5 my turn is over, my shift is over, and I start working.

As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, multi-tasking time management practices were often used in combination with one of the other types of time management practices. However, some participants did use these practices in isolation to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. Nonetheless, the multi-tasking time management practice emerged analytically as a separate type of time management practice which several participants drew upon to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. Nonetheless, multi-tasking emerged analytically as a separate category, based on the presence of multiple concurrent time management practices, which several participants drew upon to manage their work with their caring responsibilities.

7.3.4 Passive time management practices

The final type of practice to emerge from the analysis were the passive time management practices. Several participants adopted these practices in order to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. This category included activities that were rooted in avoiding and pausing any work situations until a time when the participant felt that they could resume work again. Figure 7.5 has been developed by the researcher and demonstrates the analytical process of developing the passive time management strategy. In the 1st order concept, the participants own words are captured and are shown in quotation marks. Using the first quote as an example the participant spoke of how they would rather be working and are hoping to go back to work soon. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as forced to pause work. In the second quote another participant explained that they had been approached about work but had turned it down due to their increased caring responsibilities. In the 2nd order theme this was categorised as avoiding work opportunities. In the third quote another participant described that caring came first, then her husband's work and that they logistically had a regular hierarchy. This was categorised in the 2nd order theme as ensuring/accepting structure. The same process was followed for all these participants and all the 2nd order themes were aggregated into passive time management practices. Figure 7.5 illustrates all the 1st order concepts, 2nd order theme (activities) and the aggregate dimension (passive time management practice). These will be further discussed in detail in this section.

Figure 7.5 Passive time management practices



Many participants engaging in activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as being **forced to pause their work** due to increasing caring responsibilities. Sharon, a website

designer and married mother of two, had an increase in her caring responsibilities during lockdown and was forced to pause work as a result. As captured in the 1st order concept she described her situation in the following way:

You just cannot do both, it is physically impossible so yeah my business has kind of suffered a little bit [...] You know I'd rather be working [...] I'm hoping to go back in March.

Other participants avoided any work opportunities as their caring responsibilities had increased to the point of not being able to work. Tara, an events coordinator, and a mother of two living with her partner, found herself drawing from activities categorised in the 2nd order theme as **avoiding any work opportunities** due to the increase in her caring responsibilities. As can be seen from the 1st order concept, Tara described her situation in the following way:

I finished a project in January last year, January 2020, and then I was looking for my next project and then it was half term in February [...] lockdown in March so no childcare from March to September so I didn't work. Then September I picked up a piece of work that I did for two months and then finish that in November and then with Christmas coming up and lockdown be taking place [...] I was approached about some more work in January, but I had to turn it down because of children being at home.

For other participants, the passive time management practices meant drawing on activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as **ensuring and accepting a structure** when it came to the hierarchies within the household on work and caring responsibilities. Megan, a single equestrian therapy consultant who cared for her mother with the help of her stepfather, both of whom she lived with, described it in the following way:

Caring comes first, then his work and my work. So, you know, again I have a huge amount of flex again being self-employed plus work in an industry that they don't expect you to be available 9 to 5 [...] So there's just a logistically very regular hierarchy. He knows if he has a meeting at 8am Southeast Asian time then you can't sit there and say actually 'no you know what maybe we do it tomorrow' [...] my mom will always be the priority.

As will be demonstrated later on in this chapter, passive time management practices were often used in isolation from any other practices but were context driven. The passive time management practices were rooted in avoiding and pausing any work responsibilities until a

time when they could be resumed again. Due to the nature of avoiding any work, to prioritise the caring responsibilities, these activities were aggregated into passive time management practices.

7.4 Towards adopting and combining time management practices

It was important to demonstrate how the typology of practices was developed, before moving on to examining how participants adopted and combined time management practices to manage their dual roles. Throughout the next several sections, insights will be provided into which time management strategies participants adopted. As will be highlighted, it was not straightforward. The majority of participants needed to combine different time management practices to manage their self-employment with their caring responsibilities. For the sake of clarity each section will be focused on each time management practice with a discussion of how it was used and highlighting if it was combined with another time management strategy. It will begin with exploring proactive time management practices, move towards reactive time management practices, followed by multi-tasking time management practices and end with the passive time management practices.

7.4.1 Adopting proactive time management practices

Some participants predominately adopted a proactive time management practice which they complemented with the help of other practices. Proactive time management included activities that were pre-planned and non-reactive in the moment. Examples of activities within this practice included forewarning clients and advanced scheduling. However, participants who adopted this time management practice engaged in several different activities, as outlined in Table 7.1 below. This table was developed by the researcher and are the 2nd order themes pulled from figure 7.2 (section 7.3.1 of this chapter):

Table 7.1 Activities categorised as proactive time management practices

Proactive time management practices
prioritising tasks
time sharing
calendar reconciliations
advanced scheduling
forewarning clients

engaging formal care

weekly alternation of working and caring

Interestingly, the majority of participants who adopted activities which were aggregated into the proactive time management practices combined them with either multi-tasking or passive time management practices, depending on their circumstances. For some participants, this meant combining their proactive time management practice with the multi-tasking time management practice.

Sarah, a mother of two with a husband who worked full-time combined activities which were aggregated into a proactive time management practice with multi-tasking time management practice to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. Sarah, who worked in the health and fitness industry, had been self-employed less than one year so had not qualified for any financial support from the government. However, Sarah did have access to Early Years sector support with her youngest child being in nursery 30 hours per week at the time of interview. Sarah's oldest child was home from school and being homeschooled and she also emotionally supported her husband who suffered from poor mental health, but the family had formal support in place to help support her husband:

I'm a carer for my husband as well because he suffers from mental health issues [...] So my husband has a CPN (community psychiatric nurse) who's assigned to him. This sort of manages his case and who he will have regular contact with as well as all of the people who are kind of based in in a team.

In addition to engaging formal support for her husband, Sarah engaged in proactive activities, as seen in the 2nd order themes, such as engaging formal care for her youngest child, and combined this with multi-tasking time management practices, where she switched between working and caring inside the home while homeschooling her primary school aged child:

I've got classes that I've continued to deliver, and my husband trying to work full time and his job's fairly pressured, so it's just that sense of trying to be in two places at once [...] But now we've got to the point where my little boy can have the 30 hours It makes quite a big difference, it takes the pressure off. [...] Currently in lockdown I'm finding the homeschooling quite a lot more challenging this time so in terms of the pressure. So last time the schools just said they were just going to consolidate so you didn't really feel like there was that same sense of the children in school are still learning so you got to keep up. [...] Whereas now the school has just carried on because I think

that's what they've been told to do by the government, and so out of 30 children 24 of my little girl's class are still in school and still having lessons with their teacher. So, you have this sense if they're all still learning it's up to us to make sure that our children aren't getting left behind. So, the school are providing lots of learning but there's a lot as in you could sit down with her at 9 am in the morning and still be working 3.30 in the afternoon. If you went through and did everything that they set properly [...] really you need to be sat with her but at the same time I'm trying to, I've got classes that I've continued to deliver, and my husband trying to work full time, and his job's fairly pressured, so it's just that sense of trying to be in two places at once.

Similarly, Christine adopted activities that were aggregated into the proactive time management practice and combined it with multi-tasking time management practice but had a different set of circumstances. Christine, a married mother of two children with a husband who also worked as self-employed, cared for both her mother and father separately. Her mother lived alone, while her father was living in a care home at the time of interview. Christine, who had been self-employed in the creative industries for the past three years had qualified for financial support from the government and applied and received the SEISS grant. At the time of interview, she had support from her husband with caring for her parents and they both engaged in homeschooling their two children. Christine became emotional when talking about how she time-triaged between caring for her parents and children but felt the need to keep explaining the situation with her dad, who lived with dementia and went into a care home during lockdown:

...when he went into the home, we had a really difficult time because, well it's like taking, without sounding patronising, it's like taking a toddler who loves you and trusts you to this place and dropping them off. We couldn't physically see the home; we couldn't go and visit it so you know ordinarily if it was a child, you would be looking at the nicest schools and the one with the best culture in you know the safest and kindest and we couldn't do a lot of that leg. We did as much as we could digitally, but it felt like we were just dropping him off into the hands of strangers you know. [...] This lockdown has been, since September, challenging in different ways. I suppose it's that 'how do we connect with him when he doesn't understand conversation, how do we get the balance right between sort of looking after my mom and having our own time and space as a family. You know what will it look like, when might we come out of this. So, we've been able to do a couple of pod visits with my dad and I started trying to volunteer in the home just so I could be next to him [...] Every stage has been really different and for different reasons it's been difficult I suppose.

Christine described feeling supported in her caring responsibilities and understood by her clients when it came to her caring responsibilities. The compassionate environment that she described, coupled with experiencing economic security, allowed her to adopt a proactive time management practice of engaging formal care for her father, emotionally supporting her mother and engaging in multi-tasking practices by concurrently working and caring inside her home for her two children. While she described it as juggling, it was clear that her particular set of circumstances included practical and emotional support which enabled her to adopt these practices.

David, a divorced father of one who shared custody of his daughter with her mother, also adopted what was aggregated into a proactive time management practice that he combined with the multi-tasking time management practice. However, David, who experienced economic insecurity, described his situation as a difficult one. David had been self-employed for the past decade in the communications industry and had qualified for financial support from the government and applied and received the SEISS grant. At the time of interview, he was having his daughter living with him alternating weeks and was homeschooling her in the weeks that she was living with him:

My work is that human interaction of being stuck in front of the computer all day and she's little, she's not that little but she needs some kind of contact [...] the school like bless them, a lot that they were trying hard, but they didn't want to do that kind of video link thing, which is fine but this lockdown they really upped their game and they. So, it's not live lessons all day [...] but they do a lesson in the morning that's sort of an hour long and they kind of catch up with the kids and they do some pastoral stuff and so yeah this this stuff to kind of get her engaged.

Due to his circumstances, David adopted both the proactive time management practice of weekly alternation between working and caring, as well as the multi-tasking time management practice of concurrently working and caring inside his home on the weeks where he had his daughter living with him. David described experiencing difficulties in his situation, using the words “constant crisis”. He expressed that the combination of trying to get as much as possible done during alternate weeks was the only way for him to keep on top of his work. He would then dial it down on the weeks where he had his daughter living with him, so he could help her with her homeschooling. It was this combination, of working less one week and working extra the next week to make up for it, that he described as making him feel like he was in a “constant crisis”. For David, it was clear that his specific set of circumstances dictated what time

management practice he would ultimately adopt to ensure that he could manage his work with his caring responsibilities. It is also noteworthy that David described economic insecurity, which is likely to have driven his need to ensure that he got as much work done as possible when his daughter was not with him. In this sense, it was not only his circumstances regarding available social support and financial support from the government, but also his perceived economic insecurity on top of this, that led to him adopting these time management practices.

While participants tried to have some regular measures in place on things they felt they could control in advance, in practice these were often dependent on what would be going on in a given day when it came to their caring responsibilities. This means that proactive time management practices were predominately combined with reactive and multi-tasking time management practices. As such, even though participants engaged in proactive time management practices in terms of activities, the effectiveness of this practice was unpredictable because of the changing nature of their work and caring responsibilities. This made it difficult for them to plan ahead and to know what could be controlled in order to make full use of this time management practice. As such, they would often find themselves multi-tasking and managing, at times, conflicting priorities. This again highlights how context driven and fluid the adoption of time management practices was. While participants who adopted proactive time management practices made every effort to plan as much as they could and implement regular measures to balance their work with caring responsibilities, this did not play out the same way as they had hoped their week would go. Interestingly, when it came to proactive time management practices they were always secondary to other, more dominant, time management practices. For participants in this study, proactive time management was often an additional way of keeping their balance between work and caring: forewarning clients of their circumstances and managing the crisis situation they found themselves in, while trying to exert some control over the often uncontrollable situations they would likely find themselves in during the coming days and weeks.

7.4.2 Adopting reactive time management practices

Several participants adopted reactive time management practices. These practices included activities that were not pre-planned and arose unexpectedly while participants were working and caring. Participants who adopted this time management practice engaged in several different activities outlined below in table 7.2. This table was developed by the researcher and are the 2nd order themes pulled from figure 7.3 (section 7.3.2 of this chapter):

Table 7.2 Activities categorised as reactive time management practices

Reactive time management practices
working evenings
working weekends
working early morning
working all night
engaging additional informal care
working while caring from a distance

Esme, a mother of two who had been a self-employed writer and baker for the past five years, described how she had tried different activities from the 2nd order theme, which were aggregated into reactive time management practices, to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. At the stage of the Covid 19 pandemic when children were sent home to be homeschooled, Esme took on the homeschooling. As a family, they also decided together to keep her youngest home from early years setting, so at the time of interview Esme had been having both children at home for approximately a year, taking lockdowns into account. During this time, Esme had tried to adopt different time management practices to be able to continue her writing:

I woke up at 5 at in the morning to try and get the work done before they woke up at 6.30 [...] I was doing it for two months I think, and I was never able to adjust properly [...] Then then there was the option of doing work up until a certain time and I have to stop working so that I can fall asleep. I was getting really, really, really frustrated because I was hardly getting any work done. I'm currently in the third phase of changing my work patterns which is just work in the evenings until I'm tired and go to sleep and hardly get any sleep [...] it's something that I'm going to be continuing until the sleep deficit gets too much.

Esme's husband worked full-time, and the family had neither other formal nor informal support in place, which meant that the bulk of caring fell to Esme. This meant that the working time that would normally have been available to Esme was now unavailable, as was the entire social network which supported her caring responsibilities. This consequently influenced what time management practices Esme came to adopt to be able to manage her self-employment with her caring responsibilities. At the time of interview Esme was still trying to find a balance, but it was clear that for her to get any work done she had to push her work into unsociable

hours and take it day by day, reacting to what would be happening in any given day and trying to fit work in where she could. What was also interesting was that Esme did not expect this to last very long and was rather changing between different reactive time management activities to get work done. Most of Esme's day was taken up by caring responsibilities, homeschooling her eldest child and taking care of her younger child. In this sense, Esme was adopting different activities from the same type of time management practice and waiting for the crises to lift, reflecting the insecurity around what would happen in the future with regard to Esme's work.

Mary, a mother of two children with a husband that worked full-time also tried different activities from the 2nd order theme, which were aggregated into reactive time management practices, to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. However, Mary and her family were able to engage additional informal care from the children's grandmother one day per week. This meant that Mary had a routine in place where she would spend half of her time working and half of her time on her caring responsibilities:

...after Christmas when the schools closed again, it was again that feeling of 'I can't do what I did at the start of the pandemic to do both things at full throttle' is just not possible. It wasn't even a decision that I had to make. It was like my body was just like no, it's not going to happen, you have to stop working as much as you can. So, I still would work a little bit in the early mornings [...] but I'm probably about 50% capacity to what I would normally to what I would normally be.

It was clear that due to the lack of formal support, such as school, Mary had to take on homeschooling and extra caring responsibilities. Like Esme, Mary was also adopting several reactive practices to be able to balance her work with her caring responsibility and to continue her work. Her husband working full-time also meant that Mary was the primary caregiver and took on the majority of the caring responsibilities. But for Mary, being able to draw on social support, in the form of informal support from family, made a clear difference to how she could manage her work and caring responsibilities.

Nearly all participants used reactive time management practices to balance their work with their caring responsibilities. Out of all the participants who used this practice only two used it exclusively. Other participants who adopted reactive time management practices did so in combination with other types of practices to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. These participants adopted multiple activities from the reactive time

management practice and then combined this with one activity from a different time management practice.

Eve, a divorced mother of two who experienced economic insecurity, was homeschooling her two children at the time of interview. Eve had been self-employed less than one year so had not qualified for any financial support from the government. Eve described feeling pushed into self-employment during the pandemic and, as the primary caregiver for her two children, she described her situation as challenging. Eve's employer had to let her go during the Covid19 pandemic but still needed her skillset, so offered her two days per week as self-employed. As a single mother, Eve had to adopt different activities from the 2nd order theme to be able to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. While Eve was in a support bubble with her parents at the time, she did not have anything set up where she could draw on this as any practical social support in the form of informal caring, but rather this was used as a sociable benefit where they could socialise. This made it particularly difficult for Eve and she described a balancing act not just between work and caring, but also between adopting different time management practices to enable her to earn an income while caring:

At the minute, you know with homeschooling and everything, I do have to plan to the tenth degree of you know what I'm going to do on Monday, what I'm going to do on Tuesday to try and manage, you know what I can do. But it's difficult to plan when you don't know what's going to drop in or what proposal you might have to do because somebody gets in touch and wants something, and you know there's lots of variables.

While most of the practices that Eve adopted were reactive time management, she did try to plan her work in advance (proactive time management practice) but often found herself in a situation where she had to switch between working and caring throughout the day (multi-tasking time management practice) for her children:

It's difficult in that I never fully focused on what I'm doing. I can't just focus you know for a full day on what I need to get done. It's broken because I'm checking in with him, or he's asking me questions and he shares my desk as well.

In Eve's case it was clear that in order to manage her work with her caring responsibilities, she had to adopt several time management practices, predominately using reactive time management practices and combining this with both proactive and multi-tasking time management practices. This was due to the several factors in her set of circumstances that resulted in a daily balancing act.

Jacob, a married father of one who has been self-employed the last five years in translation services, also predominately utilised activities from the 2nd order theme, which were aggregated into reactive time management practices, and added one activity from two different time management practices to balance his work and caring responsibilities. While Jacob was married, his wife worked full-time in an inflexible job which meant that Jacob was the primary caregiver for their young son. At the time of interview no early year's social support was utilised. Jacob experienced perceived economic security which may be a factor as to why he had not utilised any financial support from the government despite being qualified to do so. Jacob and his wife had no other social support in place that could help with their caring responsibilities, and he had resorted to working early mornings, evenings and sometimes all night to hit deadlines. Jacob would normally switch between working and caring inside the home (multi-tasking time management practice) and try to time-share (proactive time management practice) with his wife throughout the day, allowing her work to take priority:

I wake up very early in the morning 5.30/6 am so I and then because, Jack, the name of my boy, wakes up around 7.30/8 am so I have two hours when I can, you know two hours when I can work. Then I have to take care of Jack because my wife is working [...] and then after lunch he takes a nap. Then he wakes up at 3/4 and I take care of him to 5 pm. Then at 5 pm it's my wife and I start working.

What is important to note here is that while theoretically Jacob had support with caring responsibilities from within the home, in practice he had to manage his work around caring for his child and also his wife's inflexible working hours. What made Jacob adopt this combination of practices was having no early year support to utilise for their young child, no social support network where they could engage additional informal care and no financial government assistance. This meant that Jacob predominately adopted reactive time management practices where he pushed his work into unsociable hours, switched between work and caring throughout the day (multi-tasking time management practice) and then tried to implement time sharing (proactive time management practice) with his wife to balance his work and caring responsibilities.

The majority of participants who adopted reactive time management practices found themselves combining this practice with one or two activities from the proactive time management practice and the multi-tasking time management practice. When examining this further it became clear that the participants in this category ranged from having perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity which means that this was not the factor

that led to them adopting this specific practice. Moreover, there was much variation in the participants' personal circumstances. However, the defining factor that seemed to drive reactive time management practices was the level of social support that was available to them at the time.

7.4.3 Adopting multi-tasking time management practices

While the multi-tasking time management practices were often used in combination with one of the other types of practices, a few participants did use these practices in isolation to balance their work with their caring responsibilities. This time management practice includes activities that are rooted in simultaneously working while caring in different circumstances. Examples of activities within this practice included concurrently working and caring inside the home and concurrently working and caring outside the home, often driven by the nature of the work of the caring responsibilities. Participants who adopted this time management practice engaged in several different activities, as outlined below in table 7.3. This table was developed by the researcher and are the 2nd order themes pulled from figure 7.4 (section 7.3.3 of this chapter):

Table 7.3 Activities categorised as multi-tasking time management practices

Multi-tasking time management practices
concurrently working and caring outside the home
concurrently working and caring inside the home
switching between working and caring inside the home
working while caring from a distance

Lily, a single mother of one who also cared for her mother, adopted the activities from the 2nd order theme which were aggregated into multi-tasking time management practice on its own to balance her work with her caring responsibilities. Having spent the past seven years working as a self-employed marketer, Lily qualified for the SEISS grant from the government which provided her with some financial support. Lily's specific set of circumstances meant that she was the primary caregiver for her daughter and had no other social support to draw on when it came to caring for her daughter. At the time of interview, Lily was homeschooling her daughter while caring for her mother from a distance. Lily's mother was able to live independently but needed a combination of formal support (in the form of carers), and informal support (which was provided by Lily). The carers visited Lily's mother's house twice per day. In addition to this, while Lily technically shared caring responsibilities with her sister, she stated that she was called upon 90% of the time; making Lily the defacto primary carer for her mother.

Lily's circumstances, combined with her describing perceived economic insecurity, resulted in her always adopting a multi-tasking time management practice to be able to balance her work with her caring responsibilities:

On a normal day we get up and have breakfast and I try and have my daughter eating breakfast like half seven 8ish, and then I'll give her a list of her schoolwork for the day. I try to be at my desk doing schoolwork, doing work, she asks me for help, and we kind of go back and forth.

Thomas, a father of two who lived with his partner and two stepchildren, also adopted the activities from the 2nd order themes that were aggregated into multi-tasking practice in isolation to balance his work with his caring responsibilities. Thomas had been self-employed for nearly two decades in the business consultancy industry. As such, he had qualified for financial support from the government and had received the SEISS grant. Thomas was the primary caregiver of his two teenage stepchildren and one of these, his stepdaughter, had additional caring needs. At the time of interview, he was supporting his daughter with homeschooling. These circumstances meant that Thomas would concurrently work while caring inside the home, describing how he would try to fit work in when and wherever he could:

...In the gaps in between, in in the gaps in between. So as far as possible I try not to do anything work wise in an evening.

Thomas described how adopting the multi-tasking time management practice was the only way he could stay connected to his work. With a fiancée who worked full-time and him being the primary caregiver with no other social support, Thomas had resorted to multi-tasking to try and manage his work with his caring responsibilities. Thomas' circumstances were particularly challenging as he was primarily caring for his stepdaughter with additional caring needs. This created a unique set of challenges for Thomas which resulted in him being unable to adopt any proactive time management practices, as his day would be dependent on how his daughter with additional caring needs was doing.

Rose, a married mother of two who had a husband that worked full-time, also exclusively adopted activities from the 2nd order theme which were aggregated into multi-tasking time management practices. Rose has been a childminder for 10 years and qualified for government finance support in the form of the SEISS grant. At the time of interview Rose was homeschooling her two children and had no other social support in place to help with balancing her work with her caring responsibilities. As Rose was still accepting key worker children

during lockdown, she continued to work from home while simultaneously caring inside the home:

I'm a self-employed Ofsted registered childminder and up until actually last week and did it four days a week, well full four days a week.

Rose explained how she was starting to consider changing her profession to translation industries, while still staying self-employed. For Rose, the nature of her self-employed work meant that she had already been adopting a multi-tasking time management practice to some extent, however this had intensified significantly during lockdown, and she now had the added challenge of trying to homeschool. Due to her circumstances (the schools were closed; her children were home; husband worked full-time; no access to social support during lockdown), Rose adopted and expanded the multi-tasking time management practice as a way to manage her work with her caring responsibilities.

Participants who adopted a multi-tasking time management practice in isolation often found themselves juggling throughout the day while they tried to manage work with caring responsibilities, and often the caring responsibilities overtook work on a given day. For these participants there seemed to be a level of acceptance that caring responsibilities had overtaken work, but by multi-tasking they could still stay connected to work and that side of their life. Often this was described as a coping mechanism whereby they would try to fit in work in any gaps they had during the day, while acknowledging that this was difficult and - more often than not - led to little work getting done. As such these participants gave a sense of waiting for a crisis to pass so that they could resume their previous activities of balancing work with their caring responsibilities when their social support (e.g. schools) returned to pre-crisis levels.

7.4.4 Adopting passive time management practices

Several participants adopted passive time management practices in order to manage their work with their caring responsibilities. This practice included activities that are rooted in avoiding and pausing any work situations until a time when they could be resumed again. Examples of activities within this practice included avoiding work opportunities and being forced to pause any work. Participants who adopted this time management practice engaged mainly in three different activities, as outlined in table 7.4 below. This table was also developed by the researcher and are the 2nd order themes pulled from figure 7.5 (section 7.3.4 of this chapter):

Table 7.4 Activities categorised as passive time management practices

Passive time management practices
forced to pause work
avoiding work opportunities
Ensuring/accepting structure

Megan, who cared of her mother with the help of her stepfather, was able to exclusively adopt the activities from the 2nd order theme by avoiding any work opportunities:

I very, very rarely take a quick turnaround appointments. I'm usually booking up for the next week. Very, very rarely can someone contact me and say 'so I've got a problem, can you come out today, tomorrow'. Unfortunately, those don't work.

Megan had been self-employed for less than two years and did not qualify for any government financial assistance in the form of the SEISS grant. However, living with her stepdad while caring for her ill mother meant that there was an additional income stream to the household. Megan described how her perceived economic security allowed her to put caring responsibilities before work, but that there was a clear hierarchy to which comes first, meaning there was an acceptance of a structure and enforcement of it:

Caring comes first, then his work and then my work [...] So there's just a logistically very regular hierarchy.

Megan did not describe any challenges that arose from the use of passive time management practices. Rather, that she was grateful that she could prioritise her caring responsibilities. While she did not have any financial support in the form of government assistance, she did describe having economic security as her stepdad worked full-time and she was taken care of. Megan did not have any other dependants and was single at the time of interview and as such devoted all of her time between work and caring responsibilities. It was clear that having perceived economic security enabled her to adopt passive time management practices as there was no conflict arising between work and caring for her because she was able to prioritise caring over work, something Megan described that she wanted to do. It was also clear that Megan was not forced to stop her work and instead had the choice to avoid work

opportunities in order to focus on her caring responsibilities. She described feeling lucky in her situation that she was able to do this as she was not reliant on an income during that time.

Participants who had to stop work described a different situation and different challenges, when adopting passive time management practices. Sharon, a married mother of two with a husband who worked full-time, also adopted activities from the 2nd order theme, that had been aggregated into passive time management practices, in isolation and described being forced to pause all of her work. At the time of interview Sharon was homeschooling her two children and was actively avoiding taking on any new work:

So, if I am homeschooling then I am not working and I am not earning and constant interruptions as well [...] so, it's just being, you know it's just awful, it's horrible. You can't concentrate, you know you try, you know I'm very much into writing lists, I'm very organised person normally and I felt that that's just being completely blasted away [...] I'm a shadow of before myself now [...] I'm hoping to go back (to work) in March.

Having been self-employed for nearly a decade in the technology industry she had qualified for government support in the form of the SEISS grant. As her husband also worked full-time. Sharon described having perceived economic security, which enabled her to prioritise her caring responsibilities. She described wanting to work but was now in a situation where her caring responsibilities had increased so much due to school closures that she, as the primary caregiver, had no other choice than to pause all of her work. For Sharon, her particular set of circumstances meant that when it came to managing work caring responsibilities, the work took a back seat. It was because she had perceived economic security that she was able to prioritise the caring responsibilities, even though she wanted to work.

Laura, who had a similar set of circumstances also adopted the activities from the 2nd order theme that were aggregated into passive time management practices and was forced to pause all of her work due to her increased level of caring responsibilities:

It's been very different the caring responsibilities over the last year because it's basically fallen completely to me.

Laura was the primary caregiver and at the time of interview she was caring and homeschooling her four children while the schools were closed. Laura who has been an interior designer in the past did not apply for any financial assistance from the government despite qualifying for the SEISS grant. Laura described having perceived economic security

and being in a position where she could prioritise her caring responsibilities due to not being reliant on her self-employed income as her husband worked full-time. For Laura, it was clear that her perceived economic security, allowed her to prioritise her caring responsibilities when it came to managing work with caring. In this sense, there was no pressure on her time or priorities as there was no dependency on her income. Due to the lack of any other social support available at the time, this meant that she automatically had to increase the hours she devoted to her caring responsibilities.

While these participants were able to exclusively adopt passive time management practices, others only adopted passive time management practices in combination with another practice, in particular proactive time management practices. Ava, a married mother of two has been working in the optometry industry as self-employed for the past five years and qualified for government support in the form of the SEISS grant. Ava's husband was also self-employed, but she felt that they had perceived economic security as a family. At the time of interview, she was not working at all due to all the optometrist services being closed. Ava utilised the early year's sector for her youngest child and at the time of interview she was homeschooling her eldest son while her younger one was attending nursery. Ava also had the support of her mother when it came to caring for her children, a support she described as something they could not do without as a family. Nonetheless, during lockdown she had been forced to stop her work to focus solely on her caring responsibilities.

So, my oldest is off school, school's closed and my youngest he's still able to go to preschool thankfully [...] So now with work for me being much less it's mainly sort of me at home with the children or if my youngest is in preschool it's me and the oldest and so homeschooling him.

However, for Ava, this was not a personal choice between working and caring as her work was dictated by how much she was needed in the industry. At the time of interview all optometrists had either shut or severely reduced their hours to only deal with emergency cases. In Ava's case, she drew on activities in the 2nd order theme categorised as being forced to pause her work (aggregated into passive time management practice) and combined this with activities that were categorised in the 2nd order theme as engaging available social support in the form of formal care (aggregated into proactive time management practice) from the early year's sector (nursery).

Similarly, Ben a married designer who was caring for his mother and father, who lived with him and his wife, adopted activities from the 2nd order theme that had been aggregated into

passive time management practices. Ben had been self-employed for the past seven years and qualified for government support in the form of the SEISS grant. His wife was also self-employed and had also qualified for the same grant. Ben and his wife had no children but cared for his parents who lived in the same house with them and were classed as vulnerable during the UK Covid19 lockdown. Ben had no formal social support in place for his elderly parents, doing all the caring himself with occasional support from his wife. Interestingly, Ben described not wanting to rely on his wife but that he felt it was his responsibility to care for his parents so he managed his work with his caring responsibilities individually, despite having access to social support from his wife. Ben described only using his wife's support in times of emergency and described being happy with this set up and as something he has chosen himself. For Ben it was a conscious decision to pause his work to enable him to focus on taking care of his parents. Ben and his wife forewarned all their clients, finished any remaining work outside in their garden and then paused taking on any new work opportunities:

So as soon as lockdown came it was finished off the few jobs we had [...] Nobody else needed to be around us to get the jobs done [...] we just went shopping once a week fully masked up, keeping distance and being really, really safe and it's all one outing in a week. We just go out, get the shopping, come back in.

In Ben's case, he described the decision to pause the work as something voluntary saying that if he had wanted to continue his work, he could have done, due to not needing to be in close proximity to his clients to carry out any work. However, his caring responsibilities, coupled with perceived economic security enabled him to adopt a passive time management practice (pause work) and combine this with a proactive time management practice where he forewarned his clients that he would not be working for the near future.

Alice, a married mother of one who cared for her mother, also described drawing from the 2nd order theme activity of choosing to pause her work to an extent, and spoke about it being a blessing as her caring responsibilities had intensified during lockdown:

I haven't had much on and as I said earlier this Covid it's been a bit of a blessing because it's, it's allowed me this time [...] Luckily the people that I'm working for and with are aware of my situation and if something comes up and I've got to drop everything I have that's what I've got to do so it.

Alice, who had been in the art industry for the past 25 years, qualified for the government support in the form of the SEISS grant. At the time of the interview her teenage daughter was

attending school online, but Alice did not have to tend to her much during the day while she was doing her schoolwork. In terms of taking care of her mother who still lived alone, Alice had drawn on formal support, in the form of carers going into her mom's house morning and evening time. However, the situation was described as complex, due to the severity of her mother's deteriorating illness (dementia). This often meant that Alice had to drive 40 minutes away to her mother's house to ensure that her mom was ok. In addition, Alice described how she had started caring for her father-in-law (who lived closer but independently) due to his increasingly old age. Interestingly, Alice did not describe this as a difficult situation, as she was comparing it to her caring responsibilities with her mom. Nevertheless, Alice had adopted the passive time management practice of pausing work and avoiding any new work opportunities, while forewarning clients and engaging formal support in the form of carers for her mother. Alice's circumstances, in combination with perceived economic security due to her husband working full-time, led Alice to describe it as a blessing being able to adopt the passive time management practices needed in order to manage her work with her caring responsibilities.

Interestingly, every participant who adopted the passive time management practices experienced economic security. This is of particular significance as having perceived economic security meant that these participants were not reliant on the self-employment income and as such were able to either pause their work or avoid any work opportunities. This means that for these participants their perceived economic security combined with available social support allowed them to adopt this type of practice. Further, some of the participants were able to adopt these practices exclusively and devote most of their time to their caring responsibilities.

Passive time management practices were the practices that most clearly highlighted how the participants' caring responsibilities had intensified during the time of "crisis" (e.g. the Covid19 pandemic) when this study was conducted. In response, they were either forced to pause their work or they simply continued to avoid any work opportunities. These participants described a level of acceptance for their situations and did not need to stay connected to their work during the time of crisis. It was also clear that the perceived economic security these participants described, along with the fact that there was no reliance on their self-employed income, enabled them to adopt this practice. As such for the passive time management practices perceived economic security was a determinant, enabling them to focus solely on their caring responsibilities at the time of this study.

7.5 Conclusion

Following an analysis of the findings, a typology of four types of time management practices was developed: proactive time management, reactive time management, multi-tasking time management and passive time management. This chapter built upon the work of the previous chapter, which explored the role of economic security and available social support. This allowed it to highlight nuances and different sets of circumstances which participants in this study found themselves in. These set of circumstances were important to unpick as they were shown to have a direct influence on which time management practice the participants consequently adopted, and why they adopted these to manage their dual roles.

Comparisons were made between participants when it came to types of care, age, gender, types of self-employment, but this did not reveal any clear differences in the approach taken to time-triaging. However, the one consistently emerging theme differentiating the participants was when it came to perceived economic security. This enabled the researcher to analyse and categorise participants as having perceived economic security or perceived economic insecurity. While economic security was a common theme that cut across participants, their set of circumstances varied significantly, meaning that there was no uniform formula that determined which management practice they used when it came to balancing their double working burden. This meant that not every person who expressed perceived economic security then automatically used the same time management practice to balance their paid work and unpaid car work. This was the same for those who expressed perceived economic insecurity. This is important because while a typology was developed that provided insights into how participants time-triaged and what they based their time-triaging decisions on, the specific activities they employed from within each practice was very context dependent.

Economic security cut across all time management practices but was not a sole determinant for which practice a participant adopted. Available social support also played a crucial role. However, the missing piece to fully understand how participants managed their work with their caring responsibilities was that of individual context. It is also important to note that this study was affected by the Covid19 pandemic which was a time when caring responsibilities intensified for people due to UK government lockdowns. For some participants in this study their caring responsibilities had intensified due to i.e. school closures and this led to them adopting time management practices that they may have not necessarily have to adopt in the same way during non-Covid19 pandemic times. However, it is important to note that despite the Covid19 pandemic, their time-triaging was deeply individual and dependent on the

individual circumstances that each participant faced and the Covid19 pandemic did not alter context the same for each individual in this study in the same way. This demonstrates clearly how context driven the negotiation between work and caring responsibilities for solo self-employed people really is.

While it was clear that participants adopted an array of time management practices, often in combinations, to manage their work and caring responsibilities, the reasons behind their decisions on which practice to adopt became clearer once analysed further. Some participants were able to adopt a single practice to manage all of their work with their caring responsibilities, while most participants had to combine their time management practices in order to manage their dual roles. The analysis of these findings developed a typology of time management practices to demonstrate how solo self-employed individuals time-triage and what influences the decisions on how they divide their time between working and caring. The next chapter will relate these findings to key debates in the existing literature and set out a conceptualisation of the managing of self-employment and unpaid care work in terms of institutional complexity.

Chapter 8: Discussion

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to relate the empirical findings to key debates in the existing literature, and to develop the theoretical insights of this study. This chapter will set out a conceptualisation of the managing of self-employment and unpaid care work in terms of institutional pluralism.

Research into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work has been dominated by studies focusing on self-employed mothers (Craig et al. 2012; Carrigan and Duberley, 2013; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013; Henry et al. 2016; Foley et al. 2018). This study sought to extend the understanding of this topic by focusing on how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage the duality of their roles. To contribute to the debate, it asked: How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work? An analysis of 25 semi-structured interviews led to the development of a typology of time management practices, which participants drew upon to manage their income generation and unpaid care work.

The analysis highlighted that participants in this study were faced with different institutional logics (e.g., market, family and profession) which they had maintain and balance. As a result, they operated in pluralistic environments. In order to navigate this institutional pluralism, and the co-existence of different logics, participants segmented the impact of the market, family, and profession logics in situations where tensions, contradictions and (at times) compatibility arose. This was done by drawing from the typology of four time management practices, each with its own set of activities, as a way to navigate institutional pluralism.

This chapter will explore how applying the institutional logics framework to the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work, and understanding the different practices adopted in relation to a context of institutional pluralism, helped to deepen understanding of and generate new theoretical insights into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

8.2 The empirical contribution to existing debates

The core assumption of institutional logics is that there is an interplay between individual agency and institutional logics which mediate decision-making and outcomes (Friedland and

Alford 1991). Institutional logics help explain how the social worlds of multiple logics are set up, what it means to be a participant within each, what challenges these brings and how they differ for individuals. While the findings of this study allowed for the development of a typology of time management practices based on activities each individual engaged in, it does not reveal how individuals reach the decision of which time management practice to use at which time. It is only by analysing this further and applying a theoretical lens that it becomes clear how the management of the dual roles is actually determined by the institutional logics at play.

The typology of time management practices was developed after extensive analysis (discussed in chapter 6 and 7 of this thesis) of the data of this study. Specifically, the Gioia et al (2013) method was applied to draw out the 1st order concepts, 2nd order themes and finally aggregated dimension of the data. This led to the development of a typology of time management practices. Table 8.1 has pulled out the activities which participants adopted which had been categorised as 2nd order themes. All 2nd order themes were then aggregated into one of four different time management practices. Table 8.1 below summarises the typology of time management practices and displays the activities (2nd order themes) within each one:

Table 8.1 Activities within each time management practice

Proactive time management practices	Reactive time management practices	Multi-tasking time management practices	Passive time management practices
prioritising tasks	working evenings	concurrently working and caring outside home	concurrently working and caring outside home
time sharing	working weekends	concurrently working and caring inside home	avoiding work opportunities
calendar reconciliations	working early morning	switching between working and caring inside home	Ensuring/accepting structure
advanced scheduling	working all night	working while caring from a distance	
forewarning clients	engaging additional informal care		

engaging formal

care

weekly alternation of

working and caring

In chapter 4 of this thesis the institutional logics perspective was broken down and discussed in more detail. Specifically, it explained that participants in this study navigate the co-existing logics of the market, family and profession. When the researcher analysed self-employment and unpaid care work through the lens of these institutional orders it became clear that the market order focuses on profit and success, while the family order expects individuals to focus solely on caring responsibilities. Simultaneously, the profession order expects these individuals to be experts in their field and meet different effectiveness and efficiency standards in their industries. This means that the logic of each order can at times create challenges for these individuals when it comes managing their paid work and their unpaid care work. When individuals are faced with several institutional logics at play they are experiencing institutional pluralism (see chapter 4 section 4.6) and have to navigate this somehow. Participants in this study adopted segmenting as a way to divide up their time based on the influence of different logics at. By doing so they were able to mitigate the impact of different logics and navigate their co-existence in managing their paid work and unpaid care work. The institutional logics perspective has allowed the researcher to demonstrate the institutional complexity that participants in this study face – that is the market, family and profession order. In addition to this, the participants did not only have to manage their time between work and caring, but this was also affected by their perceived economic security as well as their available social support. This really highlights the institutional complexity that they often faced in different situations and allowed the researcher to draw out these nuances fully (discussed in more detail in section 8.5 of this chapter).

The typology of time management practices does a good job of capturing this institutional complexity and helps show how participants navigate it by drawing on different time management practices to manage their institutional pluralism. For example, one can identify the influence of the market order when it comes to proactive time management, seeking to control what one can to by engaging in activities such as advanced scheduling, forewarning clients, engaging formal care, and weekly alternations of work and caring. This highlights how institutional logics can provide individuals with opportunity and not only give rise to challenges. Another good example is where the influence of the family order becomes apparent is when one examines the passive time management practice more closely. Here one can see how

participants who were heavily influenced by the institutional logic of family resorted to accepting hierarchical structures, as well as being forced to pause their work or avoiding any work opportunities. This allowed them to prioritise caring responsibilities which was influenced by the family logic. One can also see a good example of the co-existence of the logic of market and family in the multi-tasking time management practice where some participants moved between logics by concurrently working and caring inside their home (discussed in chapter 7 section 7.3.3). This is important because segmenting their time in this way allowed them to mitigate the impact of each logic by allowing them all to co-exist and navigate between them.

Approaching institutional logics as a 'constellation of logics' (Goodrick and Reay 2011) further helped demonstrate how the logics co-existed for these participants and therefore allowed for a more dynamic understanding of how the participants navigated them. It was evident from the analysis that in reality the institutional logics of the market, family and profession are all weaved throughout the typology of time management practices and they directly influenced which activities the participant drew from to manage their time. This enabled them to keep up their professional standing in their industry, while earning an income and simultaneously tending to their caring responsibilities. What the typology of time management practices does is to allow researchers to see more clearly what happens when there are challenges and opportunities between the different institutional logics, and that if researchers approach institutional logics as a constellation of logics the nuances can be fully drawn out to gain a more dynamic understanding of how different logics influenced the participants in this study. This is discussed in more detail in section 8.5 of this chapter.

It is also important to remember that the links between dividing time between income generation and unpaid care work are not straightforward – the consequences depend on the relationship between the unpaid caregiver and the person being cared for, the caring activity and the amount of time that unpaid care is provided (Robards et al. 2015). This was true for the participants in this study, who all faced decisions on how to divide their time between self-employment and caring responsibilities. The analysis of the findings from this study allowed for a detailed exploration of this and developed a typology of time management practices which participants adopted to manage their dual roles.

While research into time management has been fragmented across various disciplines, some studies have looked at it in relation to solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities and found that they are increasingly resorting to time triaging in efforts to balance their dual responsibilities (discussed in chapter 3 section 3.4.2) (Carrigan and Duberley, 2013; Rodger, Neill and Nugent, 2015; Roberts et al., 2017). This was often the case for participants in this

study, who experienced severe time pressures during the Covid19 pandemic lockdown in the UK and found themselves in a situation where their caring responsibility demands often outstripped their available time. However, while studies have identified that time-triaging occurs, they have not provided deeper insights into what influences time triage in different situations, and what practices people might draw upon to manage their self-employment with caring responsibilities. As such, while time-triaging is recognised, it has not been clear how time-triaging occurs in practice and what influences the decision-making process. The findings of this study extend this understanding and examined time management within context of individuals and their individual circumstances to further understand how this group of self-employed time-triage in particular ways during different situations.

Further, the triage process itself carries the underlying assumption that when needs outstrip the available time, an individual must decide how to distribute their resources and that self-employed individuals make these decisions primarily on the basis of their caring responsibilities (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Craig et al. 2012). While this has been the case when examining self-employed mothers with caring responsibilities, the findings of this study reveal that participants' time-triaging decisions were determined by their perceived economic security and available social support. Several participants in this study combined childcare with caring for a family member that lived with them, and caring for an additional member of their family at long-distance, and this altered their triage process. This highlights how highly individualised time management is and how it may differ depending on the actual individual, their circumstances and the caring intensity needed at different life stages. This study extends the literature on time management further, specifically in relation to time-triaging, by introducing in what ways solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities time triage, and what they draw upon when making their decisions when they make decisions on how to manage their dual roles. Specifically, it reveals that time-triaging was influenced by other factors than caring responsibilities, such as income generation and available social support. For example, participants who experienced economic insecurity and had little to no social support time-triage based on their need for income, and as such, would put income generation ahead of caring. Their time-triaging was therefore based on their economic need rather than the caring needs at the time. In contrast, participants who experienced economic security and could draw on social support were able to time-triage based on their caring obligations. This challenges the existing assumption that solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities time-triage with caring at the forefront of their minds without considering any other factors (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Craig et al. 2012). This also supports research into time management which argues that good time management

may not be available to everyone, especially if their demands outstrip the available time, and they are unable to outsource some of their demands to third parties (Aeon et al. 2021).

Further, the research into how time is divided has focused on self-employed mothers and not taken the full heterogeneity of the solo self-employed population in consideration. This study went beyond focusing on self-employed mothers and included both women and men in the sampling. It also addressed the limitations of previous research by focusing on the full spectrum of unpaid care work, including those with live-in and long-distance caring responsibilities. A particular value of this study is the inclusion of solo self-employed participants, who are a notably hard to reach group (Schonfeld and Mazzola 2015). In addition, the Covid19 pandemic was a singular crisis, where income generation challenges and caring responsibilities were at their highest. The findings provide a unique insight into how time-triaging occurs during times of crisis when there were heightened pressures and time-triaging is occurring on a daily basis.

8.3 The role of perceived economic security

As demonstrated by the findings it is important to remember the role of context - a typology of time management practices was developed but the activities within each practice were highly context driven. As stated in chapter 2 section 2.5, research suggests that the one consistently cited area of dissatisfaction mentioned by self-employed individuals and unpaid caregivers is economic security; and levels of precariousness have been shown to be higher for those with caring responsibilities than that of non-carers (Roberts et al. 2017b; Meager 2015; Bennett 2019). Security is an individual-level phenomenon and this study sought to contribute to existing knowledge by examining the perceived economic security of these solo self-employed participants and how it interacted with external factors to shape their decisions around caring (Hacker 2018; Meager 2015; Bennett 2019).

Research shows that while perceived economic security is measured at individual level, external forces shape this, including any buffers (e.g. savings) people may have against it. These external factors operate at a household level and higher (e.g. firms, regional, national etc) (Hacker 2018). For example, when participants in this study spoke of economic security it was in relation to themselves and their individual circumstances and they drew no comparisons to other people. This subjective experience became further apparent during the course of the analysis. To capture this subjectiveness, two categories emerged – perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). A specific finding from this study is that those participants who experienced perceived economic security lived

in two income households where there was no dependency on the self-employed income. For some participants, the implications of perceived economic security meant that they could prioritise caring responsibilities ahead of any work.

In contrast, those individuals who described perceived economic insecurity had a different experience and outcomes which is more in line with studies looking at how self-perceived economic insecurity has been found to affect a person's health. (Lübke 2021; Khan and MacEachen 2024). Research shows that when an individual experiences economic insecurity it can lead to feelings of anxiety, pressure, and exhaustion which all will affect their overall health. Another effect might be that to combat the feelings of economic insecurity an individual may resort to working overtime to combat it which in the end results in poor health further down the line. The findings of this study support this - participants who experienced perceived economic insecurity highlighted levels of worry, anxiety, lack of control and a dependency on the income they received from the self-employed work which led to them working more intensely in different periods. The implications of this were that the negotiation between work and caring became especially fraught and challenging for them.

However, while perceived economic security was an overarching theme that influenced much of the negotiation between working and caring, it was against the backdrop of the benefits of being self-employed. The findings demonstrated that the level of risk was often offset by the level of flexibility and control those participants described gaining from being self-employed. They expressed either gratitude for feeling economically secure, or discussed challenges that perceived economic insecurity posed, but were all in agreement that there is always a level of risk associated with being self-employed. However, this level of risk was described as being outweighed by the flexibility that self-employment offers. This too supports research that shows that what influences self-employed individuals' wellbeing are complex and multi-faceted (Stephan 2018; Yue and Cowling 2021). Participants with perceived economic insecurity spoke of how the autonomy over one's time outstripped any of these negative feelings and gave them a sense that it is worth the insecure employment status due to a level of control gained from it. Despite often experiencing challenging situations with their caring responsibilities, coupled with economic insecurity, the participants spoke of self-employment in positive terms and of how it provided them the flexibility they needed to manage their dual roles. In return, this flexibility outstripped any negative feelings about what self-employment meant in practice, such as economic insecurity. Similarly, for participants who experienced perceived economic security the benefits of self-employment outstripped any level of precariousness that it may entail. While these participants were not reliant on the self-

employed income for necessities, they hailed self-employment for the benefits it brought to them and their families and spoke of it in terms of opportunity.

8.4 The role of social support

Research into social support is emerging but little has been conducted to on social network support for self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities, to date. As discussed in chapter 3 section 3.3.2, while literature to date is scarce when it comes to examining social network support for solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities, it has looked at the roles of social networks separately for self-employed people and unpaid caregivers. When it comes to examining social support for self-employed individuals the focus has mainly been on social security support (Blundell and Machin 2020; Emmerson et al. 2020) and that they use their social networks more for friendship and mentorship and assistance (Hilbrecht 2016). When it comes to social networks for unpaid caregivers, research has looked at the emotional side and began exploring spousal caregiving as well as caring for someone elderly, and elderly with medical conditions such a dementia (Ong et al. 2018; Lopez Hartmann et al. 2019; Lee et al. 2022; Miller et al. 2001; Shiba et al. 2016; Hughes et al. 2021). Both research into self-employment and unpaid caregiving when it comes to social networks reveal that experiences of support are varied and complex, and a subjective experience for individuals which needs to be considered by researchers when exploring it (Oldenkamp et al. 2016; Hilbrecht 2016).

While studies in the area of social support have focused on different types of support networks, the one thing they have in common is that they highlight the space social networks has in the intersection of self-employment and caring. The precarious nature of self-employment was laid bare during the Covid19 pandemic when governments globally imposed lockdowns (Block et al. 2022). Research has begun to draw attention to the role of social support and has found that the more social support that is in place, whether this is emotional or practical, the less parental stress are felt by parent entrepreneurs from both genders (Boz Semerci and Volery, 2018). During the Covid19 pandemic self-employed women in particular were directly affected by government-imposed lockdowns as well as school and nursery closures, which resulted in increased caring responsibilities for them (Caliendo et al., 2023). While countries, such as the UK, instigated programs to support this population during the Covid19 pandemic, self-employed people still faced strong income losses (Block et al. 2022; Rouse et al. 2020).

This study sought to specifically explore the role of social support and how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities utilise their social support networks to manage the duality of their roles. The findings of this study underline the importance of including social

support when examining intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. For example, the majority of the participants in this study qualified for government assisted support during the Covid19 pandemic and subsequent lockdowns in the UK, but not all of them qualified for it. There was also a clear distinction that emerged when participants spoke about social support in terms social security and practical support, and social support in terms of emotional support. This also supports research that says individuals' interpretation of social support is often subjective, complex and varies from person to person (Oldenkamp et al. 2016; Hilbrecht 2016). Specifically, it found that a set of resources emerged - government grants, informal support (e.g. family/spousal), formal support (formal carers), early years (nursery), and school (primary and secondary) - and that these, combined with perceived economic security and perceived economic insecurity, factored into how individuals managed their self-employment with caring responsibilities. These findings add strength to emerging research in the area of social support and further demonstrate the important role of social support in the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work.

However, the understanding of the role that perceived economic security and available social support play can only provide an overview of the factors that influence the negotiation between self-employment and caring responsibilities. Specific circumstances often differed that much that there was no uniform formula for which time management practice to adopt when it came to managing their paid and unpaid work. This means that perceived economic security and available social support, while important, did not alone determine how participants in this study managed their dual roles.

8.5 Strategies for navigating Institutional pluralism

In order to gain further insights, the institutional logics perspective was applied to the findings. As established in the literature review (chapter 4), the central logic of the market order claims that a self-employed person has agency and freedom to dictate how they spend their time working and caring. In contrast, the central logic of the family order focuses on self-sacrifice, and unpaid caregiving is often in response to the demand of the person/s needing care. However, focusing only on these two logics downplays the complexity of the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work and risks reducing it to focusing on two salient logics, omitting the role of any potential impact so less-salient logics that are influential (Greenwood et al. 2011). By missing interactions that take place in any less-salient logics, the complexity of the field can be misunderstood and lead to misinterpretations of its dynamics (Daudigeos et al. 2013 p. 323). It is therefore useful to focus on a constellation of logics, which

allows for identification of different forms of co-existence that the interinstitutional system allows to be drawn out (Goodrick and Reay 2011; Lounsbury 2007).

By applying the institutional logics perspective to the findings, it emerged that a less-salient logic also plays a role: the profession order. The findings show this means that a self-employed person with caring responsibilities moves between three institutional logics and must navigate these. More crucially, this negotiation does not only take place internally but is also shaped by the institutional logics in which the dual identities sit. This was evident in the findings of this study where participants described having to navigate the pressures of self-employment work and the caring responsibilities. Further, this negotiation took place in emotional as well as practical terms, with social institutional norms affecting how participants managed work and caring. These findings support research which has suggested that there is an interplay between individual agency and institutional logics in mediating decision-making and outcome (Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

The co-existing logics in this study require a more dynamic understanding of how individuals experience them, and how they work with the tensions, contradictions and areas of compatibility. In order to understand how individuals respond to competing logics there needs to be an understanding of how they are exposed to it (Pache and Santos 2013). As members of society, they are exposed to the cornerstone institutions of society itself – family, religion, democracy, state, market, profession and community (Thornton et al. 2012). As individuals become more embedded in these institutions over time, they are more likely to be exposed to competing institutional logics and need to navigate them (Pache and Santos 2013). This navigation implies that several logics can influence the participants in different situations. In return, this allows the institutional logics of the market, family and profession to exist alongside each other because their influences are divided up. Previous research has defined this as the concept of “segmenting”, and it is suggested to be fundamental in understanding how several institutional logics can co-exist (Johansen and Waldorff 2017). The concept of segmenting refers to individuals dividing the impact of each logic at any given time a tension arises between the logics (Goodrick and Reay 2011). The degree of this influence may vary depending on its availability, access to it and the degree to which a particular logic has been activated. Availability, in this context, refers to the knowledge an individual in this study had about a given logic. Accessibility in the context of this study refers to the degree of knowledge and information came to mind for the individual about a given logic. Finally, activation refers to if the individual has available and accessible knowledge and information to use (Thornton et al. 2012; Pache and Santos 2013).

The findings of this study expand upon previous research examining co-existing logics, how individuals are exposed to them and navigate them. In this study specifically, it became apparent that the participants resorted to time-triaging by drawing from a typology of time management practices to “segment” the impact of the co-existing logics of the market, family and profession in situations where tensions and challenges arose. Time-triaging requires individuals to decide what level and care they are going to give to a particular activity or individual at a given time, and what requires priority (Carrigan and Duberley 2013). Here, the context is paramount, as individuals will have different obligations, expectations and loyalties which will not be shared by others, such as family members, professionals or friends (Carrigan and Duberley 2013).

The institutional logics perspective allowed the researcher to break down time-triaging further and uncover what influences it at any given time, providing unique insights. Participants in this study were faced with multiple simultaneous institutional logics (market, family and profession) which they had to maintain and balance, meaning that they operated in pluralistic environments. In order to navigate this they divided up the influence of each logic in some way and thus segmented the impact of a particular logic at a given time. This meant that the participants in this study segmented the impact of the market, family and profession order through time-triaging by drawing from the pool of four time management practices as a strategy for navigating their institutional pluralism.

The profession logic ideal type, as developed by Goodrick and Reay (2011) emerged through the analysis of these findings when applying the institutional logics perspective. While the profession logic was less salient, it is nonetheless co-existing with the logics of the market and family order for the participants in this study and manifested itself differently depending on circumstances. For example, when participants found themselves in situations that arose unexpectedly while working, they experienced tension between several institutional logics and had to manage this as best as they could throughout their day. These participants used reactive time management practices as a strategy to manage the institutional pluralism with which they were faced. This practice included several different types of activities that they would engage in in order to segment the impact of the institutional logics which were at odds with each other. Participants with no support network to draw from faced more of a challenge between having to work and having to care, and would resort to working evenings, weekends, early mornings and sometimes all night. In these instances, participants would segment the tension between the market order and family order by prioritising caring and pushing their working hours to later as a compromise to try and manage their dual roles. The profession logic became salient here and provided the individuals with the agency to control the work

they did do, drawing upon their own knowledge and expertise to conduct the work in the most efficient manner possible in order to guarantee an income from the work. There was an interplay between two salient logics – the market and the family – and the less salient logic of profession which became more apparent when considering the participants' economic circumstances.

In contrast, participants who did have some informal support to draw upon would - in the same situations - segment the impact by trying to engage additional informal care where they could (in the form of family). This too expands upon recent research which has begun to draw attention to the role of social support and what this means for balancing self-employment with caring responsibilities (Boz Semerci and Volery 2018). In these instances of time-triaging, participants could only solve the tension between the institutional logics by trying to draw on the support network that was available at the time, depending also on what they perceived they could access. The majority of participants who adopted reactive time management practices found themselves combining it with one or two activities from the proactive time management practices and the multi-tasking time management practices. When unexpected situations arose, individuals experienced a contradiction between the logic of the self-employment practices and unpaid care work. The co-existence of these logics, but in contradiction to each other, created tensions in reconciling the demands from each logic.

However, facing institutional pluralism can also provide individuals with agency and opportunities. This was the case for participants who adopted proactive time management practices to balance their work with their caring responsibilities. Through the profession logic some participants felt agency and freedom from being self-employed and saw opportunity in the co-existence of the institutional logic of the market, family, and profession. This is in line with institutional logic of the profession order which reinforces individual agency over one's time, work and knowledge and the market order which reinforces that self-employment means freedom and flexibility and provides an opportunity for consumer preferences and choices in determining any success (Goodrick and Reay 2011; Freidson 2001). This also supports the claim that there is an interplay between individual agency and institutional logics which mediates decision-making and outcomes, and that this not only leads to challenges but can also mean opportunity for change (Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

The participants who drew from proactive time management practices engaged in activities which made them feel in control of their situation in times when they felt that they were being pulled in different directions by the co-existing orders. For example, participants drawing on activities from this pool of practice would engage in time sharing with others in their

households, calendar reconciliations, advanced scheduling, and prioritising tasks when they found themselves in situations where tensions arose between the market and family logic. In this sense segmenting their time gave them agency and was an opportunity to plan ahead and mitigate any impact from the different logics. For other participants, who knew that the tension arising between the institutional logics would lead to them having to prioritise caring on a larger scale, they would engage in activities such as weekly alternation of working and caring, segmenting their time into bigger chunks of time divided into each logic in order to mitigate the impact of competing logics. Here it was apparent that the participants' experience of the logics were that of compatibility, rather than contradiction, leading to opportunities. Participants in these situations did not experience the logics as in conflict with each other, or pulling them in different directions, but rather experienced them as an opportunity to work together and try control any potential upcoming conflict of demands. These participants segmented their time to mitigate any potential impact from competing logics in a given situation. They did this by trying to plan ahead of time anything they felt they could have some form of control over. This points to experience of compatibility between the logics and the implications of segmenting in these instances led to agency and a sense of control. This also extends research that conceptualises institutional logics as a part of a constellation that is characterised by not only competitive relationships, but also co-operative relationships (Goodrick and Reay 2011; Lounsbury and Boxenbaum 2013).

Interestingly, participants who had access to support networks, in the form of engaging formal care, were also able to segment the impact of the more salient logics of the market and family proactively. This supports the claim made in the literature review (chapter 4 section 4.5), that unpaid care work is not only influenced by the family logic but also by the market logic. Unpaid caregiving often lies on the margins of formal support, especially when it comes to social care, and these are types of care that need to be provided regardless of the nature of it (Twigg and Atkin 1994). This was often the case for participants who had caring responsibilities that extended to caring for their parents and in laws. This build on research that has looked at how unpaid caregivers are often viewed as a resource that is seen as being available to formal agencies (Twigg and Atkin 1994). This is important, because it demonstrates that on the one hand unpaid caregiving does operate within the family order, but also that the complexities of the relationship between unpaid caregiving and formal caring support is likely to also be shaped by the market logic. These participants were therefore faced with not only having to work but also having to care for someone that often did not live with them but was reliant on their care. In order to reconcile these demands of the market order and the family order they segmented the impact by trying to plan ahead and engage formal support in the form of carers.

This did provide them with a sense of agency and an opportunity to segment the impact of institutional pluralism ahead of time.

However, while participants tried to have some static measures in place, these were often dependent on what would be going on in a given day when it came to their caring responsibilities. Herein lies the conflict and tension between co-existing logics of market, family, and profession. Participants who adopted proactive time management practices as a way of balancing their income with caring responsibilities found themselves having to combine them with one or two of the other available practices. This meant that, in practice, proactive time management practices were always combined with predominately reactive and multi-tasking time management practices. However, what is clear here is that institutional logics provides a more dynamic understanding of how individuals experience different logics, how they work with the tensions, contradictions, but also areas of compatibility and how it can enable feelings of agency and opportunity.

In contrast, for other participants their pluralistic environment led to heightened tension and conflict by having to multi-task to balance the institutional logics of the market, family, and profession. These individuals adopted multi-tasking time management practices, but these were often used in combination with one of the other types of time management practices. Interestingly, multi-tasking time management practices were used as a coping mechanism in a situation where the tension between the institutional logics could not be fully resolved and a conflict arose between the logics. Self-employed women using multi-tasking time management practices often described feelings of worry and anxiety when speaking about having to adopt these practices and how they found themselves in situations where they could not segment their time to mitigate the impact of one logic over the other. One participant, who was a single mother with one child and an unpaid caregiver for her own mother who lived alone, experienced this conflict. This participant would describe waking up at night with feelings of anxiety and worry over her situation. This supports research in this area that has claimed the mental health of self-employed women were more affected than that of self-employed men and that this was directly linked to, amongst other things, an increase in their caring responsibilities during the Covid19 pandemic (Caliendo et al. 2023).

The profession logic also provides an insight to why some participants adopted multi-tasking time management practices in isolation and the feelings of heightened worry and anxiety in these participants. The profession logic becomes more apparent when analysing the participants who experienced economic insecurity and lack of social support. The series of shocks that the self-employed population have encountered throughout, and after the Covid19

pandemic, have been linked to rises in financial instability and higher levels of stress (Caliendo et al. 2023; Yue and Cowling 2021). While much was outside of their control, the profession logic can provide individuals with the agency to control what little work they did have coming in order to guarantee some form of income. In this sense, the profession logic influenced them to try to maintain an income from their work and to continue to have clients to maintain income generation. This perceived economic insecurity also meant that they were left with little choice than to try and juggle all of their conflicting demands. These participants found themselves constantly time-triaging throughout the day, and while they did try to balance work with caring responsibilities, often the caring responsibilities overtook on a given day. This means that while the logics of the market, family and profession were in steady conflict throughout the day, the participants were only able to manage it by trying to devote time to all opposing logics. In practice, this often meant that the institutional logic of the family took precedence and multi-tasking time management practices were described as a coping mechanism. These participants used segmentation throughout the day to manage the tensions between the institutional logics in order to navigate their pluralistic environments.

Finally, for other participants the experience of the tension between logics of the profession, market and family resulted in challenges that led them to draw from the passive time management practices, adopting activities such as being forced to pause work entirely. The challenge between the institutional logics meant that it could only be resolved by letting one logic dominate the other, as such defining this as challenge rather than a tension that could be “managed” throughout the day. The use of the word ‘force’ when discussing work here is deliberate, as the participants who described drawing on this activity expressed wanting to work but were facing such challenges between the co-existing logics that the only way that they could mitigate the impact of all three was by prioritising the family order completely. Interestingly, every participant who adopted the passive time management practices experienced perceived economic security. This is important because due to them not being reliant on the self-employed income and having to strive for profit and success, the market logic was able to be bypassed. In this sense, the participants did not experience institutional logics at odds with each other in different continuous situations, but rather one was prioritised fully – the family logic - when reaching the stage of needing to decide. In other words, they navigated their pluralistic environment by being able to prioritise the family logic (caring responsibilities) over the market logic (self-employment) and profession logic (professional work).

The majority of participants who adopted passive time management strategies were women, who described feeling forced to leave their self-employed work. This supports research into

the impacts of the Covid19 pandemic on the self-employed population which shows that self-employed women, and married mothers, were forced out of the labour market due to an increase in caring responsibilities which prescribe to gendered norms (Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2022; Caliendo et al. 2023). These gendered norms are shaped by the logic of family and when it came to the increasing demands of caring, the participants described having no choice but to mitigate the impact of the logics by allowing the family logic to dominate in isolation. The profession logic also became apparent here with its less-salient presence, where the participants would ensure that their professional standing as self-employed in their industries would stay secure by planning ahead and forewarning their clients about their unavailability for work. By doing so they also ensured that there would be an opportunity left to return to the work, opportunity to contact the clients further down the line and an opportunity to continue their professional standing in their industry to generate personal income in the future. This allowed the participants to navigate the co-existing logics and segment the impact of each one even though the end result was that the family logic had to be fully prioritised for a period of unforeseen time.

Through an institutional logics perspective and focusing on a constellation of logics, it emerged that both salient and less-salient logics influenced how these participants managed their dual roles. It was clear that the participants in this study experienced the co-existing logics of market, family, and profession in terms of tensions, contradictions and, at times, compatibility. These different experiences of the logics led to them trying to navigate the institutional pluralism that they faced in a multitude of practical ways. These activities were captured through a typology of four time management practices to manage their self-employment with their caring responsibilities. The co-existing logics in this study required a more dynamic understanding of how participants experienced the different logics, how they worked with the tensions, contradictions, and areas of compatibility. Applying the institutional perspective and focusing on a constellation of logics therefore allowed for the identification of different forms of co-existence of salient and less-salient logics, providing a deeper and dynamic understanding for how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles.

8.6 Conclusion

This study contributes and adds to the debate on the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. It extends the understanding of this intersection by focusing on solo self-employed individuals with a wide range of different caring responsibilities. This discussion

chapter in particular has conceptualised the managing of their dual roles through a typology of time management practices as a result from institutional pluralism. The institutional logics perspective, in particular institutional pluralism, was a valuable lens in understanding how self-employed individuals manage their paid work and their unpaid care work. The analysis conducted in this study uncovered that self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities are faced with co-existing institutional logics and operate in pluralistic environments. By applying the institutional logics perspective to the findings, this study provides both empirical and theoretical insights into how managing self-employment and unpaid care work is shaped by the institutional orders of the market, family and profession.

This study adds to the body of work on time management when it comes to self-employment and caring responsibilities in several ways, but specifically in relation to time-triaging. It adds to and extends the work of Duberley and Carrigan (2013) who found that self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities are increasingly turning to time-triaging as a way to manage their time. However, the author of this thesis has argued that there was much more that could be learned about time-triaging and how it would manifest itself in different situations, or with different sets of (as well as combined) caring responsibilities. The author of this thesis also argued that there was more to be learned about what activities individuals may utilise to time-triage and that what may influence the time-triage process itself may not only be caring responsibilities. The findings of this study directly extend and add to the body of literature on time-triaging in this field by demonstrating that economic security and social support influence time-triaging and that when people time-triage they do not only consider their caring responsibilities.

Further, the body of work on time-triaging has demonstrated that questions still remained on how time-triaging took place in different situations and precisely what activities these individuals drew from when time-triaging. All participants in this study were faced with decision-makings on how manage their time between income generation and caring responsibilities. Participants in this study also experienced severe time pressures during the Covid19 pandemic lockdown in the UK, when the interviews were conducted, and found themselves in situations where their caring demands often outstripped their available time. The findings of this study extend this understanding and examined time management within the context of individuals and their individual circumstances to further draw out the nuances on when, why, how and on what basis this group of self-employed time-triage in particular ways during different situations. It specifically adds to this body of work through the development of a typology of four time management practices – proactive, reactive, multi-tasking and passive – that participants adopted to manage their paid work with their unpaid

care work. These findings further provide a unique insight into how time triaging also occurs during times of crisis when there may be heightened pressures and time-triaging occurring on a daily basis, as it did for the participants in this study who were facing Covid19 pandemic lockdown in the UK during the interviews.

Secondly, the body of literature on self-employed mothers is well established (Craig et al. 2012; Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan, 2013) but little is known about self-employed individuals and other caring responsibilities. This study adds to this by having included participants that were both men and women who were primary caregivers. More importantly the findings of this study have captured a wide range of caring responsibilities (see chapter 5 section 5.4.3 table 5.1 for a full breakdown) which include caring for parents in law, caring for parents, caring for a spouse, caring for children with additional caring needs. This study also includes participants who have combined caring responsibilities where they care for multiple people (e.g. child/ren and one/two sets of parents and in laws). For example, some participants in this study cared for their mother, or grandmother or both sets of their parents. Other participants had childcare responsibilities which included caring for a child with additional caring needs. Several participants have combined sets of caring responsibilities where they cared for their child/ren and their spouse or a parent.

This study also provides unique insights into what it is like to care for someone you live with and/or caring for someone who lives independently but is in need of your care. For example, some participants in this study were caring for their parent who lived alone, while caring for their child and also caring for their father in law. Other participants found themselves caring for their children and caring for their spouse who all lived with them. A third participant shared her caring responsibilities for her mother with her stepfather. But another participant lived in a single household and was caring for her daughter who lived with her while simultaneously also caring for her mother who lived in her own home. This study has not only managed to capture a wide range of caring responsibilities, but also the complexities of having different caring responsibilities. It also managed to draw out the complexities of what these individuals experience when trying to manage their income with caring for someone who lives with them as well as caring for someone who does not live with them but is dependent on their care.

The findings from this study also serve as a good reminder that context matters. A typology of time management practices was clearly developed, but the activities within each practice were chosen by participants depending on their individual set of circumstances, meaning this was highly context driven. This adds strength to previous research which claims that perceived economic security is an individual-level phenomenon (Hacker 2018), a subjective experience

and highly context driven. The participants' subjective experience became even more apparent during the course of the analysis and was captured through two categories – perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). This study demonstrated that the implications of perceived economic security meant that the participants could prioritise caring responsibilities ahead of any work. This particular finding is consistent with literature on the effects of the pandemic on gendered work, self-employed women - in particular married mothers - were especially worse off compared to men in reduction of working hours and being forced out of the labour market entirely (Heggeness 2020; Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2022).

Empirical findings of this study also revealed that participants who experienced perceived economic insecurity highlighted feelings such as worry, anxiety, feeling a lack of control and a that they had a dependency on the income they were received from the self-employed work. The implications of this were that it made negotiation between work and caring especially fraught. For example, some participants reported working evenings, weekends as well as working more hours overall to combat their perceived economic insecurity. These findings support research in this area which claims that self-perceived economic insecurity can affect a person's health (Lübke 2021), but the flexibility gained from being self-employed outstripped any negative feelings about that self-employment, such as economic insecurity. This too supports previous research into motivations for pursuing self-employment which has been dominated by the 'pull and 'push' concept, capturing opportunity and necessity factors (Dawson and Henley 2012; Patrick et al. 2016).

The final way this study added empirically to existing debates is by adding strength to the role that social support plays in managing self-employment with caring responsibilities (Kraatz and Block 2008; Boz Semerci and Volery 2018). Research in this area is emerging but is scarce. The findings of this study add to this body of literature on social support by exploring how this group of individuals utilised social support to manage their paid work and unpaid care work. Specifically, this the analysis in this study found that a set of social support resources emerged that the participants utilised and these were: government grants, informal support (e.g. family/spousal), formal support (formal carers), early years (nursery), and school (primary and secondary). The participants' available social support and perceived economic security/economic insecurity factored into how they managed their dual roles. This study adds real strength to emerging research in this area and highlights the important role that social support plays for self-employed people with caring responsibilities.

This study also contributes important theoretical insights to the area of self-employment and unpaid care work. The application of the institutional logics perspective deepened the understanding of this intersection and generated theoretical insights into how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles. Participants in this study were faced with multiple simultaneous institutional logics - market, family and profession - which they had to maintain and balance, meaning that they operated in pluralistic environments. In order to navigate this institutional pluralism and the co-existence of different logics, participants used 'segmentation' as a way of dividing the impact of each logic at any given time a tension arose (Goodrick and Reay 2011). In the context of this study, participants segmented the impact of the market, family and profession order by drawing from a pool of four time management practices as a strategy for navigating the institutional pluralism that they faced.

There is a general consensus that the institutional logics perspective is a powerful metatheoretical framework that is particularly applicable to studies interested in examining the interrelationships between organisations, individuals, institutions, and social reality (Thornton et al. 2012; Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). The interinstitutional system does a good job of reminding researchers to look beyond the formal rules and consider the informal rules that exist in the social context of society. This study applied the institutional perspective and examined the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care through the interinstitutional system, and by focusing on a constellation of logics it has identified different forms of co-existence of salient and less-salient logics, providing a deeper and dynamic understanding for how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles. There is also scope to examine how other institutional logics, such as religion, may interact with and affect time-triaging for solo self-employed individuals with caring obligations, paying particular attention to different stages of life. While important empirical and theoretical conclusions have been drawn from this study, there is more that can be learned about this intersection through an institutional logics perspective that future studies may want to explore further.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this research study was to examine the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work to generate new insights into how these individuals manage the duality of their roles. This chapter will provide concluding remarks on the research and restate the empirical and theoretical contributions. Further it will discuss the implications of these findings for policy and practice. Following this, it will examine limitations of this study and propose a future research agenda. Finally, it will conclude with a section of self-reflection by the researcher.

9.2 Background

The aim of this research was to conduct an exploratory study examining the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work to generate new insights into how these individuals manage their dual roles. The research focused on solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities who either lived with the people they cared for or cared from them at long-distance (or a combination of these). Unpaid caregivers, in particular, have been drawn to self-employment because of the intended flexibility it can offer when it comes to managing an income with unpaid care work (Burke 2015). Alongside rises in unpaid caregiving, solo self-employed individuals have been the fastest growing sub-group of self-employed individuals in the last two decades and this shows no signs of slowing down anytime soon (Francis-Devine et al. 2023; Brown et al. 2022; Toovey 2023). While on the surface, this group of individuals seem to have found the perfect solution to generating and income around their caring responsibilities, in reality they experience severe challenges and pressures when it comes to economic security and available social support which affects their time management practices. The Covid19 pandemic also contributed to further challenges, plunging this group of self-employed individuals into a crisis situation, whether it was in terms of lost income, increased caring responsibilities, or both.

An SLR was conducted to understand the relationship between self-employment and unpaid care work and identify potential research gaps. The SLR analysis generated three overarching themes that studies to date fell under - gender, economic security and social networks. Examining the topic through these themes led to the generation of the research question. The SLR analysis allowed this study to explore the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work by asking:

1. How do self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work?

This was further explored through the sub questions:

1. How is the negotiation of dual responsibilities shaped by perceived economic security?
2. How do they make use of their social networks to negotiate their dual responsibilities?

A qualitative research design was adopted, and the research questions were explored using semi-structured interviews to gain a deeper insight to participants' experiences, challenges and pressures they faced while managing their dual roles (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). Semi-structured interviews also allowed the researcher to pursue emerging topics of relevance, reflecting the exploratory nature of the study (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015). The ontological position of this research study was that self-employment and unpaid care work practices are embedded within institutional logics and that the negotiation of managing paid work and unpaid care work is shaped by what is accepted and expected within the institutional logics that these individuals are a part of (Goodrick and Reay 2011). Adopting an epistemological approach of interpretivism and an institutional logics framework therefore allowed for a fuller exploration of the research questions at hand. The data was thematically analysed following the systematic approach developed by Gioia and colleagues (2013). The analysis of these findings also led to the development of a typology of the time management practices that participants adopted to manage self-employment with caring responsibilities.

9.3 Summary of key findings

This study asked how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their paid and unpaid work. It specifically found that they draw from a pool of time management practices to manage their dual responsibilities. In particular and through extensive analysis of the findings the researcher developed a typology of time management practices - proactive, reactive, multi-tasking and passive time management practices – that participants drew upon to manage their dual roles. While time-triaging is recognised, it has not been clear how time-triaging occurs in practice and what influences the decision-making process (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Craig et al. 2012). The findings of this study extend this understanding and examined time management through individual circumstances to further draw out the nuances on when, why, how and on what basis this group of self-employed time-triage during different situations. Specifically, it reveals that time-triaging was influenced by factors other than caring responsibilities, such as income generation and

available social support. The findings of this study make a key contribution to this debate by challenging the underlying assumptions that solo self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities time-triage based on their caring responsibilities while omitting any other contextual factors (Carrigan and Duberley 2013; Duberley and Carrigan 2013; Craig et al. 2012).

This study also set out to understand how the negotiation of dual responsibilities is shaped by perceived economic security. It found that the role of context, specifically in relation to perceived economic security, became evident. The empirical findings of this study support research that claims that perceived economic security is an individual-level phenomenon (Hacker 2018), and a subjective experience which is highly context driven. This subjective experience became further apparent during the course of the data analysis and was captured through two categories – perceived economic security (secure) and perceived economic insecurity (insecure). The implications of this were that participants that expressed perceived economic security could prioritise caring responsibilities ahead of any work. This supports research on the effects of the pandemic on gendered work; compared to men, self-employed women were particularly worse off in terms of reduction of working hours and some being forced out of the labour market entirely (Heggeness 2020; Kalenkoski and Pabilonia 2022).

This study also revealed that participants who experienced perceived economic insecurity highlighted feelings such as worry, anxiety, lack of control and had a dependency on the income they received from the self-employed work. The implications of this were that it made the negotiation between work and caring especially fraught. These findings support research in this area which claims economic insecurity can affect a person's health (Lübke 2021). Notably, however, the flexibility gained from being self-employed outstripped any negative feelings about being self-employed, such as economic insecurity. This adds to the research into motivations for pursuing self-employment which has been dominated by the 'pull and 'push' concept, highlighting opportunity and necessity as additional factors for consideration (Dawson and Henley 2012; Patrick et al. 2016)

Finally, this study sought to understand how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities make use of their social networks to negotiate their dual responsibilities. The findings of this study add strength to current literature which states that social support plays a key role when it comes to managing self-employment with caring responsibilities (Kraatz and Block 2008; Boz Semerci and Volery 2018). Specifically, this study found that a set of social support resources emerged. These were government grants, informal support (e.g. family/spousal), formal support (formal carers), early years (nursery), and school (primary and secondary) (discussed in chapter 7). This study revealed that social support combined with

perceived economic security and insecurity factored into how these individuals manage their paid work with their unpaid care work.

9.4 Implications for theory

To gain further insights the institutional logics perspective was applied to the findings, and contributions to theory emerged. This study conceptualises the balancing of the dual roles through a typology of time management practices, as a result from institutional pluralism. The institutional logics perspective, and in particular institutional pluralism, was a valuable lens in understanding how self-employed individuals manage their income generation with caring responsibilities. The analysis from this study uncovered that self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities are faced with multiple institutional logics and operate in pluralistic environments. Specifically, participants in this study were faced with multiple simultaneous institutional logics - market, family and profession. In order to navigate this institutional pluralism and co-existence of different logics, segmentation took place, based on the influence of competing logic at any given time a tension arose (Goodrick and Reay 2011). In the context of this study, participants segmented their time based on the competing logics by drawing from a pool of four time management practices as a strategy for navigating the institutional pluralism that they faced. The application of the institutional logics perspective deepened the understanding of this intersection and generated theoretical insights into how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles.

There is a general consensus that the institutional logics perspective is a powerful metatheoretical framework and that it is particularly applicable to studies interested in examining the interrelationships between individuals, institutions, organisations and social reality (Thornton et al. 2012; Alvehus and Hallonsten 2022). The interinstitutional system does a good job of reminding researchers to look beyond any formal societal rules and to consider that which is implicitly implied. This study applied the institutional perspective and examined the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care through the interinstitutional system, and by focusing on a constellation of logics it has identified different forms of co-existence of salient (market and family) and less-salient logics (profession). This provides a deeper and dynamic understanding for how this group of self-employed individuals manage their time. While important empirical and theoretical conclusions have been drawn from this study, there is more that can be learned about this intersection, particularly through the application of an institutional logics perspective that would enable future studies to explore the topic further.

9.5 Contributions to policy and practice

The findings of this study support the notion that there is a clear discrepancy between the reality that unpaid caregivers from both genders face, and the policies that are brought in at government level to support them; for example, no remuneration is available to unpaid caregivers, and they are essentially left with a double working burden. This gap in understanding the consequences and realities of this double working burden is also reflected in the research area; studies carried out have been disparate and conducted with different disciplinary focus (Bünning and Pollmann-Schult 2016; Elson 2017).

Current social care systems continue to rely heavily on unpaid caregivers on both a government and societal level (Cromarty 2018; Crompton et al. 2007; Glendinning 2018; Roberts et al. 2017; Kim 2010; Benería et al. 2016). This poses particular dangers as forecasting research shows that the demand for unpaid caregivers will continue to rise while the supply will diminish (Kingston et al. 2018; Olney and Tomei 2018). Socio-demographic changes also show that people are living longer, and fertility rates are showing a downward trend (OECD 2024a; Carers UK 2023; Woodroffe and Donald 2018; Benería et al. 2016; Brinton and Lee 2016). These factors combined will result in a deficiency of human resources to deal with the rising social care needs in the UK economy (Kingston et al. 2018; Olney and Tomei 2018).

As self-employment continues to rise alongside individualised responsibilities for providing unpaid care, and unpaid caregivers continue to turn to self-employment, it is crucial for researchers and policymakers alike to understand how self-employment and unpaid care work intersect and, more importantly, what this intersection means in practical terms. This study extends this by bridging the understanding between the official discourse of economic growth that government policy makers advocate, and the individual challenges and pressures that self-employed individuals face in reality. By drawing out the heterogeneity of the self-employed individual with caring responsibilities, this study supports previous claims that a uniform approach of policies for solo self-employed may not be as effective as originally thought and that more targeted measures are required (Ciešlik and Dvouletý 2019; Ciešlik and Van Stel 2023).

Policymakers are recommended to examine the different barriers that self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities face more closely and focus on the type of caring responsibility that they have. A self-employed individual with childcare responsibilities may

find that greater access to affordable childcare both in early years and school years will benefit them in expanding their income generation and managing their dual roles. However, a self-employed individual caring for a parent may need a different type of support in terms of formal social care support to enable them to manage their dual roles. Currently policies take a uniform approach to target all self-employed individuals and often do not consider that their caring responsibilities may in fact create a barrier to business success. It is recommended that more targeted measures are developed that take caring responsibilities into account, but to also go further and consider the type of caring responsibilities as well.

The findings of this study also highlighted that perceived economic security plays a vital part in how self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities manage their dual roles. It highlights that those who experience economic insecurity are often trapped in low-wages and low-protection situations and describe feeling of stress and worry. In the UK self-employed individuals have among the lowest levels of access to any social security net and while they can choose to insure themselves against shortfall in income, illness and save for a pension, for many generating who generate low income from their self-employment this is unattainable (Fachinger and Frankus 2015; Lockey 2018). Policymakers may wish to examine how to expand the social security system to include and encompass more protection for self-employed individuals, paying particular attention to those who generate a low income from their self-employment and those who live in single-income households.

Deepening the understanding of self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities will allow policymakers to create and implement effective and targeted measures and as such research into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work is important not only from an academic point of view, but also of real value to policymakers. It is recommended that policymakers try to understand the heterogeneity of the self-employed population further in order to create and implement more targeted policies that can have a real impact and contribute to effective economic growth. By doing so they may also begin to uncover what works well now and what can be improved in future, including an element of historical impact assessment of enterprise policies of the past and the future which will be of value.

9.6 Limitations

The Covid19 pandemic significantly affected access to research participants for this study. This study requested to speak to people who already had little time and who, during the

pandemic, experienced a heightened level of caring responsibilities, making it even more difficult to gain interview participants. All participants in this study were operating under Covid19 lockdown and had restricted access to formal support. This also meant that it was an insight into the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work during a time of crisis and was not a reflection of how these individuals manage their dual roles in non-pandemic times.

A further limitation was that interviews often took place with the participants having others in the home which can affect how much they felt they could open up, and also added an element of time-constraint to the interviews due to heightened caring responsibilities for all participants during the time of the study. Face to face meetings can also create a more safe and comfortable space for the participant and the researcher and participant are closer to each other in space and time (Opdenakker 2006). Conducting interviews online made it more difficult to capture additional emotional and behavioural cues that can be picked up when you are face to face with participants (Opdenakker 2006). It added a burden for participants of needing additional technical knowledge to take part in the interviews. Even though every effort was made to make the interview process as easy as possible, it relied on good access to the internet to be able to conduct the interview (Saarijärvi and Bratt 2021). Finally, the very nature of qualitative research and sample size makes it difficult to generalise any of the findings as it does not represent the population of self-employed individuals with caring responsibilities as a whole (Neergaard and Uihøi 2007).

9.7. Future directions

While this study gave valuable insights into strategies to navigate institutional pluralism during times of crises, future studies may want to extend this to focus on individuals who have access to formal and informal support during non-crises times, specific sectors, examine any potential gender differences and exploring other logics in the interinstitutional system (e.g. community).

Future researchers should build on this study by setting out to explore the institutional logics perspective further on this topic. There is still scope to differentiate between participants in terms of institutional logics, especially tying it to how individuals time-triage and what they draw upon when they manage their time between income generation and caring obligations. Different types of self-employed individuals will draw from different logics – e.g. in the religious order it will be different for someone who practices Sikhism versus someone who practices Islam (Amini et al. 2023). It would also be interesting to further draw out and understand the role of community, a relatively newer institutional logics (Thornton et al. 2012) when it comes

to managing paid and unpaid work. This can generate new insights and take advantage of the full interinstitutional system to further explore this intersection and extend the findings of this study.

Further this study incorporated the full spectrum of caring responsibilities and this work is worth continuing to explore in future studies. Specifically, studies may also want to differentiate based on types of caring responsibilities, paying particular attention to self-employed individuals who are caring for elderly family members based on the demographic changes that are projected to take place in the UK population. These caring responsibilities will look different than for those who have childcare responsibilities. Many individuals may also find themselves in situations where they have a combination of caring responsibilities for people they live with and simultaneously for people they do not live with. Studies may also want to explore how the market order shapes these types of caring responsibilities and the role that unpaid caring plays in the formal social care sector – a role that will only increase at times goes on. These different combinations of unpaid caregiving demands will have different effects on the self-employed individual's ability to generate an income and manage their unpaid care work. The institutional logics framework can be a useful tool to engage with when examining this more closely.

This study therefore concludes with a call for further engagement with the institutional logics perspective as a tool to deepen the understanding of the intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work. While important empirical and theoretical conclusions can be drawn from this study there is more that can be learned about this intersection through an institutional logics perspective.

9.8 Self-reflection

This research was particularly interesting due to my background as a self-employed individual with caring responsibilities, which intensified during different periods of the PhD journey. The Covid19 pandemic not only altered the study practically, but also meant that I had to move all data collection online, resulting in added pressures and difficulties with access to participants. This added practical challenges with how to recruit as the very people I needed access to had even more limited time to engage with research studies. In addition, I too had added pressures of heightened levels of caring responsibilities and was homeschooling during the data collection period.

In addition to this, year two of my PhD consisted of one maternity leave and one leave of absence due to the ill health of my daughter Marie, aged 7 at the time, and son Harry, aged 2

at the time. Further, I was categorised as Extremely Clinically Vulnerable during the Covid19 pandemic and was in the shielding category from March 2020 – August 2021. The timetable of this research study was altered due to me experiencing severe pressures during and after my labour (and consequent maternity leave), leaves of absence and being a part-time PhD student. Despite the challenges of the Covid19 pandemic and ill health, it has been an incredible journey - challenging, enlightening and incredibly rewarding.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Ethical Approval for study



University of Stirling
Cottrell 3B1
Stirling FK9 4LA

14/01/2021

Dear Nazila

Ethics Application Form : The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work 0206

Thank you for your submission of the above ethics application and subsequent amendments. The ethical approaches of this project have been approved and you can now proceed with your project.

Please note that should any of your proposal change, a further amendment submission will be necessary. If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Panel by email to ethics@stir.ac.uk Yours sincerely,

Pp

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Claire Exley".

On behalf of

Professor Catherine Hennessy

Deputy Chair

General University Ethics Panel

Appendix 2 – Participant information sheet

Version 1 Date: January 2021



Participant Information Sheet

1. Research Project Title

The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work

2. Background, aims of project

I would like to invite you to take part in a study on how solo self-employed people engaged in unpaid care work negotiate their dual responsibilities. I have been researching this topic for three years and I am now interested in individuals' personal experiences of this and how it changes over time.

3. Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited because you fit the criteria to take part in this study and your unique personal experiences will allow for a deeper understanding of this topic.

4. Do I have to take part?

No. You do not have to take part. You can also withdraw your data within two months, and you have the right to object to us processing relevant personal data, however, please note that once the data are being analysed and/or results published it may not be possible to remove your (anonymised) data from the study. To withdraw your data email nazila.wilson@stir.ac.uk with [X this number] that identifies your data.

5. What will happen if I take part?

You will need to complete 1 questionnaire and 1 interview

- The questionnaire should take 5 – 10 minutes and collects basic information.
- The interviews should take 30 minutes – 1 hour

The purpose of the questionnaire is to assess your eligibility for participation in the interview as well as collecting demographic information.

6. Are there any potential risks in taking part?

There are no foreseeable risks in taking part in this study.

7. Are there any benefits in taking part?

There will be no direct benefit to you from taking part in this research. However, you will help the researcher to gain a deepened understanding of an increasingly intersecting topic. As part of the project we will be recording personal data relating to you. This will be processed in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Under GDPR the legal basis for processing your personal data will be public interest/the official authority of the University.

8. What happens to the data I provide?

Pseudonyms will be used for each participant both during the research and in the dissemination of findings to ensure your anonymity at all times. All data will be collected, processed, retained, stored, and disposed of in accordance with the Data Protection Act (2018) and stored securely for 10 years. The identities of the study's participants will be protected and/ or anonymised to preserve confidentiality, the data storage will follow legally defined criteria, and that all uses to which the data will be put during the research are consented to by the participant

9. Will the research be published?

The research may be published in peer reviewed academic journals and presented through conference proceedings. You will not be identifiable in any report/publication. You will also receive a copy of the published results if you wish. The University of Stirling is committed to making the outputs of research publicly accessible and supports this commitment through our online open access repository STORRE. Unless funder/publisher requirements prevent us, this research will be publicly disseminated through our open access repository.

10. Who has reviewed this research project?

The ethical approaches of this project have been approved via The University of Stirling General University Ethics Panel.

11. Your rights

You have the right to request to see a copy of the information we hold about you and to request corrections or deletions of the information that is no longer required.

You have the right to withdraw from this project at any time without giving reasons and without consequences to you. You also have the right to object to us processing relevant

personal data, however, please note that once the data are being analysed and/or results published it may not be possible to remove your data from the study.

12. Who do I contact if I have concerns about this study or I wish to complain?

If you would like to discuss the research with someone please contact me on nazila.wilson@stir.ac.uk and if applicable my supervisor Dr Oliver Mallett on oliver.mallett@stir.ac.uk

In case of complaint please contact the Head of Division Ms Jenoah Joseph on j.j.joseph@stir.ac.uk

You have the right to lodge a complaint against the University regarding data protection issues with the Information Commissioner's Office (<https://ico.org.uk/concerns/>).

The University's Data Protection Officer is Joanna Morrow, Deputy Secretary. If you have any questions relating to data protection these can be addressed to data.protection@stir.ac.uk in the first instance.

You will be given a copy of this information sheet to keep.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 3 – Consent Form

Version 1 Date: January 2021



Participant Consent Form

Participant number:

Research Project Title: The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work

Please initial box	
I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time during the study and withdraw my data before 7 th January 2022 without giving a reason, and without any penalty. I understand that beyond this timeframe, when data analysis has started/results are published it may not be possible to remove my data from the study.	
I understand that my responses will be kept anonymous and I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.	
I consent to being audio recorded	
I understand that the audio will be transcribed before used in research outputs. I am aware that I will not be named in any research outputs but I could be identified by people I know through the stories I tell.	
I give permission to be quoted directly in the research publication under the use of a pseudonym	
I agree for my personal data to be kept in a secure database for 10 years so I can be contacted about future studies.	
I agree to take part in this study	

Name of Participant

Signature:

Date: [Click here to enter a date](#)

Name of Researcher

Signature:

Date: [Click here to enter a date](#)

Appendix 4 – Participant debriefing sheet

Version 1 Date: January 2021



Participant Debriefing Sheet

Thank you for participating in this research project

13. Research Project Title

The intersection of self-employment and unpaid care work

14. Background, aims of project

The main aim of the study has been to gain a developed understanding of the phenomenon at hand.

15. If you wish to withdraw your data.

You may withdraw your data by emailing nazila.wilson@stir.ac.uk using the unique identifier on the Information sheet. The information sheet also contains other contact details if you have any questions about the research or any queries you wish to raise.

You have the right to lodge a complaint against the University regarding data protection issues with the Information Commissioner's Office (<https://ico.org.uk/concerns/>).

The University's Data Protection Officer is Joanna Morrow, Deputy Secretary. If you have any questions relating to data protection these can be addressed to data.protection@stir.ac.uk in the first instance.

Once again, I would like to thank you for your participation

Appendix 5 – Participant Questionnaire

Questionnaire for each participant

Participant ID:

What gender do you identify as?

How old are you?

- ☐ 18-24
- ☐ 25-34
- ☐ 35-44
- ☐ 45-54
- ☐ 55-64
- ☐ 65 and over

Marital status

- ☐ Single
 - ☐ Married
 - ☐ Divorced
 - ☐ Widowed
 - ☐ Civil Partnership
 - ☐ Other, please state
-

Please indicate where you live

- ☐ England
- ☐ Wales
- ☐ Scotland
- ☐ Northern Ireland
- ☐ Other

Is self-employment your main source of income?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

How many years have you been self-employed? Please state:

Are you the sole owner of your business?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If no, please state how many owners there are:

Do you currently have any employees?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, please state how many employees you currently have:

What industry do you operate in? Please state:

Have you been in receipt of any financial support for your business during COVID19?

- ☐ Yes, please state

- ☐ No
- ☐ Not eligible, please state why

Have you been in receipt of the self-employment income support scheme grant in 2020/2021?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not eligible, please state why

Please indicate your highest qualification achieved

- ☐ No qualifications: No formal qualifications.
- ☐ Level 1: 1-4 GCSEs or equivalent qualifications.
- ☐ Level 2: 5 GCSEs or equivalent qualifications.
- ☐ Apprenticeships.
- ☐ Level 3: 2 or more A-levels or equivalent qualifications.
- ☐ Level 4 or above: Bachelors degree or equivalent, and higher qualifications.
- ☐ Other qualifications including foreign qualifications.

Are you responsible for caring for an adult relative/partner, child, or friend/neighbour?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, please specify your relationship to the person you are caring for:

Do you receive any formal support (e.g. carers, nurses etc) with your caring responsibilities?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, please specify:

Are you currently living with the person you are caring for?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Are you the sole carer of the person you are caring for?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If No, please specify who you share the caring responsibilities with:

How many hours per week would you say you spend on your caring responsibilities? Please state:

Are you currently in receipt of Carers Allowance?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Appendix 6 – Interview schedule

Interview schedule

Thank you for your willingness to participate and be interviewed here. I have been studying how solo self-employed people engaged in unpaid care work negotiate their dual responsibilities for two years and I am now interested in people's personal experiences of this and how it changes over time.

I would like to begin with asking:

- Can you tell me a little bit more about what you do for a living?
- What made you get into self-employment?
- What do you think about being self-employed?
- How do you go about getting business?

Probe: ask about social networks. How do they utilise this if they do. In what ways do they gain work.

- How do you go about ensuring a flow of work coming in?

Probe: economic insecurity with follow up questions.

- What aspects of it do you enjoy the most about being self-employed?
- What do you feel are some of the hard parts of being your own boss?
- Would you recommend self-employment for a living to others?

If yes, why? If no, why not?

I would like to move on to understanding a bit more about your caring responsibilities now and atypical days in your life.

- Can you tell me a little bit about your caring responsibilities and what these looks like?
- How much time would you say you spend per week on helping your {XXX} ?
- Some people say that caring responsibilities is a “woman’s job”. What do you think of this?

Probe: perceived gender differences.

- Can you describe a typical day in your life for me?

Probe: if they do not care for someone daily then ask them to describe a day without caring responsibilities and a day where they have them.

- Some people say that self-employment allows them to balance work with their caring responsibilities. What do you think about this?
- How do you decide which one gets priority over the other – work or caring responsibilities?
- Can you tell me about a time when things did not go according to plan with balancing your work with caring for your {XXX} ?

Probe: What did you do?

Probe: How did it make you feel?

- If there was one thing you could change about your situation what would it be and why?
- Can you tell me what a good day looks like when it comes to working and caring for your {XXX}?

- If there was one thing you wish people could know about what it's like for you to work and care for your {XXX} what would this be?
- Finally, is there anything else you would like to add that I have not asked about, but you feel is important that I know about what it is like for you to combine self-employment with your caring responsibilities? This can be however big or small.

Thank you so much for your time and telling me about your experiences. It's been really interesting and valuable to speak to you. Do you have any questions for me?

If questions, then answer them. If not, then conclude the interview.

[Probing questions to be used between each answer of each question – depending on the nature of each answer.]

Appendix 7 - Studies included in the SLR

Reference	Focus	Research Design	Key debate	Country
Arráiz, I. (2018) Time to share the load: gender differences in household responsibilities and business profitability. <i>Small Business Economics</i> , 51 (1), 1–28.	Men and women	Quantitative	Economic security	Ecuador
Baines, S. and Gelder, U. (2003) What is family friendly about the workplace in the home? The case of self-employed parents and their children. <i>New Technology, Work and Employment</i> , 18 (3), pp. 223–234.	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Banu, J., Baral, R. and Kuschel, K. (2023) Negotiating business and family demands: the response strategies of highly educated Indian female entrepreneurs. <i>Community, Work & Family</i> , pp.1-27.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	India
Bonet, R., Cruz, C., Kranz, D.F., and Justo, R. (2013) Temporary contracts and work-family	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Spain

balance in a dual labor market. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 66 (1), pp. 55–87.

Boz Semerci, A. and Volery, T. (2018) Entrepreneurs as parents: The antecedents and consequence of parenting stress. *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research*, 24(1), pp.41-58.

Braches, B. and Elliott, C. (2017) Articulating the entrepreneurship career: A study of German women entrepreneurs. *International Small Business Journal*, 35 (5) , pp. 535–557.

Brandth, B. (2017) The co-location of home and work in two generations of farmers: What effects on fathering practices?. *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 6(3), pp. 341–356.

Budig, M. J. (2006) Gender, self-employment, and earnings: The interlocking structures of family and professional status. *Gender and Society*, 20 (6), pp. 725–753.

Men and women

Quantitative

Social networks

Australia

Motherhood

Qualitative

Gender

Germany

Fatherhood

Qualitative

Gender

Norway

Men and women

Quantitative

Gender

United States

Budig, M.J. and Hodges, M.J. (2010) Differences in disadvantage: Variation in the motherhood penalty across white women's earnings distribution. <i>American Sociological Review</i> , 75 (5), 705–728.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Butler, J. A. and Modaff, D. P. (2008) When work is home: Agency, structure, and contradictions', <i>Management Communication Quarterly</i> , 22(2), pp. 232–257.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Economic security	United States
Caballero, G. A. (2017) Responsibility or autonomy: children and the probability of self-employment in the USA. <i>Small Business Economics</i> , 49(2), pp. 493–512.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Carrasco, R. and Ejrnæs, M. (2012) Labor market conditions and self-employment: a Denmark-Spain comparison. <i>IZA Journal of Labor Policy</i> , 1, pp.1-16.	Men and women	Quantitative	Economic security	Spain and Denmark
Carrigan, M. and Duberley, J. (2013) Time triage: Exploring the temporal strategies that support	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom

entrepreneurship and motherhood. <i>Time and Society</i> , 22(1), pp. 92–118.				
Chou, Y.C., Fu, L.Y. and Chang, H.H. (2013) Making work fit care: Reconciliation strategies used by working mothers of adults with intellectual disabilities. <i>Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities</i> , 26(2), pp.133-145.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Economic security	Taiwan
Connelly, R. (1992) Self-employment and providing child care. <i>Demography</i> , 29(1), pp.17-29.	Motherhood	Quantitative and Qualitative	Gender	United States
Craig, L. and Powell, A. (2012) Dual-earner parents' work-family time: the effects of atypical work patterns and non-parental childcare. <i>Journal of Population Research</i> , 29, pp. 229-247.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Australia
Craig, L., Powell, A. and Cortis, N. (2012) Self-employment, work-family time and the gender division of labour. <i>Work, employment and society</i> , 26(5), pp.716-734.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Australia

Cutillo, A. and Centra, M. (2017) Gender-based occupational choices and family responsibilities: The gender wage gap in Italy. <i>Feminist Economics</i> , 23(4), pp.1-31.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Italy
Davis, A.E. and Shaver, K.G. (2012) Understanding gendered variations in business growth intentions across the life course. <i>Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice</i> , 36(3), pp.495-512.	Men and women	Quantitative and Qualitative	Economic security	United States
Diamond, J. and Schaede, U. (2013) Self-employment in Japan: A microanalysis of personal profiles. <i>Social Science Japan Journal</i> , 16(1), pp. 1–28.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Japan
Drew, E. and Humbert, A. L. (2012) “Men have careers, women have babies”: Unequal parental care among Irish entrepreneurs. <i>Community, Work and Family</i> , 15 (1), pp. 49–67.	Men and women	Quantitative and Qualitative	Gender	Ireland
Duberley, J. and Carrigan, M. (2013) The career identities of “mumpreneurs”: Women’s experiences of combining enterprise and	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom

motherhood. <i>International Small Business Journal</i> , 31(6), pp. 629–651.				
Ehlers, T. B. and Main, K. (1998) Women and the false promise of microenterprise. <i>Gender and Society</i> , 12(4), pp. 424–440.	Motherhood	Quantitative and Qualitative	Gender	United States
Ekinsmyth, C. (2013) Managing the business of everyday life: The roles of space and place in “mumpreneurship”. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research</i> , 19(5), pp. 525–546.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Ekinsmyth, C. (2012) Family friendly entrepreneurship: New business formation in family spaces. <i>Urbani Izziv</i> . Urban Planning Institute of the Republic of Slovenia, 23(SUPPL. 1), pp. S115–S125.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Ekinsmyth, C. (2011) Challenging the boundaries of entrepreneurship: The spatialities and practices of UK “Mumpreneurs”. <i>Geoforum</i> , 42(1), pp. 104–114.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom

Foley, M., Baird, M., Cooper, R. and Williamson, S. (2018) Is independence really an opportunity? The experience of entrepreneur-mothers. <i>Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development</i> , 25(2), pp.313-329.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	Australia
Forson, C. (2013) Contextualising migrant black business women's work-life balance experiences. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research</i> , 19(5), pp. 460–477	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Gabaldon, P., De Anca, C. and Galdón, C. (2015)'Measures of success for self-employed mothers in Spain. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research</i> , 21(1), pp. 128–145.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Spain
Gimenez-Nadal, J.I., Molina, J.A. and Ortega, R. (2012) Self-employed mothers and the work-family conflict. <i>Applied Economics</i> , 44(17), pp.2133-2147.	Motherhood	Quantitative?	Economic security	Spain
Grant-Vallone, E. J. and Ensher, E. A. (2011) Opting In Between: Strategies Used by	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United States

Professional Women With Children to Balance Work and Family. <i>Journal of Career Development</i> , 38(4), pp. 331–348.				
Hilbrecht, M. and Lero, D. S. (2014) Self-employment and family life: Constructing work-life balance when you're "always on". <i>Community, Work and Family</i> , 17(1), pp. 20–42.	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	Canada
Iakovleva, T., Solesvik, M. and Trifilova, A. (2013) Financial availability and government support for women entrepreneurs in transitional economies: Cases of Russia and Ukraine. <i>Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development</i> , 20(2), pp. 314–340.	Female entrepreneurs	Qualitative	Gender	Russia and Ukraine
Jeon, S.H. and Ostrovsky, Y., 2019. Balancing family and work: transition to self-employment among new mothers. <i>Oxford Economic Papers</i> , 71(1), pp.47-72.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Canada
Joona, P. A. (2018) How does motherhood affect self-employment performance?. <i>Small Business Economics</i> , 50(1), pp. 29–54.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Sweden

Joona, P. A. (2017) Are mothers of young children more likely to be self-employed? The case of Sweden. <i>Review of Economics of the Household</i> , 15(1), pp. 307–333	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Sweden
Jurik, N. C. (1998) Getting away and getting by: The experiences of self-employed homeworkers. <i>Work and Occupations</i> , 25(1), pp. 7–35.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United States
Khan, M.S. and Rowlands, C. (2018) Mumpreneurship in New Zealand: an exploratory investigation. <i>International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy</i> , 38(5-6), pp.459-473.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	New Zealand
Kodagoda, T. and Samaratunge, R. (2023) Entrepreneurial mothers' behaviours on their business and family life: a case study in Sri Lanka. <i>South Asian Journal of Business Studies</i> , 12(4), pp.575-589.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	Sri Lanka
Laure Humbert, A. and Drew, E. (2010) Gender, entrepreneurship and motivational factors in an Irish context. <i>International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship</i> , 2(2), pp. 173–196.	Men and women	Quantitative and Qualitative	Gender	Ireland

Lee Siew Kim, J. and Seow Ling, C. (2001) Work-family conflict of women entrepreneurs in Singapore. <i>Women in Management Review</i> , 16(5), pp. 204–221.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Economic security	Singapore
Leung, A. (2011) Motherhood and entrepreneurship: Gender role identity as a resource. <i>International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship</i> , 3(3), pp. 254–264.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	Japan
Lewis, K.V., Ho, M., Harris, C. and Morrison, R. (2016) Becoming an entrepreneur: Opportunities and identity transitions. <i>International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship</i> , 8(2), pp.98-116.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	New Zealand
Lewis, K.V., Harris, C., Morrison, R. and Ho, M. (2015) The entrepreneurship-motherhood nexus: a longitudinal investigation from a boundaryless career perspective. <i>Career Development International</i> , 20(1), pp.21-37.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	New Zealand
Lim, K. (2019) Do American mothers use self-employment as a flexible work alternative?.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	United States

<i>Review of Economics of the Household</i> , 17(3), pp.805-842.					
Loscocco, K. A. (1997) Work-family linkages among self-employed women and men. <i>Journal of Vocational Behavior</i> , 50(2), pp. 204–226.	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	United States	
MacDonald, M., Phipps, S. and Lethbridge, L. (2005) Taking its toll: The influence of paid and unpaid work on women's well-being. <i>Feminist Economics</i> , 11(1), pp.63-94.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Canada	
Martín-García, T. and Castro-Martín, T. (2013) Do women working in the public sector have it easier to become mothers in Spain?. <i>Population Review</i> , 52(1), pp. 149–171.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	Spain	
Meliou, E. and Edwards, T. (2018) Relational practices and reflexivity: Exploring the responses of women entrepreneurs to changing household dynamics. <i>International Small Business Journal</i> , 36(2), pp. 149–168.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom	
Munkejord, M.C. (2017) His or her work–life balance? Experiences of self-employed immigrant	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	Norway	

parents. <i>Work, employment and society</i> , 31(4), pp.624-639.					
Naldi, L., Baù, M., Ahl, H. and Markowska, M. (2021) Gender (in) equality within the household and business start-up among mothers. <i>Small Business Economics</i> , 56, pp.903-918.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	Sweden	
Parasuraman, S., Purohit, Y.S., Godshalk, V.M. and Beutell, N.J. (1996) Work and family variables, entrepreneurial career success, and psychological well-being. <i>Journal of vocational behavior</i> , 48(3), pp.275-300.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	United States	
Richomme-Huet, K., Vial, V. and D'Andria, A. (2013) Mumpreneurship: A new concept for an old phenomenon?. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business</i> , 19(2), pp. 251–275.	Motherhood	Quantitative and Qualitative	Gender	France	
Rønsen, M. (2014) Children and family: A barrier or an incentive to female self-employment in Norway?. <i>International Labour Review</i> , 153(2), pp.337-349.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	Norway	

Rouse, J. and Kitching, J. (2006) Do enterprise support programmes leave women holding the baby?. <i>Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy</i> , 24(1), pp. 5–19.	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Sarkisian, N. and Gerstel, N. (2004) Explaining the gender gap in help to parents: The importance of employment. <i>Journal of Marriage and Family</i> , 66(2), pp. 431–451.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Sengupta, S. (2019) Paid–unpaid work continuum of women: home-based workers and self-employed women in the national capital region. <i>The Indian Journal of Labour Economics</i> , 62, pp.265-278.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Social networks	India
Simon, J. K. and Way, M. M. D. (2016) Why the Gap? Determinants of Self-Employment Earnings Differentials for Male and Female Millennials in the US. <i>Journal of Family and Economic Issuea</i> , 37(2), pp. 297–312.	Men and women	Quantitative	Economic security	United States
Song, J. (2015) Women and self-employment in post-socialist rural China: Side job, individual	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	China

career or family venture. <i>The China Quarterly</i> , 221, pp.229-242.				
Swait, J. and Marlow, S. (2018) "Embrace the masculine; attenuate the feminine"—gender, identity work and entrepreneurial legitimation in the nascent context. <i>Entrepreneurship and Regional Development</i> , 30(1–2), pp. 256–282.	Motherhood	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom
Taniguchi, H. (2002) Determinants of women's entry into self–employment. <i>Social Science Quarterly</i> , 83(3), pp.875-893.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Thébaud, S. (2016). Passing up the Job: The Role of Gendered Organizations and Families in the Entrepreneurial Career Process. <i>Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice</i> , 40(2), pp. 269-287.	Men and women	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Ufuk, H. and Özgen, Ö. (2001) Interaction between the business and family lives of women entrepreneurs in Turkey. <i>Journal of Business Ethics</i> , 31(2), pp. 95–106.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Economic security	Turkey

Wang, Q. (2019) Gender, race/ethnicity, and entrepreneurship: women entrepreneurs in a US south city. <i>International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior and Research</i> , 25(8), pp.1766-1785.	Women	Quantitative and Qualitative	Social networks	United States
Wellington, A. J. (2006) Self-employment: The new solution for balancing family and career?. <i>Labour Economics</i> , 13(3), pp. 357–386.	Motherhood	Quantitative	Gender	United States
Wu, D. and Wu, Z. (2015) Intergenerational links, gender differences, and determinants of self-employment. <i>Journal of Economic Studies</i> , 42(3), pp. 400-414.	Men and women	Qualitative	Gender	United Kingdom