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Mobile life of middle aged employees: fragmented time and softer schedules

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Technology and time-space compression: always online?

Technological innovations and information and communications technology (ICT) have many complex implications for social life. Technology changes the nature and meaning of everyday tasks and results in new cultural practices (Wajcman, 2008). One important aspect of ICT is that it changes the relation of time and place and has consequences for social relationships. In this chapter, we concentrate on patterns of ICT use among middle aged employees in demanding knowledge work, i.e. workers with high education working in expert positions. We discuss particularly how these people, aged 34-55, use ICTs to manage, coordinate and cope with the various schedules of family, work and free time. We show that regardless of belonging to the same broad social generation they do not share the same patterns in their use of mobile technology; instead, their orientations to ICTs and practices vary. Therefore, it seems it is not generation as such that defines the use and orientation to ICT among this social group, but rather, that there are differences between people, their work and family situations that influence ICT use.

The group in our focus, middle aged employees, constantly have to confront the idea that time is a limited resource. Knowledge workers in particular, experience hurriedness and have to synchronise their individual schedules and agendas both in work and within a family. Perhaps more than ever, people control and manage time (Adam, 1995; Hochschild, 1997) to obtain an increased agency on time (Daly, 2001). This is a result of modernisation, which has increased the pace of life and augmented the pressure to perform many tasks and roles simultaneously. This has created a new social problem: the lack of time (Garhammer, 2002; Southerton, 2003).

Wajcman (2008; 2015) links the sense of lack of time to the accelerating pace of technological change, as new ICTs heighten expectations on efficient use of time. Mobile technology is used to solve time-

related problems, such as hurriedness, and to organise daily life, but it also seems to increase time fragmentation that can be a source of time-related problems. In addition, coordinating activities and time are essential aspects of everyday life, especially for families with children who have many schedules and activities tied together.

ICT plays a central role for and within time management strategies of middle aged employees, and we propose that it changes their conception of time and scheduling of daily tasks among middle aged such that time and schedules become fluid and flexible. Our focus on time and ICTs is based on the observation that time is a fundamental element of the orchestration and synchronisation of social life (Daly, 2001), and needs to be discussed along with ICTs. The main research questions of our study concern the role of ICT, particularly mobile communication technology, in organising daily schedules.

First, we analyse the role of ICTs in the accelerated pace of life and the possibilities portable technologies bring along for the middle aged to deal with this faster pace. Secondly, we discuss if and how the conception of time is changing because of the widespread use of ICTs. We argue that middle aged employees in demanding work form a generation with particular time management strategies characterised by increased fragmentation of time and the multiplication of time coordination practices. These time management strategies are being transformed with the affordances provided by ICT, which add to fragmentation and enable the avoidance of time contamination. ICT also engenders new time management strategies, making it is possible to multitask using technology. As a result, the conception of time changes among the study's group of middle aged knowledge workers, and their ties to clock time and to societal rhythms loosens, although these ties do not disappear.

Accelerating pace of life and ICT-facilitated time strategies

Time is popularly identified with 'famine', 'squeeze' and accelerated ICT use (Hochschild, 1997; Robinson and Godbey, 1999; Florida, 2002; Garhammer, 2002; Rosa, 2003; Wajcman, 2015). Earlier studies indicate the lack of time as a common experience among the working population. On the one hand, hurriedness is explained by increasing requirements of work life (Green, 2006) and by the changing nature of work (Sennet, 1998). Along with the faster pace of paid work, the value of free time is emphasised and this leads to increasing consumer expectations (which take time) and consequent changes in the density of leisure time (Linder, 1970; Gershuny, 2005).

On the other hand, feelings of time scarcity or haste may relate to fast technological changes (Castells, 1996). The intervention of digital technologies is thought to speed up everyday life and the entire culture to an unprecedented degree (Lash, 2002). In addition, rapidly diffused new ICTs have shaped time-space relations in the realms of work and family in multiple ways. The time-space compression thesis (Harvey, 1989; Wajcman, 2015) is widely applied in the sociology of time and technology, to describe technology-driven transformations in time and space. Along with technological change, simultaneity and instantaneousness have increasingly become constitutive features of human activity. In mainstream sociology, Castells' (2000) concepts of timeless time and space of flows are widely utilised to describe transformations in the spatial-temporal organisation of everyday life.

In this chapter, we do not analyse hurriedness as such, but the accelerated pace of life serves as a background of this study, in which we discuss the paradoxical nature of ICTs to time. We argue that ICT both fragments time through acceleration and serves as a tool to manage and coordinate time among middle aged employees, who juggle with simultaneous time-demanding activities.

Data and method

We explore these themes using interview data of 21 employees in Finland (see Table 5.1). All interviewees are highly educated, are particularly prone to problems of hurriedness and use ICTs in their daily work. The interviewees work in both the public and private sector in fields such as education, research and social services, and some are in supervisory positions. Interviewees are middle-aged, ranging between 34 and 55 years. Data was gathered in spring 2015 in various parts of Finland via four face-to-face interviews and 17 phone interviews. The semi-structured interviews included questions of work-life balance, time use and organisation of work.

<Insert Table 5.1. here>

We followed the principles of content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) to systematically analyse the data. All interviews were read first from the view of time, ICT and pace of life and then we analysed themes that occurred in the interviews. Some themes were theory-based, such as multitasking, time

coordination and intergenerational relations, and others emerged from the interviews, such as the social costs of staying outside social media and the emphasis on synchronised communication.

The sample of our study was drawn from Finland, in which the feelings of hurriedness are considerably high. According to the European Working Conditions surveys (Parent-Thirion et al., 2007) Finland is among the top countries where people, especially women, experience self-reported hurriedness. This is explained by full-time work practices for both men and women, while women still remain in charge of household duties. Hurriedness is not equally distributed but is most evident among highly educated, white-collar workers in Finland, as has been reported elsewhere (Anttila, Oinas and Nätti, 2009). Our sample consists of highly educated employees working in knowledge work; therefore we expect that these employees in particular would suffer from the accelerated pace of life. Overall, participants described being busy and having many schedules that need to be tied together, yet busyness was mostly concentrated in the world of work compared to free time or time away from work. In presenting our analysis and results in the following sections, we use pseudonyms to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees.

Feeling hurried: Example of the Eklund family

Next we present an empirical example of the hurried family that illustrates demands of daily time management that stem from the need to reconcile multiple schedules. Susanna is in her late 30s and has a university degree. She works as project manager, and her work is characterised by unanticipated deadlines and a heavy workload. Still, for the most part, she has control over her work hours. Susanna typically works about 8 hours a day, and she is active in non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that include evening and weekend activities. Her husband, Leo, does shift work with scattered hours. Susanna and Leo have a daughter, Emilia, age 4, and a son, Noel, age 11. Emilia is in the kindergarten, and Noel goes to school near their home.

In the interview Susanna said that particularly life outside work is hurried. With her husband's irregular shift work, she is mostly responsible for the children but persists with her own hobbies as well. She says: "Like is said, I am active in various NGOs with responsibilities (I'm a treasurer and vice-president), but

that is a hobby. This hobby requires a lot of foot work, but it motivates me because I can help other people."

When asked what hurriedness means to her, she replied with laughter: "Hurriedness is when you don't go to your sitting room for a week, although that is right next to the kitchen." Susanna explains further that now that Noel is older and has hobbies, she feels hurried because they live in the countryside, which means that parents have to take children to their hobbies. Thus, commuting to work in the morning and to hobbies in the evening gives her many activities to take care of and a feeling of hurriedness.

Susanna has a very practical orientation to hurriedness which involves 'doing less' and re-locating some domestic activities, such as having a meal, outside the house. She said: "We only do what is necessary. That is, we go with minimal effort around the house, and we can take food with us, if we feel like it. Children can have their evening meal in the car. […] I feel that we have moved time elsewhere from the sitting room. […] You just need to plan everything carefully." Her orientation to hurriedness is paradoxical. She first says that their life is busy and she has no time to do shopping, yet in the end she concludes that it is not hastened life but just 'life'.

Susanna's strategy to cope with hurriedness involves very explicit orientation to using ICTs and resisting consumerism. She said, "I order everything through internet. I have consciously reduced that time spent on shopping. There is no point in going shopping with your family. Children don't need that; they don't enjoy it. Once a year we can go to buy new shoes. Otherwise I order from the internet, and they are usually fine." This illustrates that she is using ICTs to compress time and cope with hurriedness. In the following section, we describe time-related strategies related to ICTs.

Fragmentation increases time contamination: ICT both a reason and a solution

Wajcman and Bittman (2000) state that the contemporary view of increased time pressure may have more to do with the fragmentation of time than with any measurable reduction in primary leisure time. Hence, hurriedness appears a result of more fragmented time. When time is fragmented, it is 'contaminated'. Roughly speaking, this means that time devoted to a single task is scarce; more and

more activities penetrate a one single moment and we must constantly decide how to deal with them. This inevitably fragments time.

Fragmentation of time has many consequences. Wajcman (2008) notes that perpetual contact can disturb the boundary between the private and public realms and she argues for the redefinition of 'public time' (or shared time) and 'private time' into 'on time' and 'off time'. Furthermore, Licoppe (2004) argues that 'connected presence' is blurring absence and presence for people. Before mobile technology, time was shared within families in face-to-face relationships, whereas now time also can be shared in technology-mediated communication. Social bonds are giving way to transient communication bonds that are immediate and accelerated, yet distant, forms of sociality (Wajcman, 2008).
Within families, women's free time is often fragmented due to distracting accompanying activities, such as preparing meals and caring for children. Women are found to have less free time, and what free time they have is often fragmented by other activities or the presence of children (Mattingly and Bianchi, 2003; Mattingly and Sayer, 2006).

We propose that ICT is one such source of time fragmentation, which is illustrated through the example of online parenting and time at work. Because of this fragmentation, individuals develop specific strategies to deal with the problem. Our analysis reveals that the interviewees use at least two ICT-related time strategies to manage time. Hence, first we discuss how technology increases the fragmentation of time but can be used to avoid it, and second, we discuss attempts to save time by multitasking.

Does online parenting contaminate time?

The working parents interviewed explained how parents take advantage of portable technologies to be in constant touch with their children. Online parenting might generate more time contamination, yet it is typical for working parents of young children who want to keep in touch with their school children while at work.

Brannen and colleagues (2013) argue that increased simultaneity – individuals occupying different social domains concurrently – is a constant in family life. For example, whilst parents (particularly mothers) are at work, they remain responsible for children. This means that time is even more fragmented; one's presence is torn between off- and online time. Ganito (2012) shows that women use mobile phones to

coordinate and control their various roles – in many cases they are always 'on call' – and thus minimise temporal disorganisation (Southerton and Tomlinson, 2005). This creates a paradox in which mobile phones enable better coordination and lower anxiety, yet increases the need for multitasking and the emotional burden of managing multiple roles.

In our data, some parents show an explicit orientation to being available for children during work days. Anna, a mother of three children told that 'It might be that you are in a meeting when the child calls, but it does not matter. I think, children can call you whenever, if they need to. It does not disturb me'. The same was repeated by a father of two who said that he and his wife had taught their children that they can always call their parents after school. Furthermore, another mother, Emma, said that work should not be so important that you cannot answer your child.

Yet not all parents believe family matters should be allowed to penetrate work. Those with teenage children said that they need to secure time for work and do not allow these interruptions that fragment time at work. These parents work as professionals, where they have the possibility to be online but suffer from hurriedness. Therefore, as a strategy to control time at work they only receive messages and get back to children when it suits their work schedule.

As family and life situations and orientation to online parenting differs, the different styles of maintaining intergenerational relations crash at the workplace. Some people, regardless of whether they are parents or not, feel there is no need to constantly communicate with children or spouses, while others like to maintain online relations while at work. Laura, who works in a small office space, said she finds constant phone calls disturbing and that they should be replaced with silent messaging. She explained:

> "It is rare with my husband and children. … One colleague here she/he calls with her children all the time. That disturbs me because then the phone rings here also. We have a small office here, like WhatsApp would be useful there, when questions are 'Can I stay on the playground after school?', like they talk 'Can I?', 'No, you can't', and 'Are you wearing a coat?', and these petty things. This continues into longer discussions, easily."

All in all, it seems portable technology fragments time as it is possible to stay in touch with family members regardless of where you are, and this potential is used unnecessarily. It is somewhat surprising

that some parents are always online for their children while at work. This not only contaminates their time but that of others. Therefore, workplaces are melting pots for varying parenting practices because not all share the same orientation to the use of ICTs.

Avoidance of time contamination

It is also justified to ask if there are practices of time management and control are used to resist time contamination that inevitable cause feelings of hurriedness. Our interviews show that people use various means to actively resist time contamination.

A central theme in the interviews was the use of strategies to avoid contamination of time at home. Because of pressures arising from work, many employees did work-related tasks at home. ICTs have made this possible, together with the changing nature of work; documents can be reached from home, and emails are read regardless of time and place. Consequently, some parents actively avoided work taking over home life, and interviewees described explicitly resisting technology to protect home time and space.

Maria, a mother of three, told that she decided not to get internet access at home so that time at home would not be fragmented. She further explained that as she had small children at home for almost a decade, she knows that sitting at the computer around the home is impossible. “Computers are tempting to children”, she said. By not opening a required internet connection to be able to work at home, she is able to restrict work to the workplace and “to secure [a] hygienic home”, as she explained. Time contamination at home is thus actively resisted.

Besides resigning oneself to not having the required technological devices, another strategy to resist contamination of time was refusing to use social media such as Facebook or LinkedIn. Social media in particular was seen as a polluter or time-eater to be avoided because of lack of available time. Silvia explained that “I feel that I don’t have the time to update those. I try to avoid those kinds of time-eaters, and I feel that I have much more time”.

Not being part of social media networks is a clear time-related strategy which have, however, social costs (Raynes-Goldie, 2010). Anna explained the consequences of staying outside social media like this: “Social life suffers from it. I feel constantly that I should follow Facebook, I really should, but then – I

don't have time. I feel like I have kind of mental peace when I only have this daily life here". Referring to not wanting to contaminate the time of daily life, she said that staying outside social media not only saves time but secures "a peace of mind."

This prevention of contamination leads to lack of information and staying outside social relationships. Using Wajcman's (2008) conceptualisation, this is how we secure personal time off, rather than being online constantly. Silvia described friends and colleagues commenting on her desire to stay outside social media, asking her, for example, to check her Facebook once in a while to learn of the birth of babies in the work community or of previous colleagues. 'People get upset when I dare to ask how is an old friend doing? […] I admit that I miss out sometimes on baby news and such.'

We expected to find discussion on the contamination of time and how ICTs affect it, yet it was somewhat surprising how explicitly informants told us of staying outside, the polluting effects of ICTs, and particularly that of social media. Due to hurriedness, they have to deal with time demands in one way or another so ICTs not only cause hurriedness but can serve as tools to deal with it. Another recurring time strategy related to ICT was multitasking.

Mobile technology and multitasking

In addition to their constraining and time-fragmenting nature, ICTs may also have a time saving, controlling and coordinating role. In an attempt to control and save time, we perform many activities at the same time; that is to say, we multitask (Wajcman, 2015). In our analysis, we concentrated on the role of mobile technology. We do not discuss the role of so-called old technology, such as washing machines, which have – without question – enabled us to do things at the same time.

Portable phones and computers are tools for using social media applications, and based on our interviews as well as previous research (Rice and Hagen, 2010), it seems social media in particular is a central way to multitask and save time. Pauliina explained that the greatest benefit of social media and groups is that you do not have to be in touch with everyone separately but can reach everyone at the same time:

> "I feel that what is best in WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger is that you can reach groups. That you don't have to individually contact everyone. That is the greatest

> benefit. When there is a big group of people, it is easier to do it this way, reach everyone at the same time."

Still, not everyone is part of same social media application, so the possibilities to multitask may be lost because of the need to repeat the same activity through several channels. Eva in particular wondered if technology and social media groups cause duplicate messaging and, in the end, cause us to have more activities to perform. She also pointed out that part of the package of agreeing to social events with friends is to do it 'ridiculously' early. This implies that busy schedules require advanced planning and coordination of schedules. Eva explained like this:

> "Those things that we organise with a big group we organise with Facebook and WhatsApp. With some friends, we have these Facebook groups. And then one group of friends to which I belong, it is funny; even when we have this Facebook group we still have a WhatsApp group. We use both. Then my mobile phone keeps vibrating when those WhatsApp messages come through. Typically it is like 'Yes, we will meet in half a year in a summer cottage', or something. We have to plan really early in advance. It is ridiculous really."

In conclusion, the pace of life is accelerated because we have more to do and more feeds to deal with within a single moment. ICTs are both a cause and a solution for the contamination of time that follows from this change (see, Rice and Hagen, 2010). We discussed online parenting as an example of these practises that cause fragmentation, which narrow the borders between various life spheres. Individuals have to decide whether they are online or offline. One strategy that interviewees used to deal with the fragmentation was to avoid it either at home or work or to avoid certain applications, such as social media networks. Another strategy was to do more at the same time; this was done especially using social media that enable more contacts at one time. Yet, social networks are not 'waterproof' as not everyone is part of the same applications, groups or networks. This results in doing the same activity repeatedly. These varying processes and ways of managing time led us to think: Do ICTs change the conception of time?

Changing conception of time

One central element of everyday life is the coordination of various activities and time frames. Although time frames of social life might be loosening, there are still a great number of time institutions. Opening hours of shops and schools and hours at work, for example, define the schedules of family members. Integrating these schedules in family life and with the wider social network requires coordination. Mobile technology enables the coordination of such activities that are not fixed but can be done flexibly throughout day. Ling's (2004; Ling and Lai, 2016) concept of micro-coordination best describes the ways the informants explained the relationship between mobile technology and scheduling activities (Townsend, 2000; Ling and Haddon, 2003; Cooper et al., 2002). Research shows that mobile technologies are softening schedules; clear time markers of schedules are breaking down and the conception of time is changing.

Coordinating increasingly softer schedules

Technology-assisted coordination can be divided into micro- and hyper-coordination that differ in their nature (Ling and Yttri, 1999; 2002). Micro-coordinating refers to organising activities in time and space, i.e. for logistical purposes, whereas hyper-coordination refers to using technology as a means of self-presentation and personal expression. It has been suggested that mobile phones, in particular, are vital for performing coordinating activities, particularly micro-coordinating (Wajcman, 2015). Mobile technology was an important tool for one family in our study. Susan, a mother of two children told how she and her partner micro-coordinate when fixing the daily routine. She explained:

> "Yes, for example, today I just sent a message that I have time now that which child – or both – I collect from care, and then he [her partner] said that he will take care of the son because of his practice, and then I will collect our daughter. And then he reminded me that we have to buy food [for] the day care centre, because it is a private crèche, therefore we take turns in buying food there. And then I replied that, good, this is good because now I have time to do this: first to pick up the list, second to go do the groceries and third to pick up our daughter."

Susan vividly explained the exchange of messages; there was not one but several messages between the partners that concerned organising family life and particularly the care of their children. This micro-

coordination seems laborious but was not necessarily perceived disturbing. ‘It is like smooth exchange of information. Sometimes it might disturb the work day if it is doesn’t match your work schedules but better to know anyway’. Others agreed that continuous messaging and micro-coordinating are laborious and fragments time.

Hyper-coordination means that technology is used for sharing emotions and social behaviour such as joking or showing emotional support. Our informants explained that hyper-coordination occurred between spouses or between a parent and a child. For example, Susanna said: “With my partner, we can tell work-related news, or, for example, if you know that the other one has had an important presentation or something like that, then you can ask after that ‘how was it’?”

Some explained that they used applications, particularly WhatsApp, to share their own emotions, saying, for example, “I had an inspiring meeting” or “I had very difficult meeting”. Furthermore, some used social media to cheer up their spouses, with no actual content but to get in touch with the other. Our data does not to talk more about the consequences of type of hyper-coordination. In the interviews, we did not ask if there were misunderstandings, for example, or if hyper-coordination resulted in changing plans on how to use time.

Another theme that needs to be discussed is the way scheduling is transforming because of the possibility of continuous online presence. It seems evident that mobile technologies have been softening schedules (Ling and Yttri, 2002). Softening schedules refers to schedule arrangements that are not fixed but agreed upon close to the activity itself. This amplifies coordination, or the work that is needed to order and arrange activities. Thus, ICTs are tools used to undertake the temporal and spatial arrangements (Ling, 2004).

Taking children to hobbies was a recurring theme among the interviewed that was related to time coordination. For example, Susanna explained they use online messaging with their son to coordinate commuting to hobbies. When she is ready to leave work to pick up her son for his hobby, they get in touch using WhatsApp. “Last year we started to use WhatsApp. There I might write to my son, that ‘ten minutes to go’, then he knows when to be ready.” This quote is a good example of how schedules are softening and how, with the enabling features of technology, schedules are not fixed but left open to negotiation and reordering.

Softening schedules also have far-reaching consequences beyond changing scheduling; they also affect how we perceive schedules, time and activities. Our perspectives have become less rigid and are now subject to negotiation and reordering. Furthermore, it seems there is a paradox linked to softening schedules: to cope with softening schedules, interviewees said they returned to using old technology as messages can get lost in timeless time. Informants clearly favoured simultaneous communication through old technology, such as telephones, to make sure that the message has been received. For example, Matilda told that if there are changes to fixed schedules, she calls her partner rather than sending an email or using Facebook. This way she is sure that the message reaches her partner in time. But for activities that are further away and do not require immediate attention, communication can be done through email.

Discussion

This chapter draws from research concerned with how various forms of ICTs change the relation of time and implications for social relationships. The article began by noting the growing academic and public focus on ICTs as a fundamental domain of daily life that accelerates the pace of life and results in new forms of social interaction.

Our study focused particularly on questions of fragmentation of time and time coordination that are seen as key dilemmas in a modern society. The emergence of the 24/7 society has eroded collective temporal rhythms, and the spread of new information technologies has far-reaching implications in various life spheres. Simultaneity and instantaneousness have become constitutive features of human activity and involve time strategies of doing things faster, multitasking or employing more detailed inter-personal time-planning. It seems that increasingly, more effort is needed to coordinate schedules and to maintain interpersonal relations. We are always online.

Demographic characteristics also can be proxies for families' time processes. Gender, life-course and age of children represent constraints that shape differential temporal experiences. The need for time coordination varies especially with children's activities as the more activities and schedules they have, the more coordination is necessary. In addition, having small children requires more coordination to manage all family routines. Therefore, the importance of the life course is highlighted. Demanding

work further underlines the challenge to juggle with simultaneous and instantaneous tasks and, at the same time, to think and manage the boundaries of public and private spheres. Our study does not support the idea that the strategies these middle age time jugglers employ are shared among the whole generation. Although their pressures from work and family life seem to be similar, we found distinct and partly controversial strategies to manage time.

ICTs also produce their own temporal demands, and we propose that it seems to change the way we orient ourselves to time and schedules. ICTs tend to colonise time slots and to take on habitual and routine forms. Many of our interviewees were conscious and worried of the time-eating routines produced by ICTs. We found distinct boundary management strategies to safeguard the home sphere and (children's) leisure from the contaminating and time-eating role of ICTs at home. Interviewees explicitly described their practices to resist technology.

Finally, another interesting conversion is taking place, that of softening schedules. This refers to the perception of how fixed scheduling is seen and performed. The orientation that it is always possible to rearrange, reallocate and redesign daily schedules transforms the process of scheduling into a fluid and transformative one. Mobile technology enables people to stay online and makes it possible to govern daily schedules in detail – waiting becomes a waste of mind.

The study brings up some new themes for further research. Our study concentrated only on highly educated knowledge workers. It would be interesting to gather more information on workers in different positions, such as blue collar workers with a more fixed working hours, for example. An interesting question is, does a fixed work schedule allow softening of schedules?

As discussed in the chapter, our proposition is that technology is changing the conception of time, besides the actual use of time. This theme should be explored in more detail since some people seem to rely more on routines and fixed schedules, while others allow daily fluctuations and prefer softer schedules. It remains unanswered why these differences exist. Is it because of individual or family preferences, or are the explanations rooted in structural matters, such as schedules of work and hobbies? Another interesting topic is to analyse gender differences in this regard, and in particular among families with small children: can we identify conversions of gender roles – or do women's role as coordinators prevail?

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Table 5.1. Interviewees

	Age	**Occupation**	**Spouse**	**Children (No/yes, number & age)***
1	34	Specialist	Yes	No
2	35	Research manager	Yes	No
3	36	Educational Designer	Yes	Yes, 2, both under school age
4	50	Civil servant	Yes	Yes, 3, one school age, two adults
5	53	Project coordinator	No	Yes, 4, one school age, three adults
6	42	Head of development	Yes	Yes, 2, both school age
7	40	Senior researcher	No	No
8	48	Civil servant	Yes	Yes, 3, two school age, one adult
9	47	Head of educational design	Yes	Yes, 2, both adult
10	35	NGO instructor	Yes	Yes, 2, both under school age
11	49	Head of design	Yes	Yes, 2, both school age
12	40	Project manager	Yes	Yes, 2, one under school age, one school age
13	39	Development designer	No	No
14	37	Researcher	Yes	Yes, 2, one under school age, one school age
15	55	Development designer	Yes	Yes, 5, one school age, 4 adults
16	53	Director	No	Yes, 2, both adults
17	40	Researcher	No	Yes, 2, one under school age, one school age
18	51	Program director	No	Yes, 2, adults
19	55	Editor	Yes	Yes, 2, adults
20	43	Researcher	Yes	Yes, 2, both school age
21	47	Recreational instructor	Yes	Yes, 2, both under school age

*Age of children: under school age (0–7 years), school age (7–17) and adult 18+ years