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From leisure to labour: Towards a typology of the motivations, structures and experiences of work-related blogging

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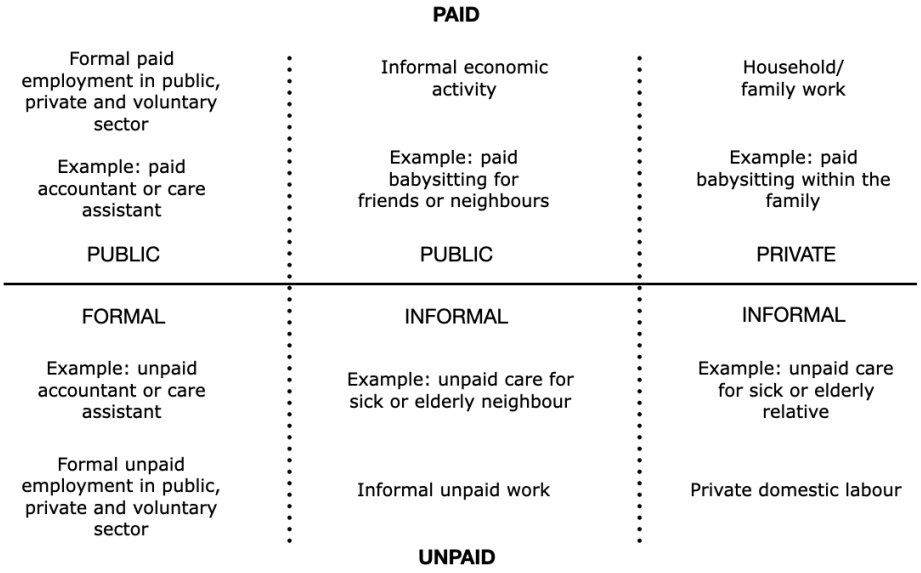

Figure 1: TSOL Framework (adapted from Taylor, 2004)

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Blogger	Blog Name	Blog Genre	Field of Paid Work	Location	Timeline	Type of Case	Notable Features
Jack Monroe	A Girl Called Jack	Political	Food Writer	UK	2012 - 2015	Extreme	Became 'Cooking on a Bootstrap'; very successful, generated best-selling books
Amanda Palmer	Amanda Palmer.Net	Music	Musician	US	2009 - Present	Extreme	Leading example of fan engagement and crowd-funding
Alicia Quan	Alicia Fashionista	Fashion Style	Fashion Writer	Canada	2009 - Present	Typical	Sustained blogging over time
Inger Mewburn	The Thesis Whisperer	Academia	Higher Education	Australia	2010 - Present	Extreme	Moved into collaborative blogging; global readership
Richard Budd	Stuff About Unis	Academia	Higher Education	UK	2014 - Present	Typical	Focus on mid-career experience
Sherran Clarence	PhD In A Hundred Steps	Academia	Higher Education	South Africa	2013 - Present	Typical	Focus on early-career experience
Amy Lynch	Notes From Another Land	Ex-Pat	Finance Writer	Australia / Ireland / UK	2013 - Present	Typical	Focus on entrepreneurial perspective
Belle de Jour/ Brooke Mangnanti	Diary of a London Call Girl	Entertainment	Sex Worker	UK	2003 - 2005	Extreme	Blogged anonymously to do exposés; very successful, generated best-selling books
Fleet Street Fox/ Susie Boniface	Fleet Street Fox	Political	Journalist	UK	2011 - Present	Extreme	Blogged anonymously to do exposés; very successful, generated a best-selling book
Joe Gordon	The Woolamaloo Gazette	Culture	Book Store / Retail	UK	2003 - Present	Extreme	Gained notoriety as 'The Waterstones Blogger'

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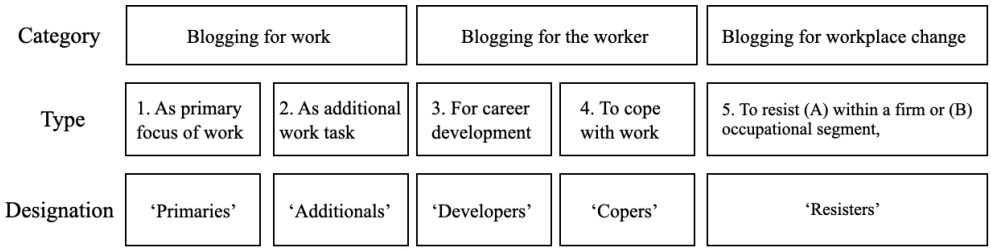

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Category	Type	Designation	Examples	Purpose	Pay	Organization
Blogging for work	1 As primary focus of work	'Primaries'	Fashion style blogger	For marketing, analysis, knowledge transfer, entertainment	Paid	Entrepreneur
	2 As additional work task	'Additionals'	indie musicians	To promote products and brands	Paid or unpaid	Portfolio worker Entrepreneur
Blogging for the worker	3 For career development	'Developers'	PhD blogger	To build or enhance reputations, networks or skills	Paid or unpaid	Informal Firm-based employee Portfolio worker Entrepreneur
	4 To cope with work	'Copers'	Expat blogger	To reflect on experiences of work / to seek or share information and support	Unpaid	Students Firm-based employee Portfolio worker Entrepreneur
Blogging for workplace change	5(A) To resist within a firm	'Resisters'	Waterstones blogger	To expose, critique or resist labour market conditions	Unpaid	Firm-based employee
	5(B) To resist within an occupational segment		Journalism blogger		Paid or unpaid	Firm-based employee Entrepreneur

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From Leisure to Labour: Towards a typology of the motivations, structures and experiences of work-related blogging

Abstract

Beyond a purely social activity, mode of leisure, or form of escape, blogging is an increasingly important form of labour that is becoming central to many jobs, occupations, and forms of self-employment. Yet, the labour dynamics of blogging remain poorly understood and articulated. To address this gap, this article presents a novel typology of work-related blogging based on the integration of existing knowledge, an in-depth qualitative analysis of 10 blogs and 1,304 blog posts and a 'total social organisation of labour' framework. It contributes to the sociology of work by unpacking and nuancing our collective understanding of the relationships between blogging, labour market mobility, and labour market trends such as the fragmentation of work, the heightened significance of unpaid labour, and new forms of resistance and solidarity in the digital age.

Keywords: blogging, digitised work, motivations, occupations and unpaid labour, TSOL, mobility

Introduction

Personalised online writing has been a part of the internet since 1994, and the term 'weblog' was coined in 1997 (webdesignerdepot, 2011). However, Web 2.0 and the shift towards connectivity facilitated the proliferation of blogs in their current form, underpinned by blogging platforms such as WordPress and Blogger (webdesignerdepot, 2011). Although the styles and aims of blogs continue to evolve, they are commonly understood as regularly updated websites featuring text, images and video content produced by individuals in an informal style (Fullwood *et al.,* 2015). As of autumn 2020 there are over 500 million blogs out of 1.7 billion total websites in the world (or 29.4%) (Hostingtribunal, 2020). Collectively,

bloggers are said to produce 2 million posts daily and one in three bloggers monetise their online activities (Hostingtribunal, 2020). Despite the parallel growth and examination of social media platforms including Facebook, Twitter and Instagram (Duffy and Hund, 2015) it is clear that blogs represent an important arena in their own right and scholars in a variety of fields, including sociology, geography, cultural studies and media studies, have paid increasing attention to the format and practice of blogging (Dean, 2010; Rettberg, 2014; Gandini, 2016).

The relevant existing literature highlights a range of motivations for blogging (Fullwood *et al.*, 2015; Huang *et al.,* 2007), which also shape blogs' style, content and interactivity (Joosse and Hracs, 2015). Based on interviews with bloggers, Nardi *et al.* (2004) present motives such as self-improvement, life-documenting, commenting, expressing feelings, using blogs as a muse, and providing a community forum. Subsequent studies have added information seeking and sharing, self-presentation, entertaining others, and connecting with like-minded individuals (Chung and Kim, 2008; Huang *et al.,* 2007; Sepp *et al.,* 2011). Blogging has also been conceptualised as a form of escapism with immersion in online communities offering a retreat from the real world, boredom, responsibilities and problems, while providing an opportunity to try out new ideas and identities (Sepp *et al.,* 2011). Although blogging is often perceived as public communication, describing environments and experiences for external audiences, many bloggers write about their feelings and thoughts as though to an internal audience (Nardon *et al.,* 2015).

This literature provides a useful foundation from which to explore the motivations and outcomes of blogging, but as Sepp *et al.* (2011) argue, more empirical studies and conceptual work are needed to better understand the structures, complexities and interconnections of blogs. This paper integrates existing knowledge with an in-depth qualitative analysis of 10

blogs, 1,304 blog posts and a 'total social organisation of labour' (TSOL) framework to develop a novel typology for understanding a significant subset of blogging activity: work-related blogging. While the literature has predominantly conceptualised blogging as a social activity, mode of leisure or escape, shifting the focus to blogging in connection to work enables us to understand a rather different configuration. In this context we are able to observe a more purposeful manifestation of efforts, involving a range of skills and tasks such as writing, advertising and monetisation that are performed in physical and virtual spaces around the clock (Hracs and Leslie, 2014).

Blogging is an international phenomenon which is becoming central to many jobs, occupations and forms of self-employment within the creative industries and broader economy and represents an emerging form of global labour (Duffy and Wissinger, 2017). Yet, the 'work' associated with blogging, which might include creating content for a range of platforms while building and maintaining an audience, remains poorly understood. A closer, and more critical, examination of the labour dynamics of blogging makes an important contribution to the sociology of work. Our primary aim is to explore the motivations, experiences, and structures behind work-related blogging. We also attempt to link this form of work to wider developments in contemporary labour markets including the fragmentation of work and new forms of resistance and solidarity in the digital age. Indeed, the diversity and dynamism of work-related blogging neatly illustrates some of the contested and fluid boundaries around labour categories, practices and mobilities, as blogging activities cover both paid and unpaid work, and range from self-employment to contracted labour.

Notably, the work-related blogging that we explore is conceptually distinctive from 'workblogging', which forms just one part of our typology (5A). Workbloggers are structurally discrete, being located within firms, and blogging about their working lives, often

in a specifically oppositional format (Richards, 2008; Richards and Kosmala, 2013; Pederson *et al.*, 2014). As we highlight, work-related blogging is broader. It contains blogging set in different work and non-work domains initiated by individuals which creates content that often goes beyond their daily paid working lives. This diffusiveness and our aim to capture the blurred labour boundaries around blogging has been highly influential in the 'total social organisation of labour' (TSOL) conceptual framework (Glucksmann, 1995) that we adopt and discuss below.

The typology that we develop and populate in this paper offers a structured framework for understanding how blogging-related labour, including motivations, practices and outcomes, fluctuate not only over time, but from blog post to blog post. We unpack and map the relationship between paid and unpaid work in bloggers' occupational negotiations. Using the rich empirical detail from our qualitative analysis facilitates a nuanced interrogation of constraints, opportunities, relationships and conflicts within this evolving field of digitally-driven labour. We assert that new working practices like blogging offer a compelling focus of study in understanding negotiations of a reconfigured labour market, enabling work-related solidarities to be formulated at the same time as autonomous labour is pursued. This offers new insight into labour market mobility amid a rapidly shifting world of work in which occupations and working practices are ever-evolving.

Making sense of work-related blogging

Definitions of work – associated with culturally and historically-contingent economic relationships, cross-cut by class differences – have long concerned sociologists (Grint, 1998). Yet, recent trends, including technological change, together with organisational transformation, fragmented work spatialities, and globalised marketplaces, present a challenge to the value of traditional work paradigms (Strangleman and Warren, 2008). Not

only have the industrial structures of Western labour markets shifted in recent decades but employment contracts have diversified, and employment flexibility has become more commonplace (Halford *et al.*, 2016). This has resulted in a growth in precarious forms of work (Kalleberg, 2013), the expansion of self-employment (Hatfield, 2015), and reduced expectations of lifelong career trajectories within single organisations (Felstead and Jewson, 1999). Other trends have included the growth of the knowledge and service economies, and transformations in women's labour market engagement (Ekinsmyth, 2011). While Beck's (2000) analysis of a casualisation of work has been widely disputed as simplifying the class differentiation that continues to define occupational experiences, the world of work in the 21st century has disturbed previously embedded expectations around lifetime mobility. In this context, the value of conceptualising work fluidly in order to track its diverse formations has become ever more evident.

Within a revised set of occupational expectations, theorists have noted that paid and unpaid work combine in complex ways around individual labour market experiences (Pettinger *et al.*, 2005). Blogging, and other forms of online interaction, offer a timely and insightful context within which to investigate some of these issues (Bancarzewski and Hardy, 2017; Duffy and Wissinger, 2017). Its dislocation from traditional occupational structures provides creative prerogative to trial alternative work practices, or to establish a place to work that has proved otherwise unattainable. Encompassing a diverse range of occupational experiences, Richards (2008) has drawn attention to the value of bloggers in charting and understanding new labour processes. Indeed, the format of blogging is unique in offering a detailed subjective longitudinal account of work activity and new insights into the lived experience of individual workers and meanings of work which may diverge from or subvert those intended by firms. Defining blogging is challenging in part because, as Schoneboom

discusses, it is a 'continually morphing' field (2011: 136), shifting both with technological possibility, and expanding and contracting as bloggers dip in and out of blogging platforms. Moreover, and as this paper demonstrates, work-related blogging covers a range of activities, which may sit more or less easily under traditional definitions of work. Such diversity and dynamism underscore the need for greater nuance and clarity from the conceptual frameworks used to make sense of work formations.

This paper draws on Miriam Glucksmann's Total Social Organisation of Labour (TSOL) (1995, 2005; Pettinger *et al.*, 2005), which was developed around her analysis of changing work formations in the Lancaster textile industry in the 1990s. This is a conceptual device that highlights the interconnected nature of different forms of labour, including formal and informal, as well as paid and unpaid work within individual biographies. TSOL conceptualises work along a continuum of six forms of labour, differentiated by public/private spheres, formality and pay, within which the work activities of an individual, household or social group are plotted over time. Existing literature has increasingly adopted TSOL to make sense of the modern work landscape in which unpaid work functions to shore up paid work in new, and frequently unseen, ways (Pettinger *et al.*, 2005). More recently, theorists have deployed it to get at complex labour distributions (Williams, 2011; Wilson *et al.*,

2017). It is a framework that provides particular potential for theorising new and evolving formations of work, in which institutional structures and working practices are less fixed.

Taylor (2004) has usefully applied Glucksmann's continuum of labour to develop a TSOL framework (see Figure 1), which distinguishes between the different work domains, whilst emphasising the permeability of the boundaries between them. Distinctions are made between paid and unpaid work, the public and private (domestic) spheres, and formal and informal work, and attention is drawn to the connections between these categories. From this it can be seen that similar types of work can fit into different spaces of this framework, depending on their context and relationships. This nuance has enhanced our understanding of work-related blogging and allowed us to make sense of blog content that appears similar on the surface but which may have very different meanings for bloggers depending on their unique positions and labour dynamics.

Figure 1: TSOL Framework (adapted from Taylor, 2004)

In our analytical process TSOL has been valuable in mapping the labour involved in

the diffuse work formation of blogging, since the visibility of this labour can be obscured by its contractual, spatial and temporal fragmentation and position across different fields. It enables us to analyse similarity across difference and the contextual-specificity of work and non-work. The various labours in people's lives are not necessarily evident, but a fine-grained analysis of work-related blogging informed by a TSOL framework has enabled us to conceptually extract how paid and unpaid, formal and informal as well as public and private formulations of work connect with one another and evolve over time, and to plot how blogging connects to these other labours.

Examining the interrelationships and fluidity of different kinds of blogging with individuals' broader paid work has facilitated our development of a typology of work-related blogging, which both charts the diversity of work-related blogging, and illuminates occupational mobility across this framework over time. Using a TSOL framework, the empirical sections of our paper probe the interconnections between different forms of work performed by individuals for a range of dynamic motivations. We have consequently deployed TSOL to chart the interplay of paid and unpaid

labour, as well as the different ways in which work is organised across space and time within a context of structural change.

Methods

The empirical findings and novel typology presented in this paper are based on an iterative and multi-stage documentary analysis of publicly-available blog resources (Snee, 2013). This method was selected over qualitative interviewing since it enabled us to study the *product* of blogging labour: blogs or online diaries, offering rich qualitative data manifested in a real-time format. This dataset offers innovative potential for qualitative researchers, enabling us to organically observe day-to-day fluctuations in working lives, as well as trends and development over time, and contrasts with the more reflective format of qualitative interviewing. Thus, we were able to get at bloggers' motivations and the labour dynamics of work-related blogging– the focus of our research question – on a longitudinal basis, which was well aligned with being able to analyse positioning and mobility within our typology over time.

Blogs also offer, potentially, a more democratic form of data production, being uninfluenced by the researcher in their construction, although being produced for public consumption we should acknowledge their performative element (arguably present in many other forms of labour, such as service work). In a practical sense, blogging research has also enabled us to sample occupational groups that it would have been difficult to access (such as sex workers) and bloggers in other countries (Hookway, 2008). Of course, a limitation of focusing on blogs is that they offer one particular construction of reality, and furthermore may not have been set up to document bloggers' work. So, while they do not enable the researcher to probe on key concerns, such as work practice and motivations, they are

arguably no less a social construction of experience than interviews, and the distance between researcher and subject potentially allows greater potential for reflective comparison.

We started by reviewing the aforementioned literature related to the motivations of bloggers. Then we reflected on our own engagement with blogs and bloggers across a range of genres, such as academic and fashion blogs, for related research and personal interest. This allowed us to identify gaps in the literature and to develop our own set of categories to explain the motivations and structures behind work-related blogging. To add nuance and rigour to the typology, while identifying and exploring sub-themes such as the evolution of blog-related content, practices and motivations over time, we then conducted a qualitative analysis of the textual content of 10 work-related blogs, which spanned the typology that we had theorised. This represented a purposive qualitative sample, in that we reviewed approximately 100 work-related blogs in developing and refining our typology, and subsequently selected 10 blogs for analysis, which spanned a range of experience with which to explore blogging dynamics within each category in greater depth.

The sample does not aim for representativeness or statistical significance, but rather an in-depth investigation of a mixture of extreme and typical cases across a variety of blogging genres and locations. Selecting a balance of extreme and typical work-related bloggers to populate our typology enabled us to both maximise learning by examining (and interrogating) how the most atypical blogging experiences sat within our framework, whilst testing hypotheses by looking at how these compared to more common experiences within each of our theorised categories (Palinkas et al., 2016). The sample of higher education blogs, for example, includes one extreme case and two typical cases. Overall, this approach enabled us to better refine the boundaries of our typology, probing the meaningfulness of the boundaries

that we have drawn between categories, as well as to analyse movements and stasis across the typology.

The use of one case study, higher education, also provided an additional level of insight into how typology categories added value in understanding career stage deployment of blogging work in a single occupation. Thus, as researchers, we shifted between 'insider' and 'outsider' status of social groups in our sampling (Corbin Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). Our working experience in higher education and research-related familiarity with the music and fashion industries provided us with insider knowledge for these blog genres which helped us identify cases and interpret the data. By contrast, we approached other blog genres as outsiders and this provided greater objectivity and encouraged us to deepen the analysis by drawing on additional materials in the public domain.

In the analysis, we also considered bloggers' engagement on multiple social media platforms, and how this extended the labour of their blogs and ultimately the digital labour in their TSOL. We explored how bloggers have been able to appropriate these social media platforms in their career planning. However, for the sake of scope and consistency we limit our reporting in this paper to text-based blog posts, as opposed to video blogs (vlogs), and do not include interactions between bloggers and their audience, or their related social media platforms including Twitter and Instagram.

We identified blogs and potential cases from our own knowledge, and by using links and lists of 'top' or 'recommended' blogs in specific genres (Duffy and Hund, 2015; Nardon *et al.,* 2015). We reduced the options further by analysing the 'about' pages of blogs and a small sample of blog posts for appropriateness. We also confirmed that the blog had at least 50 posts over the course of 3 years, in order to ensure that the blog constituted a significant dataset, and represented a considerable investment of blogging labour. Some of the more

commercially successful blogs are no longer live, since bloggers have repurposed their contents into alternative forms of commodification, such as books: we have not quoted from these blogs, but still used them to populate and explore our typology. Another important consideration was that each blog or blogger either used a Creative Commons license or is firmly in the public domain – which allows us to analyse and reproduce content (Hookway, 2008). This process produced a purposeful sample of ten blogs that cover all of the categories of our proposed model (see Table 1), which we then analysed in depth to test and refine our understanding and conceptual categories.

Table 1: Sample of Blogs

We assembled the blog content for analysis in two ways. For the blogs that had fewer than 150 total posts we downloaded each individual post into a data management program (Scrivener) (Pihl and Sanderstrom, 2013). For the longer-running or more prolific blogs with between 150 and 3,000 total posts we produced a subsample of between 150 and 300 posts by filtering on the basis of key words, post titles and links throughout the blog to themes and content that were relevant to work-related blogging (Nardon *et al.,* 2015). For example, a blogger might post many cultural reviews, which we could screen out in favour of focusing on posts that directly related to their job. This kind of data filtering was vital to ensure that we developed a good quality dataset relevant to our analysis. This approach resulted in a sample of 1,304 relevant posts.

The process of analysing the blog posts involved a systematic process of coding and re-coding (Crang, 2005). Each blog post was analysed phrase by phrase, while thematic codes, annotations, and reflective notes were added. After this 'open coding' (Crang, 2005) the data was organised into categories. A process of axial coding followed through which connections between and within categories and subcategories were made. At this stage some codes and

subcategories 'broke down' while others emerged as more pervasive or poignant (Crang, 2005). Thus, the coding process commenced by applying more descriptive codes to content (such as 'writing', 'building an audience', 'unpaid work' and 'exhaustion'), and included assigning our typologies to chunks of blog posts ('Developer', 'Resister', 'Primary', and so on).

As coding progressed, we developed more analytical codes (such as 'aesthetic labour', 'mobility', 'precariousness' and 'creativity'), influenced in part by the blogging and work literatures as well as regular discussions between the two researchers. This allowed us to map relationships and patterns between codes, as well as to interrogate counter-intuitive associations to explore latent explanations for blogging behaviour.

We then moved toward testing and nuancing our preliminary theories. To triangulate our analysis and understanding of individual blog posts we also collected and analysed related multi-media materials by the blogger or about the blog, which enabled us to conduct a broader case study analysis, such as academic articles by the Thesis Whisperer, interview transcripts with Brooke Magnanti (Belle de Jour), or media articles about Amanda Palmer (Duffy and Hund 2015). This was another area in which the inclusion of extreme cases in the sample enhanced the analytic process, since typical cases were not sufficiently well-known to have featured in the academic or mainstream press. These additional materials around extreme cases thus augmented our dataset and ability to triangulate around theory. This allowed us to develop a more nuanced understanding of our bloggers' longer-term occupational motivations and trajectories. Throughout the paper we include selected verbatim quotations from blog posts as the best way to demonstrate how bloggers expressed meanings and experiences in their own words; the subtitles around typology segments too draw upon the words of our sample to encapsulate how their blogging activity relates to their positioning

within the typology we have developed. However, it is important to note that the arguments are based on common findings from across the sample.

Typology of work-related blogging

Drawing on the distinctions that emerged from the data in terms of the functions that blogging serves for bloggers, our typology is split into three categories of abstraction represented in the first level of Table 2. This builds on earlier typologies, such as that of Richards (2008), which distinguished work blogging in terms of occupational categories; our typology cuts across professional groupings in classifying work-related blogging in terms of its purpose for bloggers at particular moments in time.

Table 2: Typology of Work-Related Blogging

Five distinct types of blogging work are also conceptualised within these three broader categories, the fifth of which is subdivided by labour market positioning. We propose this typology not as a static model, but as a framework offering TSOL insights within which to explore how the labour invested in blogging changes and takes on different functions in bloggers' lives as their positioning in relation to the labour market evolves, and it has been refined as we analysed blogs in real time. For example, while some individuals blog to advance their careers, others blog about stagnation or a lack of career opportunities, and there is fluidity between categories over time. It became clear in our analysis that blogging is dynamic labour. Indeed, more established bloggers rarely sat in a category indefinitely and bloggers were able to enact mobility between categories in our typology, just as they are in more traditionally institutionalised careers.

The categories retain analytical rigour since each represented a notable combination of motivations and structural circumstances, which were flexible enough to enable people to

move between as their circumstances changed – something we discuss throughout this paper. Table 3, positioned at the end of our typology, provides a more fleshed out version of these differences, populated by some of the examples we explore. In developing this typology, we aim to offer conceptual insight into how new forms of digitised labour relate to labour market trends, including the fragmentation of work, rise of aesthetic labour, and marginalisation. As we explore our typology in greater depth below, each segment is introduced with a quotation for a blogger whose blogging sits in this grouping.

Blogging for work

The first two types of blogging in our typology are characterised by their explicit organisation *for work*, that is blogging as connected directly or indirectly to paid labour.

1: 'Everything in life is writable' - Blogging as a primary occupation

The first type of blogging provides the closest alignment to traditional forms of labour organisation, while simultaneously marking a departure from the conceptualisation of blogging as leisure (Scholz, 2012). The labour of digitised writing has, for individuals who blog as their main occupation (who we call '**Primaries'**), been appropriated for financial and professional gain. These bloggers are entrepreneurs who negotiate self-employment around an often-monetarised product: their blog (Dean, 2010; Rettberg, 2014); for this group their blogging was firmly aligned with their paid work in their TSOL.

Blogging as a self-employed occupation incorporates labours beyond writing, including designing and maintaining a website, building audience, and transferring information. Although Primary blogging does not necessarily involve a blog that revolves around a named individual, in a crowded marketplace individuality can provide its hook (Duffy and Hund, 2015). This kind of blogging is comparable to the 'entrepreneurial blogging' identified by Pihl and Sandström (2013), and is most evident in the literature, although it represents a

minority of regular blogs (bloggingthing.com). Primaries often established their blogs around a niche, albeit one that could be eroded as competitors moved to develop new and original content around a popular area.

Examples of Primary blogs in our sample included *Cooking on a bootstrap* and *Alicia Fashionista*. These Primary bloggers represent a development of the format, their blogs having gone through stages of being unpaid or differently-structured, and becoming more monetarised and professionalised as industry knowledge was amassed. In this way, work that started as unpaid has become paid over time, a blurring of boundaries in individuals' TSOL. For bloggers who have 'made it' in the sense of audience, there is occupational satisfaction from having formulated a career around one's interests, while at the same time as there may be tensions around corporate pressures and creative freedom (Brydges and Sjöholm, 2018). Tensions between these competing forces can culminate in a blog ending, and the reconfiguration of the blogger's labour into new, often collaborative blogs, or in diversification into alternative forms of work. For example, Jack Monroe (Cooking on a bootstrap) subsequently published three cookery books and has appeared as a panellist on TV programmes, as well as using her position to campaign on issues like hunger. Monroe had originally started blogging on her blog 'A Girl Called Jack', which had been primarily a local politics rather than a food blog. However, the blog saw a change in direction when she posted her first recipe, for carrot and cumin burgers, which saw ten times its usual traffic. Conversely, other Primary bloggers, that we reviewed in our screening, had stopped blogging in this way, because the work had changed over the course of their blogs becoming successful, becoming less creative, more of a chore, and finding that the competitive environment of successful blogging was too far removed from their earlier, more rewarding experiences.

Routes into Primary blogging are multiple. Sometimes bloggers started off blogging while employed in another role, and became sufficiently successful to focus full-time on self-employed blogging. In one post, Alicia Fashionista, celebrates this achievement: "*Up until January of this year, I had 4 jobs (which, is actually an understatement, but more on that later). Now, with some much-needed focus and drive, I can say with confidence that I am a full-time blogger.*" Alternatively, blogs could provide a route out of unemployment or economic inactivity. The self-defined labour of blogging potentially also provides flexibility to combine with other aspects of one's TSOL, such as caring commitments (Ekinsmyth 2011), but also illustrates the extensification of digitised work – the pressure to maintain presence and brand identity across multi-media platforms, engage with analytics, maintain technological currency, and provide aesthetic value (Duffy and Hund, 2015; Hracs and Leslie, 2014). This kind of labour is unbounded and results in what Gregg (2011) termed the 'presence bleed' of ICT work. The need to be unique and provide readers with current content adds to the pressure to be constantly available (Brydges and Sjöholm, 2018), the labour of blogging potentially increasing in proportion to its commodifiable success.

Blogging is connected to the contractual, spatial and temporal fragmentation of work (Hracs and Leslie, 2014). Whether paid or unpaid, blog posts comprise chunks of labour performed alongside a range of other tasks. As blog posts can be composed and transmitted on mobile devices, blogging may be performed at any time. Spatially, the work is distributed across physical sites, including offices, third spaces and the home. For some bloggers, this flexibility is attractive, but it may also exacerbate the extensification of work.

2: 'back to the edinburgh fringe….and this time i'm serious' - Blogging as additional task

A second formulation of blogging for work is distinguished when blogging forms part, but not all, of one's paid position. **'Additional'** blogging is deployed by mainly creative professionals who maintain a blog in order to promote their products and brands. In the post quoted in the heading above, for example, Amanda Palmer promotes her UK tour. This blogging ranged across different occupational forms, from employee, to self-employment to portfolio working, and is largely unpaid, although strongly connected, indeed underpinning, bloggers' paid work.

Additional blogging tends to exist for the marketing or supporting of the blogger's main occupation. For example, beyond 'making music', independent musicians promote their recorded songs, live performances, merchandise and personal brands through blogging and other social media platforms (Hracs and Leslie, 2014). For example: "*TOUR IS SELLING OUT SUPER FAST!!!! which is awesome. i am so excited for these shows. some of the US shows are 90% sold out – please don't delay on getting tickets for this one. get them now and help me spread the word"* (Amanda Palmer). Through the practices of 'friending' and 'following' across platforms, blogs allow self-employed creatives, including musicians and fashion designers to engage directly with a wide range of consumers. In one post for example, Amanda Palmer thanks her followers for producing over 1,100 comments on a particular post: "*a lot of them were so thoughtful, so beautiful, so astute…you guys are really quite amazing. it took me a full few days to read*

everything." Indeed, as (Hracs and Jakob, 2015) demonstrate, creating 'conversations' and 'meaningful emotional connections' is vital to building a client base and surviving in a volatile marketplace.

Two years after starting to blog, Inger Mewburn reflected on *The Thesis Whisperer* that, "*I would recommend a blog to any practicing academic as a way to grow their own network,"* and in addition to providing levels of reach and impact unobtainable in academic terms, her blogging work has provided content for academic papers and a tightening of work connections within her TSOL. So, while her blogging can be conceptualised as an 'additional' task superimposed against the traditional academic distinction between research and teaching, Mewburn regards it as a central component of her occupational resources, to be scheduled into her week (and notably performed on a Sunday).

Building on Hochschild's (1983) work on emotional labour, and how service work involves managing one's deepest feelings, aesthetic labour seeks to incorporate the embodied nature of service work, and the corporeal labour that goes into the production of particular dispositions (Witz *et al.,* 2003). Although some bloggers may act under the direction of their corporate employers, self-employed bloggers are required to become entrepreneurs of the self, taking responsibility for managing their own bodies, emotions, image, schedules and priorities to create a covetable self (Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006). For example, even after exhausting performances on stage or long days in the studio the musician Amanda Palmer produced blogs late at night or in the early morning before going to bed. Often apologizing for the delay or shortness of the post, stating "*this'll be brief because I'm totally destroyed*" and "*this is all I have in me from under the covers*", she sacrifices her own mental and physical wellbeing to update, thank and engage with her audience. Indeed, Gandini (2015) argues that for digital workers performances within the online sphere are crucial to identities

and reputations and therefore must be frequent without significant gaps, breaks or interruptions.

For fashion style bloggers, who frequently publish 'outfit of the day' posts that include images and commentary, aesthetic labour entails an on-going commitment to body maintenance through diet and exercise (Brydges and Sjöholm, 2018; Pihl and Sandström, 2013). As Entwistle and Wissinger (2006: 791) argue, the "freelance aesthetic labourer cannot walk away from the product, which is their entire embodied self." Indeed, posts on Alicia Fashionista repeatedly engaged with themes connected to body image, diet and mental health.

While some Additional bloggers create and communicate deliberately embellished and managed personas to secure a loyal audience, others, including many in our sample, compete with authenticity and transparency by sharing deeply personal content and being open about struggles, insecurities and imperfections in their life and work.

For the Primaries described above, writing and creating are central features of their blogs; yet for Additionals, blogging has a more functional purpose – marketing – and forms just one element of their occupation. Additional blogging is an end that is achieved of and in itself, although the skills developed in the role might subsequently prompt Additionals to start their own blogs (as Primaries).

Blogging for the worker

While the blogging formulations discussed above are linked to solidifying bloggers' position within the labour market, a second set of blogging labour is more *about work* and how bloggers make sense of their relationship to paid labour.

3: 'From hobby to career: My blogging story' - Blogging to develop work pathways

The third form of blogging distinguished here, that of '**Developers**', encompasses blogging with the purpose of moving closer to the kind of paid labour that the blogger desires. It is about strategically enhancing one's labour market positioning, although the blog may not have been initiated for this reason. This type of blogging is about finding work or improving labour market prospects. This might be achieved through building networks within blogging communities or providing unpaid labour to amass occupational skills while cultivating a professional reputation (Gandini, 2016). Development blogging often takes place outside the formalised labour market, providing a different manifestation of TSOL than for Primaries or Additionals, with Developers' connections or skills providing an important route into belonging and well-being at a time of low economic capital.

For example, Expat blogs such as 'Notes from another land' derived social support through their writing, which they lacked while unemployed or as stay-at-home parents. And while such blogs were often started to help cope with a new situation, blogging became developmental as their authors acquired an audience and gained confidence in their abilities. This kind of blogging can be powerful if taken on autonomously, providing authenticity in the labour market and ultimately mobility. In another vein, younger and less established academics may blog to accumulate social and cultural capital in the form of building social networks, reputation or peer validation outside of the more time-contingent peer-review system (Gregg, 2009; Mewburn and Thomson, 2013; Gandini 2016). The *Stuff About Unis* blog was initiated by its author at a time when he was attempting to make the transition from PhD student into his first post-doctoral position, sharing the pressures of fragmented contracts and a young family with his peers, along with what felt like a frustratingly slow accumulation of career knowledge.

Developers are a transitionary grouping solidifying labour market links between hobby blogging and the professional blogging described earlier. It is productive labour that might also include developing a personal brand, reputation-building, positioning oneself in the labour market, and letting potential clients or consumers know about the blogger (Gandini 2016). For example, Developers may be accumulating technical skills that individuals can invest in labour market transitions. These might aid post-maternity leave returns to work, movement into new occupations, or self-employment (Ekinsmyth, 2011).

Development blogging can be valuable in helping marginalised or isolated groups effect desired or alternative occupational trajectories. Jack Monroe was a struggling single mother when she started blogging, however, the success of the blog, in providing economical recipes that found a popular readership, gradually provided Monroe with a route into paid work, first through the monetarisation strategy of placing a 'tip' button on the blog, and eventually through the publication of cookbooks. In bloggers' TSOLs that were organised around more formalised spheres of work there is complementarity of purpose here with the proliferation of unpaid internships. In an ever-evolving labour market, an intensification of unpaid labour, while arguably enhancing one's employability is potentially exploitative in that individuals are expected to make continual investments in order to remain competitive workers, and will not necessarily receive occupational mobility in return for their efforts (Gregg, 2011).

Stuff About Unis and *The Thesis Whisperer* provide examples of Developmental Bloggers, albeit at different stages of their academic careers, and implementing different blogging styles. As the author of *Stuff About Unis* progressed academically, and managed an increasingly challenging set of work pressures on his time, he found less time to post in the same way: one part of his TSOL squeezed another. *The Thesis Whisperer*, adopted a

different, and more managed, strategy of moving towards curating a collaborative blog. This enabled her to maintain a steady stream of content as she progressed occupationally, that shared knowledge with her occupational colleagues, and was thus in the spirit of Developmental blogging. This illustrates how extreme cases of work-related blogging can be related to format as well as audience, in this instance providing insight into innovation around labour dynamics.

Mewburn has been unusual among academic bloggers, with her blog acquiring academic capital in its own right, with its networked and intellectual value being assessed in promotion decisions and written into her contract. For Mewburn, *The Thesis Whisperer* has become a critical component of her TSOL, this unpaid labour being more central to her academic reputation than any specific institutional position, at the same time as the collaborative blog was interconnected to multiple other unpaid labours in the academic community. However, even before Mewburn had intentionally shifted towards collaborative blogging, the high level of comments left on her posts had indicated the connections the content was making, "*I think there is a very real sense of community around here*": a key feature of Developer bloggers.

An important aspect of Developers' success is the labour that bloggers must devote to self-presentation or impression-management which may include self-promotion and attempts to influence others through ingratiation (Bortree, 2005). Blogging offers a unique project for the self, providing a vehicle for self-expression and social interaction to be mobilised together in careful orchestration around a blog narrative. In order for their blog to achieve desired outcomes, be that audience, reputation or career, bloggers must manage this balance and present themselves in a favourable way, and this is especially so for Developers when success may be difficult to quantify (Brydges and Sjöholm, 2018; Dunne *et al.*, 2010; Hsu and Lin,

2008). For example, in Mewburn and Thomson's (2017) recent analysis of survey data from PhD bloggers, they found that postgraduates were deploying a range of practices to present themselves as emergent and competent scholars. Some of the strategies that Developers adopt to create desired audience impressions include showing competence by providing examples (exemplification), humbly asking for assistance (supplication), demonstrating social associations, and disclosing personal information (Bortree, 2005; Sepp *et al.*, 2011).

4: 'Writer down, I repeat: we have a writer down!' - Blogging to cope with work

A fourth type of blogging labour concerns individual workers making sense of their positioning, but is more concerned with *coping with* work rather than effecting mobility. Like the 'Resisters' described below, '**Copers**' write about their work, often highlighting injustices and shortcomings witnessed within their workplaces. Their writing is blogging for its own sake, rather than deployed for strategic action, and it is unpaid labour.

Copers' blogging covers a range of activities. For some Copers, their blog provides a digitised journal in which they can escape from paid work and reflect upon their working day or labour market pressures. For example, Richard Budd blogs about the extended and "*brutal*" job application process he went through in order to secure his first permanent position (his blog moved from Coper to Developer over the period of analysis), "*getting there was a real slog. From my experiences, and through discussions with colleagues, it's clear that there are some real problems in the academic job market*." Across our sample 'venting' about work-related experiences was also common. In this quote from a post called 'Good Bad Good Bad…Good?' the musician Amanda Palmer not only describes a frustrating situation but uses the story to share the process and challenge of creative work with her audience:

> *i finished the song today at around 3 pm. it's really good…from 4-10pm i brought the engineer into the studio and tracked the entire time. hours of piano tracking and punching, take after take after take […] we finally hit 10pm, we were nearly finished, like 95% there, i was so overjoyed (mostly so i could go home and sleep, because i've*

> *got a wicked cough and was holding on by a thread)…[Then] the engineer came in with an incredible pale face and told me that this had never happened to him before, but the vast majority of the session had vanished. then i went pale. i was like: that's not possible. […] we tried starting again but i was wrecked and i couldn't keep pace…*

While venting may be a sufficient outcome in itself, the blog may also provide a valued source of social support, in the networks of shared interests built up around a blog's related social media platforms. Gregg (2009) has found that this kind of mutual support or peer validation is particularly valued by doctoral researchers, a group low in occupational capital but high in intellectual resources, for whom HE institutions may lack alternative daily support structures.

Palmer's inclusion here flags synergies between categories in our typologies. While some bloggers move between categories as their primary logic changes over time, others exhibit different elements of different categories simultaneously. Instead of a personal entry that may never be shared, Palmer's account of work-related struggle and exhaustion combines coping with marketing (Additional Blogging). She is engaging with her audience through this confession, her exhaustion providing some indication of the value that she provides in exchange for their patronage. While our categories are vital in establishing analytical structure, they also enable us to map fluidity in making sense of the lived experiences of work-related bloggers. Crucially, the same kind of blog post, in terms of content and style, can have different motivations and implications depending on its authors' structural location: their TSOL.

Copers may also share information to provide support to imagined communities, such as providing specialised, but unspoken, information in the academic labour market, including junior academics providing advice to PhD students around pursuing publications or managing relationships with supervisors (Gregg, 2009). The well-established *Thesis Whisperer* was initially built upon and developed its audience around precisely this kind of investment of

blogging labour, and has continued to position itself as a source of advice and inspiration to graduate students and supervisors as it became more Developmental. In one post called 'Share the knowledge' Alicia Fashionista talked about the importance of supporting others:

> *In terms of my experience with almost a decade of blogging, owning my own businesses, working a 9-5, and managing social media, I want to do a better job of sharing what I've learned along the way […]I've definitely been there, googling 'what to blog about' as though the answer would magically jump out at me (spoiler alert: that never helped).*

This kind of blogging also ties into the unpaid labour of a 'gift culture', which is seeing some diverse manifestations in the digital economy. Voluntary or unpaid work motivations have long stretched beyond altruism (Taylor, 2004). Yet, the digital economy, with a TSOL in which unpaid work is fundamentally interwoven with paid, provides abundant evidence of the complex drivers of free labour, and of the socially productive work more typically associated with unpaid work. Moreover, supportive blogging might result in collaborative blogging, an increasingly visible part of the blog market that can provide a representative and trusted platform for specific communities (Nardi *et al.*, 2004), and which fits in neatly with Richard's (2008) proposition that blogging is providing a forum for forging occupational solidarity.

Blogging for workplace change

A third set of categories are blogs that are oppositional to the labour process or wider structures, and invest considerable blogging labour on a paid or unpaid basis. We have classified these as '**Resisters**', blogging for workplace change from within specific firms or institutions, from a profession, or sector of the labour market.

5A: 'The blog they couldn't hang' - Resistance blogging within a firm

Bloggers who are located within firms, and who are blogging about their working lives have been conceptualised within the literature as workbloggers (Richards, 2008; Pederson *et al.*,

2014). Here, workbloggers make up the first part of our Resisters category. They provide opposition to the labour process from within an organisational or occupational setting (Schoneboom, 2011a), which adds structure to their narrative, and provides a rich source of data on job activities in parts of the labour market that may otherwise receive little empirical attention. However, since their authenticity is reliant upon anonymity to whistleblow, or more commonly, to resist in a low-key way, this can be a risky strategy if they are not to jeopardise their future employment. Joe Gordon, the fired 'Waterstones blogger' (Schoneboom, 2011b), who blogged on *The Woolamaloo Gazette,* provides illustration of the risks undertaken by workbloggers. Joe started blogging as a Firm-based Resister, and although the tongue-in-cheek narrative he provided on his working conditions was never the driving force of his blog, his critical opposition to his workplace conditions was central to his dismissal (to which he mounted a successful legal challenge).

Richards and Kosmala's (2013) qualitative research found that workblogs provide a context in which discontent and cynicism about workplace practices can be expressed without this resistance being escalated into more active or traditional formats, and in environments where there might be a dearth of alternative forms of protest (Pedersen *et al.*, 2014). This is a level of resistance that may formerly have gone undocumented, and blogging provides a new level of labour market analysis or historical record. So, for example, Joe was able to draw attention to the way that customer service in the bookstore has been standardised to the point of parody. And just as his employer positioned itself as a source of expert knowledge supported by passionate staff, his daily routine was reduced to placing promotional stickers in prescribed positions on geometrically-aligned books.

Ellis and Richards (2009) assert that workblogging offers an alternative voice for employees to the trade union route, disrupted by industrial transformation, and they point to

the meaningful and supportive connections forged between workbloggers. Richards (2008) builds on this, proposing that occupational solidarity is forged through workblogging, a commonality shared with the Copers group, who blog to build support within occupational communities. Indeed, following Joe's dismissal, at a time when he might otherwise have felt despairing, he talked about the solidarity and support he received from fellow bloggers and writers: "*The fact so many of you have been coming back with your comments (isn't that the reason why so many millions of us blog? It's not a solitary pursuit, it allows us to interact with so many different types of people).*"

Blogging within a workplace for change can develop into a more explicit engagement with labour market contradictions, which strike a chord with a broader audience, such as around the work challenges posed by austerity, search for more meaningful work as occupational categories shift, or engaging with the challenges of occupational and professional shifts (such as academic bloggers).

5B: 'I am telling the truth about my trade' - Resistance blogging within an occupational segment

Similar to Firm-based Resisters in their critical labour narrative, another subcategory within our typology is less tied to a particular workplace and focuses upon the TSOL of an occupational segment. These kinds of occupational bloggers can be paid or unpaid, having a fairly fluid relationship with money and usually having a non blog-based income, as well as being oppositional. In this they are distinctive from the Primaries (although they may experience mobility into that grouping, for example, in securing publishing deals around popular blogs). Not tied to any specific institutional structure, but blogging about their profession more broadly, Occupational Resisters are able to achieve relative autonomy, although this can raise a different set of issues around anonymity.

This type of blogging is not motivated by labour market mobility, and consequently Occupational Resisters enjoy relative freedom to create blog content interpreting their positioning in relation to labour market trends. Not dependent upon the blog's success for income, these bloggers do not have to dilute their analysis. These bloggers are blogging for change, truth, and as resisters, rather than engaging with blogging as a way of securing occupational recognition.

Blogging from a portfolio position within the labour market, combining undisclosed paid positions with blogging labour, which moved from unpaid to highly-lucrative, the now-famous bloggers Belle de Jour and Fleet Street Fox, were able to interrogate popular misconceptions about the often-maligned occupations of sex work and journalism. The anonymised blogging format enabled them to pursue labour market issues of marginalisation that they otherwise lacked the voice to confront, and which proved highly popular with audiences.

Brooke Magnanti, while studying for a PhD, blogged as Belle de Jour in a widely-read blog that was both framed as entertainment and challenged popular stereotypes around sex work. Magnanti's TSOL provides illustration of the complexity of work within her career biography: her anticipated formalised paid work (science) was highly valued and required considerable training investment at low recompense. At the same time, her unpaid blogging was key to financing her studies, giving her a forum to create a unique narrative around her informalised and well-paid (sex) work. Although working at the 'high-end' of sex work, Magnanti drew her readers in by making her work seem relatable and ordinary, "*Work can be intense. It's like having a series of blind dates over and over again, struggling to keep your end of the arrangement effortless and light."* (de Jour, 2010: 98) While this overlap of sex and blogging work necessarily required stringent measures to be adopted in protecting

Magnanti's anonymity, so as not to damage her future academic reputation, sex work also provided greater 'fit' around her TSOL than alternative forms of part-time paid work, as she provided commentary on marginalised labour markets. Taking a temporal approach to Magnanti's TSOL, the unpaid work of blogging provided a route into additional lucrative forms of paid work (publishing), which eventually took on much greater prominence in her TSOL as she become a successful author.

Similarly, the journalist Susie Boniface has blogged as Fleet Street Fox since 2011, providing an insider's perspective on journalism, against the backdrop of the Leverson Inquiry[i]. Boniface was upfront about the value of the blog in her TSOL, enabling her to move from jobbing journalist for a national newspaper, to working freelance and convincing a publisher of the ready market for her book: "*It's taken two years, two literary agents, loads of hair-pulling and an untold amount of bitching to anyone who would listen..... but finally I have a book deal*!" Like Magnanti, Boniface initially blogged anonymously, both to dramatise her blog through its fictional narrator Lillys Miles, but also to give it an authentic and critical professional voice, without damaging her occupational security in discussing issues like press accuracy and corruption: "*If I were named the chances are I would be sacked, and the journalistic insight I could offer the Reader via this blog would be reduced to almost zero*."

The literature has also drawn attention to bloggers writing around their profession at a time of structural change. For example, Mewburn reflected that, early on, *The Thesis Whisperer* had provided her with essential capital in resisting academia's increasingly precarious employment, and academic blogs more broadly have provided a place for building solidarity among virtual colleagues in a context where trade-unions have become less powerful (Bancarzewski and Hardy, 2017).

Although bloggers for workplace change have been positioned within our typology on the basis of their resistance to labour market conditions, the content of their blogs around their work was much broader than that. Belle de Jour, for example, provided an entertaining commentary that countered popular myths around sex work, an effective mobilisation of oppositional content within a broader context. By extension, Joe Gordon had been highly committed to his work as a bookseller, rather it was the creeping bureaucracy impinging on his professional autonomy that he was resisting rather than the work itself. However, these bloggers' opposition to particular representations or manifestations of their work have been a focus in developing the typology, in particular how this constituted a key part of their motivations for blogging.

Discussion: Blogging in relation to labour market trends

The world of work has undergone unprecedented change in recent decades, encompassing structural transformation, the emergence of new forms and ways of working, the growth of worklessness and unpaid work in the new economy, and new organisational structures Halford *et al.*, 2016). Blogging is strongly tied to these trends and offers conceptual insight for the new sociology of work (Pettinger *et al.*, 2005a), explored here in terms of the TSOL. This section picks up this analysis by further unpacking our typology (Table 3) in terms of some indicative examples: transitions and mobility within restructured labour markets, value and unpaid work, and marginalisation.

Table 3: Typology of Work-Related Blogging in Relation to TSOL

Through our typology we have illustrated bloggers' dynamic relationships with the labour market. Bloggers can affect occupational mobility through their combinations of paid and unpaid labour. For example, an 'ex-pat blogger' may start blogging as a way of recording or making sense of new circumstances, and to build networks with other ex-pats (Developer),

and accumulates skills through this process, building a niche around the blog, to the extent of becoming a full time, or even 'superstar' blogger (Primary). From our sample, Belle de Jour started off as an Occupationally-based Resistance blogger, but was able to commercialise her writing and subsequently published two bestselling books based upon her blog, followed by a successful portfolio of fiction and non-fiction that enabled her to concentrate on a full-time writing career.

However, blogging can also be a way of managing standing still in the labour market, as it is for Firm-based Resisters (Workbloggers) who document the more frustrating aspects of their day-to-day lives and build supportive communities among their blog followers. Blogging may also reflect downward movement in the labour market, as with some mummy bloggers (Ekinsmyth, 2011) who have relinquished or become marginalised in professional positions post-family formation, and who are evaluating their position from within their blogging space (Occupational Resisters). For Joe Gordon, blogging in *The Woolamaloo Gazette* about his passions of film and photography, provided solace from the more dispiriting aspects of his paid work in a bookshop (Firm-based Resister). When he was fired from his job, his blogging took on a more Developmental mood, building links with other bloggers. The attention his blog received though the Waterstones firing, gave his writing skills a new audience, and he was subsequently offered a job running the Forbidden Planet blog. Having done this for ten years, his blogging has offered him professional mobility and has remained central in his TSOL, at the same time as he continues to blog unpaid on the Woolamaloo Gazette. Indeed, as Gordon observes, blogging has become particularly important in the TSOL of creatives, drawing links between the different types of work that they do: "*the fact of the matter is promoting yourself and your book/comic/movie/animated mutant atomic penguin cartoon is part of the game*."

Blogging provides possibilities for formulating new occupational solidarities and alliances, and inspiration for blogging can arise out of digitised solidarities forged around unpaid labour, such as parenting, community work, or activism. Thus, the work of blogging can facilitate new connections and ways of helping each other in the labour market, and our empirical examples challenge simplified interpretations of bloggers as constantly engaged in competition. In her Expat blog, Amy Maureen Lynch talked about her blogging community substituting for the "*traditional village of previous generations*", a comparison that was notably located in the private sphere of her TSOL, but no less effective in her career support for that. Once established, Alicia Fashionista frequently published supportive posts with titles such as '6 tips for aspiring entrepreneurs' and 'Tips to overcome the isolation of working from home.' Thus, blogging conceptualised as work rather than leisure provides considerable explanatory power in documenting new labour market pathways, and the negotiations that are made around these. It is also illustrative of the interplay between paid work and unpaid work in contemporary labour markets, and underlines the utility of adopting a TSOL framework to shed light upon the significance of these in structural positioning.

Along with labour market change, austerity has exposed new marginalisations around work and employment. Our typology provides for an examination of how, within higher education, alienation, mobility and precariousness have variable and complex effects, as sectoral shifts produce uneven patterns of marginalisation, not unlike the different aspects of alienation that Blauner observed for different work groups (1964), and we anticipate that similar consequential mapping could be conducted across other occupations. Within academia, mid-career academics might use their blogs to document day-to-day frustrations and work intensification (Firm-based Resisters), or to decry occupational losses around creative freedom and tenure security (Occupational Resisters). Post-doctoral researchers,

finding themselves at the bottom of the academic food chain and lacking occupational knowledge, might counter this marginalisation by blogging about their experiences (Copers), whilst building networks with blogging researchers with allied interests who they do not yet have the economic capital to access via conferences. PhD students, with the least social capital of all, may blog experimentally to explore their place within the field, build resilience, and establish solidarities with geographically scattered occupational communities (Developers). Thus, while a Foucauldian interpretation of work-related blogging might position it as providing space for powerless, marginalised workers (Richards, 2008), our typology draws attention to the myriad forms of work-related blogging, and the resources that bloggers can accumulate, in addition to its role in resistance and occupational reconfiguration.

In a globalised economy, professional boundaries and individual working environments have been transformed; digitised work brings this into relief. At its essence, blogging has the potential for international, boundaryless work, providing a product that is accessed virtually by a dispersed set of social relations. At the same time, audiences can be localised, for example, Firm-based Resisters blogging around specific workplace circumstances to a contained audience, or very broad, such as Belle de Jour, who found a global audience with her blog around the universally-recognisable subject of sex work. Magnanti's TSOL, discussed above, demonstrated vividly fragmentated labour – low-paid scientific and well-paid sex work, combining with unpaid blog writing across the public, informal and private sectors, which morphed over time into paid journalism and book writing. Our typology illustrates bloggers' willingness to invest unpaid work at various points in their labour market pathways, and in many ways the globalised marketplace for blogging, in which niches rapidly become overpopulated, intensifies the pressure upon bloggers to provide cheap or free labour

to maintain their market positioning. One of the most interesting aspects of blogging labour within this framework was its autonomously-driven nature, which makes its working conditions complex and difficult to position within traditional relations of capital; debates around the intensification of work offer insight.

Conclusion

By way of understanding the diversity of experiences around blogging labour, this paper presented a novel typology of work-related blogging. By populating these categories with examples of bloggers, many of whom moved between categories over the period of blogging that was analysed, we have provided insight into the labour market mobility provided by work-related blogging, as well as the interplay between blogging and other forms of paid labour in the development of individual careers, regardless of the initial labour intent of these blogs. Categories were discussed in terms of Glucksmann's TSOL, to illustrate the meaningfulness of the institutional bonds and paid and unpaid work in which bloggers are engaged, a nuance which we argue is essential in understanding this digitised work. The same activity – blogging – depending on its motivations and structural location (encapsulated in TSOL), could be variously monetarised, strategic, therapeutic, or an invisible buttress to paid work. The diversity encompassed within this analytical framework, provides further evidence of the value of conceptualising work fluidly in order to get at its dynamic formulation in evolving labour markets.

By documenting blogging labour across time, space and industrial dimensions, the paper has highlighted the negotiation of labour market transformations, drawing attention to new solidarities developed in interplay with autonomous work activity. Our typology spans not a spectrum running from high to low recompense, or type of institutional framework, but illustrates movement, stasis and change in relation to diverse structural circumstances,

resources and workplace relations, and across qualitatively different configurations of TSOL. Indeed, the empirical findings demonstrate the fluidity of blogging motivations and practice, as blogs and blog content evolve and shift between typology categories. The labour of blogging offers a new fabric of responsibilities to sometimes displaced, sometimes emergent, workers in a shifting world of work, and we have highlighted consequential forms of opportunity and resistance in these environments. Bloggers have confronted labour market marginalisation by pursuing creative responses to changing work expectations, and a TSOL framework offers conceptual clarity in mapping the mobility enacted towards these ends, enabling us to analyse labour activity in dispersed and complicated occupational formations.

Productive avenues for future empirical research lie in some of the less visible forms of work-related blogging flagged in this paper, in particular resistance bloggers, and in how bloggers' mobility and investment in digitised labour changes over time. It would be fruitful to extend the analysis to vlogs, and formats that continue to evolve, and to investigate the interactions between bloggers and their audience by examining comments and exchanges on blogs/vlogs and related social media platforms including Twitter, Instagram and YouTube. In addition, this typology may be applied to social media platforms and activities in a stand-alone manner, potentially offering application to a larger and more diverse range of occupational narratives. Moreover, in order to provide greater clarity of focus around work-related blogging, gender and mobility are also consequential aspects of blogging, and intersectionality an important area for further interrogation. Parry (2003), for example, showed that women are particularly likely to strategically engage in unpaid work (of which blogging is very often a form) in order to invest in their future labour market mobility. Moreover, while women are more likely to produce and consume blogs, male bloggers

achieve higher readerships (Pederson and Macafee, 2007). This suggests critical gender differences in how and why blogs are produced and consumed.

Finally, just as this paper has applied and combined concepts designed around traditional forms of work, including occupational motivations and Gluckmann's TSOL, to better understand work-related blogging, there is potential to apply our typology to non-digitised work. In particular, it could be used by qualitative researchers exploring labour market histories, transitions, and motivations. More broadly, as the nature of work continues to evolve, and career expectations become more fragmented and less certain in the global economy, there is value in a framework that enables researchers to identify affordances and constraints, related to labour market biographies and barriers to mobility, and findings which help policy makers develop, target and implement interventions.

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[i] A 2011-12 public inquiry to the practice of the British press, following a telephone hacking scandal at News International, which made recommendations on regulation.