Hybrid Working, Well-being and Gender: A Study on a Public Sector Organization During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

During the COVID-19 global pandemic, likewise private sector, public sector organisations also shifted to partial homeworking or hybrid working to comply with the government-imposed social distancing policies. This study examines the effect of enforced hybrid working on employee well-being via markers of stress, workload, loneliness, and detachment. This study also investigates the impact of involuntary hybrid working on the gender division of labour. This study applies qualitative research within a cross-sectional design to identify the well-being outcomes and experiences of male and female employees. The findings of this study reveal that factors such as disruptions in internet connectivity, increased workload, longer working hours with no fixed schedule, and lack of interaction with colleagues and social support negatively affect well-being leading to increased stress while working from home. Family responsibilities including child caring while working from home influence female employees' well-being. In addition, hybrid working provides advantages of both onsite and homeworking and thus, provides an opportunity to balance work and family life.

Keywords: homeworking, hybrid working, work-life balance, online connectivity, detachment, stress, and family responsibilities

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought tremendous changes to the global economy and to the world of work (ILO, 2020). When lockdowns were imposed in many countries across the world immediately after the outbreak of the pandemic, policymakers urged organisations who could work at home to save employees as well as to keep the business flow uninterrupted (Felstead and Reuschke, 2020). As a result, in some countries, homeworking rose dramatically during the lockdown. For example, in the UK, 43.1% and in the USA, 49% of the workforce reportedly worked from home in April 2020 (Felstead and Reuschke, 2020). Not only corporations, public administration, and schools started adopting innovative technology such as video conferencing to continue operating virtually (Terä̈s *et al.*, 2020; Javaid *et al*., 2020). Even though homeworking is less common in the public sector, a large segment of public sector employees also has been compelled to work from home to ensure the continuity of the provision of public services meeting the social distancing prescriptions because of the disruptions brought by the pandemic (Palumbo, 2020). As a result, working remotely or working at home become the new normal (Buheji and Ahmed, 2020; Davidescu *et al.,* 2020; Wang *et al.,* 2021).

Though there was a surge in homeworking during the lockdown, it had fallen by June 2020 (Felstead and Reuschke, 2020). In the later period of the COVID-19 pandemic, as part of a safety-first principle, a large number of organisations adopted flexible working arrangements such as hybrid working to comply with social distancing policies (Radonić *et al.*, 2021). Information and Communication Technology (ICT) based organisations were the pioneer in offering work flexibility through remote work policies and flexible working hours for their employees and creating low-risk work conditions (Radonić *et al*., 2021). Although in many economies, organisations legally need to prioritize the health and safety of employees (Liu, 2019), due to the global pandemic, the phrase 'safety first' has been accepted throughout the world as a default principle (Radonić *et al.,* 2021). This development suggests that the pandemic has made many employers recognize and protect their employees, the key stakeholders of the organization who significantly contribute to the "organizational development and implementation of sustainable human resource management (HRM)" (Davidescu *et al.* 2020, p.2). Of course, not every industry has equal opportunities and infrastructures for implementing work from home (Radonić *et al.* (2021). This is probably because some jobs demand that employees be present physically in the

workplace (Davidescu *et al.*, 2020). Recent studies suggest that most employees now consider hybrid work as a standard work practice, and the effects of this practice are already evident to organizations (Turner and Baker, June 16, 2022).

Homeworking, partial homeworking, or hybrid working as flexible working arrangements are not new practices. Decades before the pandemic, some organisations started to practice these arrangements (Felstead and Reuschke, 2020). Even though there was such technology existed to initiate a hybrid working model, the global pandemic has only enabled these organisations to expedite digitalization (Radonić *et al.*, 2021). However, there is a difference in the nature of homeworking before and after the pandemic. Before the outbreak of COVID-19, working from home was largely voluntary in which employees had the ability to choose when and where to work (Lapierre *et al.*, 2016), but during the unusual situation of the pandemic, homeworking or partial homeworking was enforced by the governments, irrespective of employees' preferences, abilities, and job nature (Wang, *et al*., 2021). Since the outbreak of the global pandemic, technology-enabled flexible work practices, including hybrid working models, have been widely adopted and gained greater acceptance among employees and employers (Radonić *et al.,* 2021; CIPD, Nov, 2021) as some employers noticed these would lead to productivity as well as organisational development (Davidescu *et al.,* 2020).

A recent Gartner poll (Turner and Baker, June 16, 2022) indicates that in the post-pandemic era, hybrid working will become mainstream stipulating that 75% of hybrid or remote knowledge workers showed increased expectations for workplace flexibility. Moreover, a recent research (CIPD, Mayne, M., 21 April 2022) revealed that nearly half of the employees were demanding their employers to let them work from home more frequently to reduce growing energy costs. Some scholars predict that 'hybrid work' as an example of the rearrangements of the spatial and technological conditions of work will be an important work practice in the post-pandemic world (Petani & Mengis, 2021). Some scholars even believe that in the post-pandemic era, some jobs will become permanently remote, making it a 'new normal' work context (Davidescu *et al.,* 2020; Wang *et al.,* 2021). As a result, a growing body of literature points out that even after the COVID-19 pandemic abates, remote work and flexible working hours might sustain as the preferred working practice (Contreras *et al.* 2020).

Shifting from office-based work to either fully or partially homeworking was not an easy transition for all companies and public organisations, especially for those who did not have prior experience (ILO, 2020). For example, in a different socio-economic context, a country in South Asian region, Bangladesh, a sudden shift to homeworking was not that easy. Although there is no reliable data source that justifies the exact proportion of the workforce worked exclusively from home during the lockdown in Bangladesh, to my knowledge, after lifting off full lockdown, some public sector organisations allowed their employees to work partially from home to comply with the social distancing policies. There is some research conducted on flexible working with the ability to choose their preferred schedule and location of work, but little is known about the effect of hybrid working on well-being and gender division of labour. Moreover, there are fewer studies on hybrid working, especially that focus on the public sector. Therefore, the main focus of this study is to identify the effect of hybrid working on well-being and identify gender differences in experiences of this work practice in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The rationale of the research is that amid the growing popularity of hybrid working, it is important to identify whether hybrid working affects positively or negatively the well-being of male and female employees differently. The questions this research aimed to address are:

1. In what ways, if at all, has hybrid working during the COVID-19 pandemic affected employee well-being?
2. In what ways, if at all, has female employees' experience of hybrid working during the COVID-19 pandemic been different from the experience of male employees?

With a view to investigating these research questions, I have chosen one of the public sector organisations of Bangladesh, the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Division which allowed its employees to work partially from home during this pandemic. The main objective of this study is to examine the effect of hybrid working on employee well-being. The second objective is to investigate whether female employees have a different experience of hybrid working during this pandemic compared to their male counterparts. The aim of this study is also to explore the potential of hybrid working as a future work pattern. The findings of this research contribute to the literature on hybrid working. The existing research has documented the effects of flexible working arrangements such as remote or home-based working determined by employee choice whereas this study documents the effects of hybrid working on employees' well-being. This study also contributes to the literature by drawing attention to the gender differences in the experiences of hybrid working.

The rest of this paper is organized into four sections. The next section includes a traditional or narrative literature review by analyzing and summarizing a body of literature published in the last two decades, between 2002 to 2022 on hybrid working, homeworking, partial or full, and its association with well-being including the definitions of well-being and hybrid working. Since hybrid working commonly refers to the mix of home working and working on-site (Davidescu *et al.,* 2020), this discussion also includes literature on homeworking. The following section highlights the research design of this study, including the research instrument, sampling, data collection, data analysis, and ethics followed by the results of the study. The final section ends with a discussion and conclusion highlighting recommendations for the effective use of hybrid working and for future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Definition of Key Concepts

2.1.1 Well-being

The literature on employee well-being is abundant, with a variety of conceptual and operational definitions of the term (Fisher, 2013) and multiple interpretations (Hesketh & Cooper, 2019). Warr (1987) defined well-being as 'the overall quality of an employee's experience of work and performance' (Pagán-Castaño *et al*, 2020, p.470). Most scholars define well-being in terms of two psychological concepts; Eudaimonic and Hedonic (Fisher, 2013). Eudaimonic views of well-being involve self-actualization, meaningful life, having positive relationships, autonomy, competence, and growth in productivity, whereas hedonic well-being is viewed as a pleasant feeling or feeling of happiness, evaluations, positivity and also framed as subjective well-being (Fisher, 2013; Hesketh & Cooper, 2019). Fisher (2013) posits that hedonic and eudaimonic dimensions of well-being are not conceptually and empirically separable, rather highly correlated. In addition, Fisher's (2013) multidimensional concept of well-being at work includes six components; social well-being, eudaimonic well-being, subjective well-being, negative affect, positive affect, and job satisfaction and similar attitudes. Fisher (2013, p.14) included job satisfaction, job involvement, affective organizational commitment, work engagement, positive and negative emotions and moods at work, flow states, intrinsic motivation, thriving, and vigor as indicators of high well-being and burnout as indicators of very low well-being.

Hesketh & Cooper (2019) summarized well-being into four key tenets of well-being; psychological well-being (e.g., state of feeling away from stress, anxiety, and depression), physiological well-being (e.g. free from injury or physical ailments, keeping fit, and being active), societal well-being (e.g. quality of life, and relationship with colleagues), and financial well-being. The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD), a UK-based organisation identified seven interconnected key domains of employee well-being based on the principle that an effective employee well-being strategy must encompass a set of activities (CIPD, 12 April 2022). These domains are the health domain, good work domain, values/principles domain, collective/social domain, personal growth domain, good lifestyles domain, and financial well-being domain. In this study, I have structured the research instrument to explore physical and mental health-related outcomes which are common in most scholarly definitions of well-being, including collaboration and communication, and factors affecting work effectiveness, and financial well-being.

2.1.2 Hybrid Working

Even though knowledge around the topic of hybrid working has been growing steadily in the last few decades (Radonić *et al.,* 2021), there is no agreed definition of hybrid working in the literature. Most of the literature used this practice as a flexible work arrangement. According to Halford (2005, p. 22), hybrid workspaces are understood as 'multiply located' where people work more flexibly across different places. Technological advancement has enhanced the possibility of multi-locatedness of workplaces and working simultaneously both virtually and physically (Petani & Mengis, 2021). Recent studies suggest that hybrid workplace models mostly include flexible working hours and options for working remotely (Radonić *et al.,* 2021). A flexible and location-independent workplace has been enabled by distributed meetings software, unified communications, and cloud-based platforms (Williams and LaBrie, 2015; Messenger and Gschwind, 2016). Digital materials including e-mail, smart devices, and videoconferences, have facilitated flexible working through interactions either in the presence or at a distance (Petani F. J. & Mengis J. 2021). Hybrid workers are allowed to work in a variety of places but are required to visit the office on a regular basis (Felstead, 2022).

Probably, a clearer definition of Hybrid working has been stipulated by the CIPD. According to CIPD Hybrid Working: Practical Guidance, hybrid working is 'a form of flexible working where workers spend some of their time working remotely (usually, from home) and some in the employer's workspace' (Nov 2021, p.3). Hybrid working can be undertaken in many forms depending on the organisation and the nature of work; either working

mainly remotely with occasional visit to the workplace, working mainly from the workplace with remotely working occasionally, spending equal time at the workplace and remote work or variable levels of combination of remote and onsite working depending on work nature (CIPD, Nov 2021). In this study, I have used the conceptualization of hybrid working provided by CIPD to include employees who work at least one day at home and the rest of the week in the workplace.

2.2 Findings of Existing Research

2.2.1 Hybrid Working and Well-being

The importance of well-being at work has been recognized by many scholars. For example, in a recent study Egole *et al.*, (2020) found that in flexible working arrangements improved employees could enhance organisational performance, and it equally facilitated work-life balance through reduced stress, lower absenteeism, and reduced employee turnover. Conversely, Palumbo *et al.* (2021) in their study on the impact of homeworking on work-life balance using secondary data about the working conditions of employees in the education sector across Europe identified that homeworking may raise work-life conflicts which can be mitigated by organisational support and work-related well-being.

In the context of the pandemic, to ensure employees' physical safety organisations allowed their employees to work from home. As a result, during the pandemic, a lot of studies were conducted to investigate the relationship between work context and well-being, mainly focused on either remote working or homeworking. For instance, Wood *et al.* (2021) studied the impact of the government's encouraged or mandated homeworking on employees' well-being. Their multi-level analysis of data involving university employees in the UK confirms that job characteristics, the work-home interface, homeworking, and the COVID-19 specific context affect the well-being of employees working at home during the pandemic. This study also shows that well-being gradually lowered in the second wave than the first wave of the pandemic, increasing the feeling of loneliness and reducing the ability to detach from work. Wood *et al.* (2021) argue that work isolation is a result of exclusively working at home with little face-to-face contact with others which in turn can increase the level of anxiety. Similarly, studies find that loneliness at work is positively associated with work alienation and negatively related to psychological well-being (Mohapatra *et al.* (2020), and during the period of homeworking functionality of the technical equipment positively affects the health of employees (i.e., ability to work, stress-related symptoms) and job satisfaction (Niebuhr *et al.,* 2022). Niebuhr *et al.,* (2022) also identified that a higher amount of weekly homeworking leads to more stress-related symptoms and is negatively associated with job satisfaction.

Wang *et al.* (2021) examined the relationship between well-being and working from home using a mixed method to identify the challenges experienced by Chinese employees while working from home during the early days of the pandemic. Their study of interview data reveals that 'work-home interference, ineffective communication, procrastination, and loneliness' are four key challenges of homeworking and 'social support, job autonomy, monitoring, and workload, and an individual trait (workers' self-discipline) affect the experience of homeworker (Wang *et al.* 2021). Their study results indicate that characteristics of virtual working make the work experience challenging and, thus affect workers' performance and well-being, and cause work-to-family conflicts in the context of excessive job demands and limited autonomy.

Study findings of Palumbo (2020) based on European countries also show the negative effects of homeworking on work-life balance of public sector employees, increasing work-related fatigue. This is because working at home may lead the household members to believe that their time at home can be used to take care of personal responsibilities without distracting from time spent in paid work (Palumbo, 2020). Similarly, German-based study by Bellmann, and Hubler (2021) reveals that homeworking negatively affects work-life balance though employees have shown increased job satisfaction. Platts *et al.*, (2022) also studied the impact of enforced homeworking during the lockdown on well-being, and their study identified negative impacts on employees' mental health. This study's results suggest that place and pattern of work greatly affect women with dependents (Platts *et al.*, 2022).

A UK-based study by Felstead and Reuschke (2020) identified that during the three months of lockdown, those who worked exclusively from home had lower mental well-being than those who never worked at home. Later, in a research overview on studies of remote working, Felstead, (2022) pointed out that homeworking affects the objective job features of work, including employees' ability to balance work and non-work commitments, ability to minimize work pressure, offers of promotion and development opportunities and protection of health and security which in turn can diminish or improve employee well-being (p.73). In their earlier study on the effects of working remotely on work effort, employee well-being, and work-life balance, Felstead and Henseke (2017) demonstrated that though 'spatial revolution' in terms of a growing trend in detachment from the workplace can

be a 'win-win' for both the employees and employer, job-related well-being and satisfaction come at the cost of work intensification.

Earlier studies also identified that homeworking is stressful and frustrating (Moore, 2006), generates feelings of isolation (Cooper and Kurland, 2002; de Vries et al., 2019), increases mental health symptoms of stress (Mann and Holdsworth, 2003), cause work intensification (Kelliher and Anderson, 2010) leading to a blurring of the work-family boundaries (Glavin and Schieman 2012; Sarbu, 2018) distracting from work due to the presence of child and family members (Kazekami 2020), and causes an inability to disengage from work (Eddleston and Mulki, 2017). From a different perspective, Wontorczyk & Roznowski (2022) point out that those who work from home need to adapt to home conditions that are usually not properly designed as workspaces. Working from home also prevents employees from accessing all the necessary resources, such as documents, databases, and support of colleagues, that are required to perform the tasks properly (Wontorczyk & Roznowski, 2022).

Some studies identified mixed results. For instance, the study by Ter Hoeven & Van Zoonen (2015) revealed that the ability to homeworking positively affects well-being through enhanced work-life balance, job autonomy, and effective communication but negatively affects well-being through increased interruptions. Ten Brummelhuis and Lippe (2010) posit that homeworking and flexible work schedules are only effective in relieving work-family conflict for singles. The study of Lapierre, *et al.* (2016) investigated the relationship between involuntary homeworking and work-to-family conflict and found that involuntarily working more from home was linked to higher strain-based work-family conflict but not higher time-based work-family conflict. They argue that a possible explanation for this non-significant relationship could be the ability to save time (e.g., less commute) and to address family demands.

Studies also identified the positive effects of homeworking. For instance, Moen *et al.,* 2016) showed that flexible work schedules, working more at home and supervisors' support can promote aspects of subjective well-being of employees partly by reducing stress and burnout at work, psychological distress and work-to-family conflict, thus increases job satisfaction. Similarly, Allen *et al.* (2013) identified that flexible working enabled individuals to manage their work and family responsibilities, and thus, reducing work-family conflict. Some study findings suggest that homeworking relieves work-family conflict and helps employees manage the work-family interface (Kelly *et al.*, 2014), increases individual productivity, reduces commute times and sick days (Bloom *et al.*, 2015), allows employees to address family demands (Chung and Van der Lippe, 2018), allows working parents a better work-life balance (Chung, H., 2018), supports employees using the flexible time to complete the work and saves money spent on commuting (Purwanto *et al.*, 2020) and associated with increased family-life satisfaction (Arntz *et al.*, 2019).

A few studies examined the effect of partial homeworking or hybrid working. For example, in their empirical study on Romanian employees, Davidescu *et al.* (2020) demonstrated that partial homeworking was beneficial for developing professional relationships and improving organizational performance. Their study results revealed that partial home working is highly appreciated by employees as a tool for promoting social and professional relationships, learning and personal development of employees, and the overall work motivation as a solution to increasing organizational performance. Similarly, Radonić *et al.* (2021) conducted an empirical study in the Serbian ICT sector to analyze the relationship between hybrid workplace models (flexible working hours and remote working options) and intangible assets of a company; human, relational, structural, and intellectual capital. Their study reveals that hybrid working entails more flexibility and balanced work-life for employees.

A survey conducted in the UK on employees who were working from home during the pandemic reveals that though 48% of the respondents reported social isolation and 38% reported ineffective communication with colleagues as the biggest drawbacks of homeworking, most of the respondents would like to spend at least a quarter of their working week at home because of the positive experiences of homeworking such as better work-life balance, and less stress that contribute to a healthier lifestyle (Cartmill, 2020). Similarly, Felstead, (2022, p.75) pointed out that despite some drawbacks, employees who work from home reported higher levels of job satisfaction and enjoyed working at home. Also, CIPD findings suggest that hybrid working can be beneficial for employees through greater work-life balance, reduced costs of commuting, and higher job autonomy (CIPD, 12 April 2022).

The existing literature mainly focuses on homeworking and flexible working schedules. There are only few literature about hybrid working (e.g. Halford, 2005; Petani, and Mengis, 2021; Radonić *et al.,* 2021). Moreover, before the pandemic, most of the flexible working arrangements were undertaken by mutual consent between the employees and the employer in professional occupations (Platts *et al.*, 2022).

2.2.2 Hybrid Working and Gendered Outcome

Several studies examined the effect of flexible working arrangements on men and women. For instance, Hilbrecht *et al.*, (2008) studied the experience of married female workers of a Canadian financial corporation with school-aged children. In analyzing the relationship between work time flexibility and work-life balance among women, Hilbrecht *et al.*, (2008) found that women had to reallocate the time saved to caregiving or housework, thus combining their dual roles rather than to time for themselves. Similarly, Moore (2006) studied the relationship between homeworking and work-life balance in UK-based employees and concluded that women's over-riding responsibilities for child caring and household work shape their effort to balance work and family. The study findings of Moore (2006) also indicate that for women who have to balance childcare with work, working from home is more stressful. Another study by Wheatley (2012) suggests that work-group cultures prevent employees, especially women, from achieving work-life balance through blurring work and non-work boundaries, time allocation challenges, and stress for dual responsibilities (e.g., parenting responsibilities and caring for elderly relatives).

Chung and Lippe (2018) examined the impact of flexible working on the gender division of labour using data from across Europe and the US. Their research findings suggest that men and women use flexible working differently, leading to different well-being outcomes. For example, women are more likely to carry out household responsibilities, child caring, etc. simultaneously whilst working from home, whereas men are likely to prioritize career progression (Chung and Lippe, 2018). Their research findings indicate that flexible working can also potentially increase their work-family conflict as women are expected to increase their responsibility to the family. Conversely, Raišienė, *et al.* (2020), in their study based on employees in Lithuania, found that men showed that they were less satisfied with working from home compared to women due to perceived role conflict. Similarly, in a recent study, Oakman *et al.* (2022) investigated the impact of the mandatory shift to homeworking during the pandemic on the physical and mental health of 924 Australians. The findings of this study suggest that men experienced a higher level of family-to-work conflict and a lower level of recognition for their work compared to women.

Thus, existing studies mainly focused on gender outcomes of work flexibility in terms of the ability to manage work schedules and work from home. Moreover, little is known about the impact of the imposition of hybrid working on employee well-being without prior preparedness and experiences of public sector employees. Therefore, this study is designed to examine how hybrid working has affected well-being and gender division of labour during the pandemic in the context of a public sector organization in Bangladesh.

3. Data, Methods and Analysis

For the purpose of investigating public sector employees' experience of hybrid working in the context of the pandemic, and its effects on employees' well-being and gender outcome, I have chosen a qualitative analysis within a cross-sectional design which is deemed suitable for examining the research questions of this research project compared to the other research designs. I used a semi-structured interview schedule as a research instrument to interview the target sample, the employees working in different units of the ICT (Information and Communication Technology) Division, a public sector organization in Bangladesh. In mid-March 2020, when the first death case of COVID-19 was reported in Bangladesh, the government declared a lockdown in the country and holidays for all offices, for both public and private sectors. After four weeks of total lockdown, the government lifted some of the restrictions, and a few organisations shifted to homeworking, and some organisations shifted to hybrid working depending on their work nature. ICT Division in Bangladesh is one of the few organisations in the public sector that had shifted to hybrid working as it had been able to develop an electronic file management system prior to the outbreak of the pandemic.

After obtaining ethics approval for the research, using the snowball sampling technique, 29 employees were recruited for the interview who were working at least one day a week at home and the rest of the days of the week in the workplace. Interview data were collected through online video conferencing using Zoom because the target sample was mostly familiar with this medium. Actual data collection took place from 2 July to 07 September 2022. Before starting each of the interviews, the participants were shared the information sheet, information related to the objective of the research. During the interview, the audio of each of the interviews was recorded and saved securely maintaining confidentiality. Before starting the actual data collection, I conducted a pilot interview. Based on the result of the piloting interview some of the questions were rephrased so that the interviewees could understand the questions easily, get a feeling of an informal atmosphere, and express their experiences. For collecting primary data about employees' 'attitudes and opinions' (Saunders *et al*. 2019) the interview schedule was structured into two main parts. Questions in the first part were relevant to employees'

well-being and gendered outcomes, while the questions in the second part were related to demographic information (Appendix A). In the interview schedule, some of the questions related to well-being were based on the interview protocol used by Wang, *et al.* (2021).

After completing all the interviews, three interviews are rejected due to lack of relevance to the interview questions. Among the 26 interviewees, 13 were female, and 13 were male. The response rate was 58%. The audio of each of the interviews was recorded, and after completion of the interviews, each of the completed interviews was assigned a unique identifier, a pseudonym. Then, the recorded interview was transcribed by playing the record and typing each word. Some of the interviews were completed in the native language of the participants. Those were translated into English. The data file was then saved as a separate word document and each of the files was given an anonymized name (e.g., HRMT_Interviewee_1) for the purpose of data protection and maintaining confidentiality. The transcript was then incorporated within NVivo software for the purpose of thematic analysis. Each transcript was then coded for processing. Within the analysis of qualitative data, through coding, collected data were segmented into their component parts, and those parts were given labels. In this research, both priori codes based on literature and posteriori codes based on collected data have been developed. After developing a series of codes, these codes were organized into a hierarchy of codes for analysis. Following an inductive approach (O'Gorman and MacIntosh, 2014), the coded interview data was then analyzed thematically by searching recurrences of the coded text within the data and identifying links between different codes. While coding all 26 interviews, important terms used by the participants were then annotated. Memos were also created for the purpose of analysis.

4. Results

The aggregated main themes that emerged from the codes created using NVivo are presented in Table 1. Four main themes that have been identified from the codes are challenges of virtual working (theme 1), benefits of hybrid working (theme 2), impact on physical and mental health (theme 3), and gendered differences in experiences (theme 4).

Theme 1: Challenges of virtual working

Nine crucial challenges of working virtually have been identified from the responses of the interviewees to the questions related to communication, collaboration, supervision, and work effectiveness. These are increased online dependency, disruptions in internet connectivity, increased workload, longer working hours, detachment from the workplace, no fixed work schedules, ineffective supervision, lack of interaction and social support, and loneliness at home. These challenges influenced the work effectiveness and well-being of the employees who worked in hybrid arrangements.

Increased online dependency: All of the participants (26 out of 26) mentioned that they communicated with their colleagues and seniors through online communication platforms such as WhatsApp, messenger, email, Zoom, and sometimes through Microsoft Teams. For urgent communication, they call over the phone. This means communication with colleagues is mostly dependent on online platforms and as a result, work effectiveness is to a great extent dependent on the availability of internet.

Disruptions in internet connectivity: 23 out of 26 participants mentioned that they faced internet connectivity problems when they worked from home. This is because, in the office work structure, there is dedicated internet connectivity, whereas, at home employees need to arrange WiFi connectivity within their own capacity and availability. One respondent (M-26) stated:

"In the office, there is a dedicated network. But at home, I do not have this facility. I have to use a WiFi network, which most often gets disconnected."

Increased workload: 18 out of 26 participants mentioned that their workload increased when they started working in hybrid mode. One participant (M-20) indicated:

"During this pandemic, sometimes one or more of my colleagues get coronavirus infected. That's why sometimes workload increases."

Employees also find an increased level of workload due to a lack of support from colleagues, as indicated by one participant (M-10):

"In hybrid work, sometimes workload increases. This is because when I work in the office-space, I get support from my seniors and colleagues, which is difficult to get when I work from home."

Longer working hours: Most of the participants (18 out of 26) mentioned that they experienced longer working hours. Due to having an online facility to accomplish tasks, most often, employees were assigned tasks even after office hours which is reflected in the experience of one participant (M-7):

"When I work from home, I have to remain alert always because anytime boss may call on a meeting online. As a result, sometimes working hours increase."

Detachment from workplace: One of the major challenges of homeworking is that the home environment is different from the work environment. As a result, employees feel detached from the workplace. Most participants (17 out of 26) mentioned that while working from home they miss the workplace environment. One respondent shared (F-28):

"I really miss the work environment when I work from home because the home environment is different from the office environment. In the office, other people also work around me. When I work from home, sometimes I do not find other people online".

A feeling of detachment also comes from the absence of logistic support at home (2 out of 26 respondents). For example, one participant (F-19) mentioned:

"Some work I can do smoothly in the office. This is because, in the office setup, I get some logistics support."

No fixed work schedule: A significant number of employees (10 out of 26) experienced that a fixed work schedule was not maintained due to having the facility to work from home online. One respondent (F-6) stated:

"Work culture has changed now. Before this hybrid culture, I used to work in a definite work schedule, 9 am to 5 pm. But now no boundary for work time. As of now, we also can work online, sometimes, I have to work even after office hours. Sometimes a meeting is scheduled even at 11 pm."

Ineffective supervision: 10 out of 17 employees who supervise the work of subordinates mentioned that they find it ineffective supervising employees remotely from home. This is maybe because of loss of internet connectivity (M-2), or maybe because all types of work cannot be done remotely online (M-7). One respondent (F-6) mentioned:

"I feel it convenient to supervise the subordinates in on-site work. I can see them. I can give them directions in real-time. My job nature requires working as a team which is not feasible while working from home."

Lack of interaction and social support: Hybrid working reduces face-to-face interactions between colleagues. As a result, employees (10 out of 26) find it difficult to discuss and share any issue effectively with colleagues, and some employees (7 out of 26) find it difficult to seek suggestions and support from seniors and colleagues while working from home. For example, one respondent (M-17) stated:

"In the office, sometimes I can consult with seniors about any issue. I get the assistance of my colleagues. But at home, I have to do my work through self-supervision".

Loneliness while working from home: A significant number of respondents (10 out of 26) mentioned they feel lonely while working from home due to a lack of discussion, sharing, and interaction with colleagues. One participant (M-20) stated:

"When I go to my office, I meet my colleagues. We discuss any issues. It also works as recreation and refreshment. In the office, I can reach out to any of my colleagues when I need them to complete my tasks. But this is missing in the home environment. That's why I feel lonely when I work from home."

Theme 2: Benefits of hybrid working

Based on the responses of the participants to the interview questions, seven benefits of hybrid working have been identified which positively affect employees' well-being. The identified benefits of hybrid working are saving money, saving time, avoiding commuting-related exhaustion, ability to maintain family responsibilities, balancing work and family life, opportunities for personal care and development, and work-life balance.

Saving money: 18 out of 26 participants mentioned that reduced commutes to the workplace helped them save money. They can save the money that they have to spend on transportation costs. Ten participants mentioned that they also could save money that they had to spend on buying food during the days they work at the office space and buying formal clothes. For instance, one participant (M-27) mentioned:

"I can save the money spent on transportation, entertainment, lunch, and snacks on the days I work from home."

Saving time: Seventeen participants mentioned that on the days they work from home, they can save time needed for commuting to their workplace. Employees also do not need to wait for public transport. One participant (F-22) stated:

> "The distance between my home and workplace is quite long. I have to spend more than two hours commuting to my workplace. So, I can save this time when I work from home."

Avoiding commuting-related exhaustion: Fifteen participants identified that their weekly commute to the workplace was reduced in this hybrid work arrangement. Fourteen participants find the commute to the workplace exhausting due to either heavy traffic (7 out of 14), or pollution (2 out of 14). For example, one employee (F-21) described:

> "Commuting to the workplace is really tiring. I get relief from this when I work from home. I can save almost 3 hours each day I work from home."

Reduced commute to the workplace also helps the employees to avoid bad weather and reduces anxiety about reaching the workplace on time. One participant (F-19) mentioned:

> "In hybrid work as I do not need to commute to the workplace every day. It reduces my physical stress. I get relief from commuting through heavy traffic and anxiety about reaching the office on time."

Maintain family responsibilities: 50% of the respondents mention that now they can spend more time with their family in hybrid working arrangements. Fourteen participants who are married mention that in hybrid working, they can fulfill family responsibilities as they can save some time. One respondent (M-12) mentioned:

> "On the days I work from home, I can take care of my responsibilities to my family."

Balance work and family life: The opportunity to save time and maintain family responsibilities helps employees to balance work and family life (50% of respondents). One respondent (F-19) mentioned:

> "Hybrid working strengthens my bonding with family as I can spend more time with my family."

Another respondent (F-22) shared:

> "Instead of fully home working and fully on-site working in hybrid work I can properly balance my work and family life."

Table 1. Themes and sub-themes identified from interviews

References	Sub-theme	Main theme
"We communicate with colleagues mostly via WhatsApp and sometimes through messenger. Meetings are held using zoom or Microsoft team, Also pick up the phone when necessary. We have different groups for communication with seniors and colleagues". [M-26] plus 25 respondents.	Increased online dependency	Challenges of virtual working
"In the office, connectivity is better. But at home, as I use a WiFi connection, sometimes connectivity issue arises". [F-24] plus 22 respondents.	Disruptions in Internet Connectivity	
"As many offices started working through online we have to ensure technical support to them. As a result, sometimes, workload increases". [F-15] plus 17 respondents.	Increased workload	
"As we can work online, no work schedule is maintained. There is no fixed ending work time. It increases our working hours". [M-2] plus 17 respondents.	Longer working hours	
"I extremely feel detached from my workplace on the days I work from home". [M-26] plus 17 respondents.	Detachment from workplace	
"It is different from traditional office-based work. As an online work facility is there I have to multitask. Most often, work schedule is not maintained". [M-20] plus 9 respondents.	No fixed work schedule	
"When I work from home I find difficulties in monitoring the work	Ineffective supervision	

of subordinates". [M-27] plus 9 respondents.		
"I also feel detached from my workplace when I cannot reach my colleagues or seniors when I need them for any suggestions or decisions". [F-21] plus 16 respondents.	Lack of interaction and social support	
"Sometimes I feel lonely as I could not interact with my colleagues". [M-7] plus 9 respondents.	Loneliness while working from home	
"Yes, I can save money spent on commuting. Also, I can save money spent on lunch, snacks, etc. in the office". [F-21] plus 17 respondents.	Saving money	Benefits of hybrid working
"To some extent, it saves my time. I spend about 3 to 4 hours commuting to my workplace every day and returning back to home. I can save this time when I work from home". [M-10] plus 18 respondents.	Saving time	
"On the days I work in the workplace, due to heavy traffic I feel exhausted after commuting to the workplace". [M-13] plus 13 respondents.	Avoiding commuting-related exhaustion	
"2 days work from home helps me to address any family-related issues". [F-5] plus 13 respondents.	Maintain family responsibilities	
"Now I can spend more time with my family". [M-27] plus 12 respondents.	Balance work and family life	
"Now I have more time for my personal care. I can manage time for the gym, and work out. So, it positively affects my mental and physical health". [M-26] plus 12 respondents.	Personal care and development	
"I get the advantage of both onsite working and homeworking. I can make a good balance between work and family". [M-16] plus 10 respondents.	Work- life balance	
"When I work from home office schedule is not maintained. Always need to be alert that any time boss may assign any task. That's why I feel stressed". [M-11] plus 15 respondents.	Higher stress	Impact on physical and mental health
"When I work from home I do not feel lonely. Rather I get company of my family members". [F-22] plus 15 respondents.	Lower loneliness	
"When I worked from home, I gained extra weight due to lack of physical movement". [M-7] plus 7 respondents.	Reduced physical movement	
"When I work from home I can take care of my child. So, I do not find any work-family conflict. Rather, it is beneficial for me". [F-24] plus 4 respondents.	Child caring responsibilities	Gendered differences in experiences
"I have to multitask at home, cooking, taking care of my children keeping in mind about office work. Sometimes I cannot give my 100% to work". [F-29] plus 6 respondents.	Other family responsibilities	

Opportunities for personal care and development: Half of the respondents mentioned that in hybrid working, they are benefited as they get enough time for personal accomplishments (6 respondents), career development (4 respondents), and personal care (3 respondents). One respondent (F-23) mentioned:

"The benefit of this work practice is that I get some time for myself. I can do some physical exercise as there is more work flexibility".

Another participant (M-13) stated:

"I think the time I can save by working from home. I can use it for my personal development."

Work-life balance: Eleven participants mentioned that hybrid working improves their work-life balance as they find positive effects of hybrid working on their personal life, enabling them to take care of themselves. For example, one participant (M-26) stated:

"I can use my time more efficiently. I feel that this is a good arrangement for maintaining work-life balance."

Another respondent (F-21) shared:

"I can maintain my personal and professional life well because of hybrid working. It was not possible when I used to work fully in the office".

Theme 3: Impact on physical and mental health

Analyzing the responses of the participants three impacts on physical and mental health have been identified which are higher stress, lower feeling of loneliness, and reduced physical movement. These factors influence employees' well-being and work effectiveness.

Higher Stress: Sixteen participants identified increased stress while working from home. One of the reasons for increased stress is the inability to detach from work being at home, as one participant (F-22) stated:

"I feel stressed. This is because at times when I work from home if any family issues arise, I cannot concentrate on the family issue due to the urgency of my office work".

Increased workload and working without a fixed work schedule also increase stress while working from home. One respondent (F-5) stated:

"When I work from home sometimes it becomes difficult to maintain the work schedule."

Lower feeling of loneliness: Working from home enables employees to stay with family members. Sixteen respondents mentioned they do not feel lonely when they work from home. One respondent (F-3) shared:

"When we work from home, we are always connected with online platforms. We never feel that we are not working in the same space. As we are passing an unprecedented time, we always try to connect with our colleagues to know about their conditions. I also came in touch with my childhood friends after a long time during this pandemic."

Effects of reduced physical movement: Eight respondents mentioned that hybrid working reduced their physical movement. As a result, some employees (4 out of 8) identified that they gained extra weight due to a lack of mobility. One participant (M-14) stated:

"On the days I work in the office, it works as physical exercise. But on the days I work from home, physical movement reduces. As a result, I suffer from back pain."

Table 2. Factors that affect well-being positively

Sl. No.	Well-being outcomes	References
1	Saving money	18
2	Saving time	17
3	Avoiding commuting-related exhaustion	14
4	Ability to maintain family responsibilities	14
5	Work-life balance	11
6	Workload decreased	7
7	Personal accomplishments	6
8	Ability to maintain caring responsibilities	5
9	Career development opportunity	4
10	Reduced stress	4
11	Personal care	3
12	Reduced leave of absence from office	2
13	Avoid pollution	2
14	Feeling safe	2

Table 3. Factors that affect well-being negatively

Sl. No.	Negative outcome of hybrid working	References
1	Dependency on online for work accomplishments	26
2	Disruptions in internet connectivity	23
3	Increased workload	18
4	Longer working hours	18
5	Feeling detached from the workplace	17
6	Increased stress	16
7	No fixed work schedule	10
8	Lack of discussion and sharing with colleagues	10
9	Loneliness	10
10	Ineffective supervision online	9
11	Reduced physical movement	8
12	Lack of suggestions and support from seniors and colleagues	7
13	No work-family boundary	6
14	Work-family conflict	4
15	Weight gain	4
16	Difficulties in reaching out colleagues online	3
17	Required to be connected online	3
18	Eyesight problem	2

Theme 4: Gendered differences in experiences

Based on the same interview schedule for both female and male employees, the following themes have been generated.

Child caring responsibilities: The findings of the interview of the employees indicate that female employees have to take care of young children and aged parents while working from home. 10 out 13 female employees are married, and 4 out of 10 who have children below the age of 10 years mentioned that they had to take care of their children at home while working. One of the female participants mentioned that she had to take care of her aged parents, who had health issues. As a result, she could not concentrate at work while working from home (F-28). Another respondent (F-15) mentioned:

"When I work from home, I can take care of my child. On the days I work from home, I do not feel anxious about who will take care of my child. I can simultaneously work and take care of my child. I can balance both work and family responsibilities".

Other Family responsibilities: Other than caring responsibilities, female employees also need to take care of other family responsibilities such as cooking and doing household chores (7 out of 26 participants). For example, one female respondent (F-29) said:

"When I work from home, I have to multitask. I have to take care of my children. I have to cook. At the same time, I have to think about my office tasks. Sometimes I cannot give a hundred percent to work."

On the contrary, working from home is beneficial for some female employees who think that being at home, they can take care of family responsibilities. For instance, one participant (F-19) stated:

"When I work from home, I do multitask. At home, I can take care of my child. Also, I can take care of other family responsibilities. While working from home, I can simultaneously do both office work and my family work."

5. Discussion and Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that though there are a number of challenges that affect the well-being of employees, employees also benefit from this hybrid work arrangement. I recognize that many of the characteristics of homeworking may be similar to the findings of the prior research on flexible working. However, the objective of this research is to explore whether similar results are generated for hybrid working. This study was conducted in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic on a public sector organization in Bangladesh. After analyzing the collected data, I have identified some findings, a few of which are not similar to that of previous studies.

The first research question of this study is concerned with the effect of hybrid working on employees' well-being in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Effects on well-being identified in this study are presented in Tables 2 and 3. The findings indicate that hybrid working positively affects the well-being of employees though there are evidences of the negative effect of hybrid working as well. Unlike previous studies, this study's results indicate that hybrid working provides employees with the advantages of both homeworking and onsite working. As a result, employees' work-to-family life was not significantly negatively affected. Rather, hybrid working provides employees with some benefits of reduced daily commuting, including saving money spent on commuting (69% of respondents) and reducing commuting times (65% of respondents). These findings are consistent with the findings of Purwanto *et al.*, (2020), Bloom *et al.*, (2015), and Lapierre *et al.*, (2016). A few of the employees also mentioned that they needed fewer sick leaves and casual leaves. This result is also supported by Bloom *et al.*, (2015).

Similar to the findings of earlier studies on homeworking, this study's results suggest that hybrid working improves the work-life balance of the employees by allowing them to maintain family responsibilities (54% of respondents), spend more time with family (50% of respondents), and balance between work-family life (42% of respondents). These results are consistent with the study results of Egole *et al.*, (2020), Cartmill, (2020), Allen *et al.*, (2013), and Kelliher and Anderson (2008).

Unlike the existing research, this study finds that hybrid working helps employees avoid daily exhaustion related to long commuting and heavy traffic and avoid pollution. In the context of the pandemic, employees also felt safe working in this arrangement. Hybrid working also benefits employees by providing them the opportunity to use the saved time for their personal care and development (50% of respondents). Unlike the studies of Palmbo, (2020) and Bellman and Hubler (2021) on homeworking, the findings suggest that hybrid working positively affects work-life balance.

Despite the positive effects of hybrid working, most of the respondents also mentioned that they experience higher stress (62% of respondents) and feel detached from the workplace (65% of respondents) mainly due to online dependency and disruptions in internet connectivity (88% of respondents), increased workload (69% of respondents), longer working hours (69% of respondents), no fixed work schedule (38% of respondents), lack of suggestions and support from seniors and colleagues (27% of respondents), and no work-family boundary (23% of respondents). Similarly, earlier studies also identified stress (Niebuhr *et al.*, 2022), increased workload (Wang *et al.* 2021; Kelliher and Anderson, 2008), longer working hours (Wheatly, 2012), and lack of social support (Cartmill, 2020) as factors that negatively affect the well-being of employees who work from home.

One of the significant results of this study is the effects of loneliness, defined by Rook (1984) as a distressing psychological state that makes the individual feel alienated, deprived, and insecure in his or her own social environment (Mohapatra *et al.* 2020). 62% of respondents mentioned that they do not feel lonely as they stay with their family members whereas 48% of respondents also mentioned that they feel lonely as they miss the interaction with their colleagues. The later result is consistent with the study results of Wood *et al.* (2021) and Mohapatra *et al.* (2020). No significant negative effect on physical health has been detected in this study. Only 31% of respondents mentioned due to reduced physical movement and continuous sitting before the computer screen while working from home, they gained extra weight and suffered from back pain and eyesight problems.

Despite having experienced stress due to increased workload, longer working hours with no fixed schedules, and feeling of detachment, about 77% of the respondents said that they were satisfied with the hybrid working. These findings imply that the positive effects of hybrid working outweigh the negative effects of it. Employees' higher satisfaction with hybrid working even having some difficulties in work effectiveness is probably because this work practice provides both opportunities for working from home and working onsite.
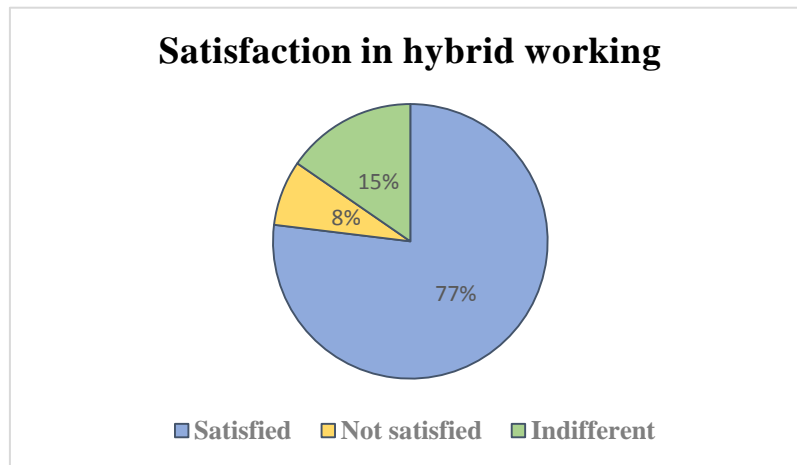
Chart 1. Employee satisfaction in hybrid working

The second research question of this study is concerned with identifying the difference in experiences of male and female employees in hybrid working. The findings of this study do not clearly differentiate between the experiences of female and male employees working in hybrid during this pandemic except for childcare responsibilities and family responsibilities in terms of doing household chores. This gender difference in experience is related to social structure (ILO, 2021). In the social structure of Bangladesh, it is expected that women will take care of their children, take care of the elderly person at home, and do household activities. In this context, female employees experienced multitasking while working from home. The opportunity to work from home reduces the anxiety of female employees who have children below the age of 10 years and aged parents at home.

Thus, the findings of this study indicate that factors such as online dependency, disruptions in internet connectivity, longer working hours, no fixed work schedule, detachment from the workplace, increased workload, and lack of interaction with colleagues and seniors and their support negatively affect well-being and increase employees' stress. Female employees' experience of working from home is characterized by their additional involvement with child-caring responsibilities and household activities. In addition, in hybrid working employees get opportunities to work both onsite and from home, thus benefits from both onsite and work from home which enables them to balance work and family life.

Although data collection and analysis of this research has been done with utmost care to ensure confidentiality, reliability, and credibility, it has some limitations. First, only one of the public sector organisations has been selected as a sample of the study. Second, the selected sample of the study is knowledge workers who already have the ability to handle tech-based devices. Third, individual traits, skills, and household composition have not been taken into consideration for analysis. Four, questions related to the nature of hybrid working and the kind of family responsibilities women are to perform to determine the difference in the experience of male and female employees could have been added to the interview schedule. Five, a mixed method, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative analysis would provide a better tool to measure the well-being outcome of hybrid working. Six, since hybrid working is a mix of homeworking and on-site working, measurement of differences between both on-site and homeworking might provide better results. Further research can be carried out considering these points.

The findings of the research indicate that hybrid working has multiple positive effects on employees though some factors influence well-being negatively. Based on the findings, I would advocate for implementing hybrid working widely, especially in organisations where everyday physical presence is not a prerequisite. This study suggests that hybrid working may be an effective motivational strategy for employees by providing them with a healthy work environment. Furthermore, hybrid working not only benefits the employees but also benefits the organisations through reducing energy and maintenance expenditures, as mentioned by some of the interview participants. In addition, this work practice also reduces employees' sick leave for minor reasons and for accomplishing family responsibilities. Therefore, the implication of this study is that hybrid working can be used as an effective tool for reducing absenteeism, improving work-life balance and maintaining family life. The

findings of this study also suggest that employers should consider this work practice as an effective mechanism for facilitating the well-being of employees, particularly for women in order to mainstream them in the workforce, especially in the developing countries. Hybrid working arrangements also provide the employees both opportunities to work on-site and from home, which improves their work-life balance. Therefore, employers can implement hybrid working where employees can work full of energy without exhaustion and a practice that will promote employees' well-being. In implementing this work practice, employers also need to recognize the decisive influence of effective technical functionality of equipment at home, such as online connectivity, smart devices, etc. This is because this study finds that frequent disruptions in internet connectivity negatively affect effective communication leading to loneliness and detachment.

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Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Schedule

Part 1: Questions related to well-being and gendered outcome

1. How long have you been working in this organization?
2. Do you supervise employees?
    a. If yes, how many employees work under your supervision?
3. Could you please describe your experience of hybrid working?
    a. How have these work arrangements affected your personal life?
    b. What is the effect on your physical and mental health?
    c. Do you find any effect on your stress level?
    d. Do you find any effect on the workload?
    e. Do you feel lonely when you work from home?
    f. Do you feel detached from your workplace?
    g. How do you communicate with your colleagues?
    h. How do you communicate with your seniors or supervisors or reporting authority?
    i. Do you ever have internet connectivity issues?
    j. Do you find any problem in supervising your subordinates?
    k. Do you think these work arrangements help you financially?
        i. Does this save your money?
    l. Do you think hybrid work arrangements save your time?
    m. Does it affect your commute to the workplace, positively or negatively?
    n. How does this work practice affect your family life?
        i. Do you find any issues, like work-family conflict, etc.?
    o. Do you want to add anything related to your well-being?
4. Overall, how would you differentiate hybrid working from your usual onsite working? Are you satisfied with hybrid working arrangements?

Part 2: Demographic questions

5. Gender:
6. How old are you?
7. Are you married?
8. Do you have children? How old are they?

Appendix B: Interviewee Details

Interview participants	Tenure in current organisation	Gender	Age	Supervision	No of subordinates	Marital status	No. of children	Child's age below 10 yrs	Child's age above 10 yrs
HRMT_interviewee_F_3	5 years	Female	31	yes	7	Unmarried	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_5	4 years	Female	34	no	0	Unmarried	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_6	5 years	Female	36	yes	15	Married	2	2	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_8	1 years 6 months	Female	36	yes	2	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_9	7 years	Female	56	yes	3	Married	2	0	2
HRMT_interviewee_F_15	3 Years	Female	35	No	0	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_19	10 Years	Female	35	yes	8	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_21	3 Years	Female	30	no	0	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_22	16 Years	Female	41	no	0	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_23	6 years 6 months	Female	51	Yes	20	Married	2	0	2
HRMT_interviewee_F_24	9 Years	Female	34	Yes	2	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_28	8 years	Female	32	no	0	Unmarried	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_F_29	15 Years	Female	38	no	0	Married	2	2	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_2	5 years	Male	32	yes	5	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_4	4 years	Male	32	yes	8	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_7	8 years	Male	38	yes	2	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_10	5 years	Male	38	yes	4	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_11	3 Years	Male	29	no	0	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_12	4 years	Male	29	no	0	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_13	7 years	Male	32	yes	5	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_14	4 years	Male	29	yes	4	Married	0	0	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_16	9 Years	Male	36	yes	2	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_17	4 years	Male	30	yes	2	Married	1	1	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_20	10 Years	Male	40	yes	17	Married	2	2	0
HRMT_interviewee_M_26	10 Years	Male	41	yes	10	Married	1	0	1
HRMT_interviewee_M_27	5 years	Male	41	yes	20	Married	2	1	1

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