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**CHANGES IN WORK HOURS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC BY SEX,  
MARITAL STATUS, AND PARENTAL STATUS**

by

Margaret K. Hayes

\* \* \* \* \*

Submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for  
Honors in the Department of Economics

UNION COLLEGE  
June 2022

## **ABSTRACT**

HAYES, MARGARET K. Changes in Work Hours During the Covid-19 Pandemic by Sex, Marital Status, and Parental Status. Department of Economics, June 2022.

ADVISOR: Dr. Younghwan Song

In the past several decades, there has been a cultural movement towards women being employed in the labor force rather than working in the home. With the Covid-19 pandemic, as many workers began to work from home, boundaries between home and work became less clear. Using pooled cross-sectional data from the 2019-2020 American Time Use Survey I examine how the work hours of different groups were impacted during the pandemic, with respect to sex, marital status, and parental status. I find that work hours decreased most significantly for partnered mothers who did not work from home. Partnered mothers likely reduced their hours in response to heightened childcare needs, as their spouses continued working their usual hours. My findings indicate that the pandemic contributed to inequalities in employment between men and women. Now, with most schools in America once again holding classes in person, less time is needed for childcare activities. Future policy should be aimed at getting partnered mothers to increase their hours or rejoin the workforce, as they now have more flexibility to do so.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	iv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
A. Relevance of the Pandemic	1
B. Existing Literature	2
Chapter Two: Economic Theory	5
A. Reservation Wage	5
B. Opportunity Cost of Labor	6
Chapter Three: Methodology	8
A. Econometric Models	8
B. American Time Use Survey	14
C. Sample Selection	16
D. Descriptive Statistics	17
Chapter Four: Results	19
A. Regression Analysis	19
B. Summary of Findings	24
Chapter Five: Conclusions	27
A. Main Findings	27
B. Suggestions for Future Research	28
C. Policy Implications	28
Bibliography	30
Tables	33

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Descriptive Statistics, ATUS 2019-2020	33
Table 2:	Work Hours of Employed & All (Employed and Unemployed) Respondents, ATUS 2019-2020	34
Table 3:	Works Hours of Employed, ATUS 2019-200	35
Table 4:	Work Hours of Employed, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020	36
Table 5:	Work Hours of Employed, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020	37
Table 6:	Work Hours of Employed, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic and Occupation & Industry, ATUS 2019-2022	38
Table 7:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Respondents, ATUS 2019-2020	39
Table 8:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020	40
Table 9:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020	41
Table 10:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, ATUS 2019-2020	42
Table 11:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020	43
Table 12:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020	44
Table 13:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic and Occupation & Industry, ATUS 2019-2020	45
Table 14:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, ATUS 2019-2020	46
Table 15:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020	47

Table 16:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020	48
Table 17:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	49
Table 18:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	50
Table 19:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	51
Table 20:	Work Hours of Employed Parents, Controlling for Occupation & Industry, Remote Work during Pandemic and Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	52
Table 21:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	53
Table 22:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	54
Table 23:	Work Hours of Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020	55

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### *A. Relevance of the Pandemic*

When the United States was hit by the Covid-19 outbreak in March 2020, it drastically altered people's lives in various ways. As the country went into lockdown in order to minimize the spread of the virus, millions lost their jobs (Smith, Edwards, and Duong 2021). Among those who remained employed, many had to adjust to doing their work remotely rather than on-site.

For families, there was an obscuring of the division between professional and home life. As students switched to attending classes online from the safety of their homes rather than in classrooms, parents could no longer rely on school staff supervising their children during weekdays, and often had to split their attention between their children and their work.

The pandemic caused substantial changes to the way people work. In this paper, I am interested in determining if people were more heavily impacted depending on sex, marital status, and parental status. I will accomplish this by examining the work hours of groups that are categorized according to these traits and how they changed during the Covid-19 pandemic, while controlling for characteristics such as race, ethnicity, occupation, industry, and education level.

## *B. Existing Literature*

Recent research has explored how women allocate their time differently than men. Women, especially married mothers, do more housework and childcare work than men, in general, in the time that they are at home (Pepin, Sayer, and Casper 2018; Pabilonia and Vernon 2021).

During the pandemic, there was greater job loss for women than for men. This was in part due to women's greater presence in occupations and industries in which working from home is not as feasible, such as hospitality and leisure (Alon et al. 2021; Hensvik, Le Barbanchon, and Rathelot 2020).

Adams-Prassl et al. (2020) find that, even within occupations, women are able to do a smaller share of work tasks from home than men. Part of this finding may be related to the childcare gap between mothers and fathers. Studies have conflicting conclusions about how exactly the parental gender gap in childcare changed, but it is consistently found that mothers did most of the childcare work during the pandemic (Sevilla and Smith 2020; Boll, Müller, and Schüller 2021; Yamamura and Tsustsui 2021). Mothers were doing a greater portion of childcare activities than fathers, and there was also more childcare work to be done, with children spending more time at home.

This is evident in the findings of studies on the changes in mothers' hours and employment levels during the pandemic. Fuller and Qian (2021) find that in Canada, when schools closed, mothers often decreased their work hours to take care of the children.

Three studies quite closely relate to my research topic. Lofton, Petrosky-Nadeau, and Seitelman (2021) use data from the U.S. Current Population Survey in addition to



data on school closures from the Household Pulse Survey to examine the relationship between school disruptions and parents' labor supply decisions. They find that the employment and labor force participation rates of fathers did not experience as much of a decline as those of mothers, and even of men and women without children. The employment and labor force participation rates of mothers experienced the most severe decline and have not been recovering as rapidly compared to other groups as the economy opens back up.

Collins et al. (2021) analyze Current Population Survey data to examine the effects of the pandemic specifically on the employment of dual-earner parents who are married. Their findings indicate that the work hours of women with young children decreased by at least four times the decrease in the hours of men with young children, contributing to a significant enlargement of the gender gap in work hours. Neither Collins et al. (2021) or Lofton, Petrosky-Nadeau, and Seitelman (2021), however, include analysis of the hours of single parents.

Kalenkoski and Pabilonia (2020), like the other two studies I have just described, use data from the Current Population Survey, but they look at how employment and work hours changed for self-employed individuals during the lockdown. They find that, among self-employed workers, married men were more likely to be working than married women, but single men were less likely to be working than single women. They also find that employed men with young children decreased their work hours more than men without children. While Kalenkoski and Pabilonia (2020) take marital status and parental status into account in their research, their study focuses specifically on self-employed workers.

In my paper, I add to the contributions of Kalenkoski and Pabilonia (2020) by using a larger scope and looking across all occupations in the labor force, rather than only self-employed workers. I use data from the American Time Use Survey to perform regressions which show the effect of Covid-19 on the hours worked and analyze the results by sex, marital status, and parental status.

In this paper I will first review economic theory that relates to my topic. I will then describe the data source I use and how I apply it in my econometric models. After that, I will describe the results of my regressions and highlight key findings. Finally, I will discuss the implications of my findings.

## **CHAPTER TWO: ECONOMIC THEORY**

The pandemic caused shifts in both the demand and supply of labor. In this chapter, I present two concepts, reservation wage and the opportunity cost, which play a role in labor supply, and explain their implications for my research.

### *A. Reservation Wage*

Reservation wage is a concept that can contribute to the understanding of some of the changes in the labor market. An individual's reservation wage is the minimum pay rate they are willing to accept for a job, assuming that they are currently seeking employment (Brunel 2014). Changes in reservation wage can have important implications for the labor market. If a person's reservation wage increases, they require a higher pay offer than before to be willing to take a job. They are less compelled to supply labor if the compensation for it does not meet their standards. Conversely, if a person's reservation wage decreases, they have lowered their requirements and are willing to accept a lower pay than before to work.

As a result of the lockdown, reservation wages appear to have increased. In its Survey of Consumer Expectations, the Federal Reserve Bank of New York finds that, in July 2020, the average reservation wage had risen about two-thousand dollars from July of the previous year (Federal Reserve Bank of New York 2020). Average reservation wage increased among both men and women, but it rose the most significantly among men, along with individuals younger than 45 years of age. The average reservation wage of women increased by less than two-thousand dollars, while that of men increased by

more than five-thousand dollars (Federal Reserve Bank of New York 2021). This suggests that women increased their pay requirements to a lesser degree than men. The average reservation wage of women is consistently lower than that of men, which can possibly be attributed to both occupational differences and the gender pay gap.

Men and younger people became particularly less inclined to supply labor during the pandemic if the pay offer was not sufficiently high (Federal Reserve Bank of New York 2020). I suspect that the remarkable increase in the average reservation wage of people below the age of 45 is related to the fact that individuals in this age range are more likely to have young children than people older than that. During the pandemic, their reservation wages may have increased because there were greater opportunity costs related to time available to be allocated to childcare.

These findings related to reservation wage may suggest that I will find that unemployment increased for both men and women during the pandemic, but more considerably among men. If their wage requirements increase, they are less likely to accept job offers and are more likely to be unemployed. Since the increase in reservation wage was greatest for men, this may be reflected in higher unemployment among men during the pandemic.

### *B. Opportunity Cost of Labor*

The opportunity cost of labor may play a role in my findings related to parental status. The opportunity cost of labor is essentially the value lost from an hour spent on paid labor instead of other activities. If the value of non-market activities increases, the

opportunity cost of labor will increase. An increase in the opportunity cost of labor would encourage people to work less.

The opportunity cost of labor may suggest that parents were more likely to reduce their work hours during the pandemic than people without children. When Covid struck, the value of non-market activities rose. More hours spent on paid work took away from time that could be spent on childcare. This was not necessarily the case prior to the pandemic because children were being supervised by teachers and other school staff during most of the time that parents were working. The need for parents to supply childcare work was greater during the pandemic as children took classes from home. This suggests that, due to higher opportunity costs, parents likely decreased their work hours during the pandemic in order to allocate more time to childcare.

## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

### *A. Econometric Models*

In my regressions, I use variations of the following three equations:

#### **Model 1:**

*Hours worked*

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{COVID} + \beta_2 \text{WFH} + \beta_3 \text{WFH} * \text{COVID} + \beta_4 \text{RACE} \\
 &+ \beta_5 \text{ETHNICITY} + \beta_6 \text{FEMALE} + \beta_7 \text{PARTNERED} + \beta_8 \text{CHILDNUM} \\
 &+ \beta_9 \text{AGE} + \beta_{10} \text{AGE\_SQ} + \beta_{11} \text{EDU} + \beta_{12} \text{OCC} + \beta_{13} \text{IND} + \beta_{14} \text{MSA} \\
 &+ \beta_{15} \text{STATE} + \beta_{16} \text{HOLIDAY} + \beta_{17} \text{DAY} + \beta_{18} \text{MONTH} + \beta_{19} \text{YEAR} + \varepsilon.
 \end{aligned}$$

#### **Model 2:**

*Hours worked*

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{COVID} + \beta_2 \text{WFH} + \beta_3 \text{WFH} * \text{COVID} + \beta_4 \text{RACE} \\
 &+ \beta_5 \text{ETHNICITY} + \beta_6 \text{AGE} + \beta_7 \text{AGE\_SQ} + \beta_8 \text{EDU} + \beta_9 \text{OCC} + \beta_{10} \text{IND} \\
 &+ \beta_{11} \text{MSA} + \beta_{12} \text{STATE} + \beta_{13} \text{HOLIDAY} + \beta_{14} \text{DAY} + \beta_{15} \text{MONTH} \\
 &+ \beta_{16} \text{YEAR} + \varepsilon.
 \end{aligned}$$

#### **Model 3:**

*Hours worked*

$$\begin{aligned}
 &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{COVID} + \beta_2 \text{WFH} + \beta_3 \text{WFH} * \text{COVID} + \beta_4 \text{CHILDNUM} \\
 &+ \beta_5 \text{CHILDLT6} + \beta_6 \text{CHILD6TO12} + \beta_7 \text{CHILDLT6} * \text{COVID} \\
 &+ \beta_8 \text{CHILD6TO12} * \text{COVID} + \beta_9 \text{RACE} + \beta_{10} \text{ETHNICITY} + \beta_{11} \text{AGE} \\
 &+ \beta_{12} \text{AGE\_SQ} + \beta_{13} \text{EDU} + \beta_{14} \text{OCC} + \beta_{15} \text{IND} + \beta_{16} \text{MSA} + \beta_{17} \text{STATE} \\
 &+ \beta_{18} \text{HOLIDAY} + \beta_{19} \text{DAY} + \beta_{20} \text{MONTH} + \beta_{21} \text{YEAR} + \varepsilon,
 \end{aligned}$$

where  $\varepsilon$  is an error term.

#### **Dependent Variable:**

*Hours worked*

hours worked in a day, in minutes.

#### **Independent Variables:**

Key Variables:

*COVID*

1 if the data was collected after the start of the Covid-19 pandemic, 0 otherwise.

*WFH*

1 if the person works from home, 0 otherwise.

<i>WFH * COVID</i>	1 if the person worked from home specifically during Covid, 0 otherwise.
<i>PARTNERED</i>	1 if the person is married or has an unmarried partner, 0 otherwise.
<i>FEMALE</i>	1 if the person is female, 0 otherwise.
<u>Metropolitan Status:</u> (Reference group: individuals who live in nonmetropolitan areas)	
<i>MSA</i>	1 if the person lives in a metropolitan area, 0 otherwise.
<u>Race/Ethnicity:</u> (Reference group: non-Hispanic white respondents)	
<i>BLACK</i>	1 if the respondent is black, 0 otherwise.
<i>NATIVE</i>	1 if the respondent is American Indian or Alaska Native, 0 otherwise.
<i>ASIAN</i>	1 if the respondent is Asian, 0 otherwise.
<i>HAWAIIAN</i>	1 if the respondent is Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, 0 otherwise.
<i>OTHER</i>	1 if the respondent identifies as more than one race, 0 otherwise.
<i>HISPANIC</i>	1 if the respondent is Hispanic, 0 otherwise.
<u>Occupation (main job):</u> (Reference group: Occupations in farming, fishing, or forestry)	
<i>MGMT</i>	1 if the person works in management, professional, or similar occupations, 0 otherwise.
<i>SERVICE</i>	1 if the individual works in a service occupation, 0 otherwise.
<i>SALES</i>	1 if the person has a sales or office occupation, 0 otherwise.
<i>CONSTRUCTION</i>	1 if the person works in construction or maintenance, 0 otherwise.
<i>PRODUCTION</i>	1 if the person works in production or transportation, 0 otherwise.
<u>Industry (main job):</u> (Reference group: Agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting industry)	
<i>INDMINING</i>	1 if the person works in the mining industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDCONSTRUCT</i>	1 if the person works in the construction industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDMANUFAC</i>	1 if the person works in the manufacturing industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDRETAIL</i>	1 if the person works in the wholesale and retail trade industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDTRANSP</i>	1 if the person works in the transportation and utilities industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDINFO</i>	1 if the person works in the information industry, 0 otherwise.

<i>INDFINANCE</i>	1 if the person works in the finance industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDBUSINESS</i>	1 if the person works in the business and professional industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDEDUC</i>	1 if the person works in the education and health services industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDHOSP</i>	1 if the person works in the leisure and hospitality industry, 0 otherwise.
<i>INDSERV</i>	1 if the person works in the services industry (besides those previously mentioned), 0 otherwise.
<i>INDADMIN</i>	1 if the person works in the public administration industry, 0 otherwise.
<u>Hourly/Non-Hourly Status:</u>	
<i>HRLY</i>	1 if the person is paid an hourly wage, 0 otherwise.
<i>NONHRLY</i>	1 if the person is paid non-hourly, 0 otherwise.
<u>Education Level:</u> (Reference group: Individuals with education level lower than high school)	
<i>HSGRAD</i>	1 if the person graduated from high school, 0 otherwise.
<i>SOMECOLLEGE</i>	1 if the person received some college education, 0 otherwise.
<i>COLLEGEGRAD</i>	1 if the person graduated from college, 0 otherwise.
<i>HIGHEDU</i>	1 if the person has a higher education level than a college degree, 0 otherwise.
<u>Age of Youngest Child of Respondent:</u> (Reference group: Respondents whose youngest child is age 13 or above)	
<i>CHILDLT6</i>	1 if the person's youngest child is 6 years old or younger, 0 otherwise.
<i>CHILD6TO12</i>	1 if the person's youngest child is between 6 and 12 years of age, 0 otherwise.
<u>Additional Control Variables:</u>	
<i>CHILDNUM</i>	Control for number of children an individual has.
<i>AGE</i>	Control for age of the respondent.
<i>AGE_SQ</i>	Control for age squared.
<i>STATE</i>	Control for state.
<i>HOLIDAY</i>	Control for holiday.
<i>DAY</i>	Control for day of the week.
<i>MONTH</i>	Control for month of the year.
<i>YEAR</i>	Control for year.



I outline the three main econometric models that I use in my study. Model 1 is used to find the descriptive statistics and understand some general patterns. Model 2 is used in regressions on people without children, while Model 3 is used for those with children. I will use several different versions of these equations which will have varying degrees of control variables applied. The purpose of the models is to reveal how varying circumstances with respect to sex, marital status, and parental status influence the hours people worked during the pandemic.

The dependent variable in all models is the time a person spends on paid work in a day, in minutes. I will be categorizing data by the sex, parental status, and marital status of respondents, so that the dependent variable reflects the work hours for specific groups. This will allow clearer insight into how the independent variables affect each group differently, while also allowing comparison of the groups.

The independent variables in the models will illustrate how work hours were impacted by different characteristics or conditions. There are a few key independent variables and several control variables.

COVID is an important independent variable. It applies to any data gathered after the American Time Use Survey resumed its interviewing after the lockdown on May 10, 2020. I expect that COVID will have a significant negative impact on the work hours of all groups. The country experienced a shock when the pandemic struck, and restrictions were put in place. Many businesses were forced to close, at least temporarily, pushing their workers into unemployment. If a considerable number of people become unemployed, the average hours worked declines. I expect that this will be reflected in the regression results.

During the pandemic, there was a massive shift towards working from home. I include two variables that control for this. The variable WFH, which indicates if a person worked from home, will control for impacts on work hours related to the type of work environment. WFH\*COVID controls specifically for remote work during the pandemic. I expect that, if people worked from home, their work hours were less negatively impacted by the pandemic, and that this will be shown in the form of positive coefficients on both variables.

Another key independent variable is PARTNERED. It will show the effect of being partnered, rather than single, on hours worked. This variable will potentially have a small negative effect on hours worked, because it is possible that partnered people work fewer hours if their spouse works a large number of hours and has high enough earnings to support the both of them.

The variable FEMALE will show how work hours differ by sex. I expect that this variable will have a negative impact on hours worked because, in general, women are less likely to be working than men. While there are more women in the workforce than in the past, there is still greater societal pressure on men to work and be breadwinners than there is on women.

I include five dummy variables for occupation in my regression, which specify the type of occupation the respondent's main job is (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2021). These will serve as control variables. I expect that occupations in production and transportation experienced larger declines in hours during the pandemic than other occupations, such as management. In addition, I include twelve dummy variables for

industry. The controls for industry serve a similar purpose to those for occupation by accounting for the type of work a person does.

There are also control variables for education level, which consider variations in the amount of education received. I expect that people with lower levels of education work a larger number of hours than people with higher education, because low-wage jobs tend to be the most accessible jobs for people with low education, so they may have to work longer hours in order to make enough money to afford necessities. Another control variable that relates to the type of work a person does is HRLY. This dummy variable indicates that a person receives an hourly wage for their job, as opposed to a salary. I expect that this variable will have a negative effect on hours worked, because many of the types of jobs that pay hourly wages cannot be done remotely, so unemployment would rise.

In addition, I include control variables for race and ethnicity. There may be inequalities in hours worked for some ethnicities related to income inequality. YEAR, MONTH, DAY, and HOLIDAY all control for differences in the timing of the data collection. The inclusion of the variable MONTH controls for potential seasonal effects. HOLIDAY likely has a negative effect on hours worked because people tend to work less, if at all, on holidays.

The variables STATE and MSA control for the area or type of area that respondents live in. I include variables for age and age-squared, which both control for effects on hours worked correlated with variations in age.

Additionally, I include controls that pertain specifically to parents. These will be applied only in regressions on parents. CHILDNUM controls for the number of children a

parent has. I expect that this will have a negative impact on hours worked, because a larger number of children likely demands a larger amount of time to be spent on childcare.

I include controls for the age of the youngest child the respondent has. CHILDLT6 indicates that the youngest child of the respondent is younger than six years of age. I expect that this variable will have a negative effect on hours worked. Younger children require more time for childcare because they are not as self-sufficient as older children. CHILD6TO12 indicates that the youngest child the respondent has is between the ages of six and twelve. I expect this variable to have a negative effect on hours worked, but less significance than CHILDLT6.

Finally, I include interaction terms between the age of the youngest child and Covid. More time was needed for childcare activities during the pandemic because children were home with their parents more often. Parents could not rely on other sources of childcare. Thus, I expect that these interaction terms will have negative effects on hours worked.

### *B. The American Time Use Survey*

In my paper, I use pooled cross-sectional data from the American Time Use Survey for the years 2019 and 2020 to examine the changes in the work hours of different groups during the pandemic.

The American Time Use Survey, the data source for my thesis, is a study run by the U.S. Census Bureau that investigates the activities of Americans, including for how long, where, and with whom the activities are done. The individuals chosen to take part in

the survey are randomly selected from households that participated in the Current Population Survey (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 222). Individuals must be at least fifteen years old to do the survey (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 222).

The ATUS uses computer-assisted telephone interviewing, in which participants are called the day after their assigned day (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 223). When they are called, an interviewer requests that they thoroughly describe their day, from 4AM of the previous day (their assigned day) to 4AM of the current day (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 223). The amount of time spent on each activity and the people the activity was done with are recorded as well (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 223). The activities listed by the individual are coded in a three-tier format, with the top tier being more general categories, the second tier being more specific, and the bottom tier being the most specific (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 223).

Demographic data on the respondents, such as sex and race, that was recorded in the Current Population Survey is used for the ATUS, but information is also updated (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 224). The ATUS also records and updates information related to employment, such as hours worked, industry, occupation, and earnings of both the respondent and their spouse (Hamermesh, Frazis, and Stewart 2005, 224). I use the American Time Use Survey as my data source because it contains data on the number of hours Americans allocate to paid work, along with useful demographic information on individuals.

### *C. Sample Selection*

In my regressions, I use data for the years of 2019 and 2020 in order to see the overall trend in hours worked over the time period before the pandemic and compare it to after the pandemic struck. Since there is no ATUS data from mid-March to mid-May of 2020, I use the weighting variable TU20FWGT to make data comparable between 2019 and 2020. I use data on individuals between the ages of 18 and 64 whose labor force status is either employed (at work or absent) or unemployed (on layoff or looking for work).

I use two samples in my regressions. Firstly, I use an employed sample made up of 9,693 individuals. The use of a sample of only employed individuals will allow me to see the changes in hours among those who remained employed during the pandemic.

Secondly, I use a sample of both employed and unemployed people, which is comprised of 10,193 respondents. Including unemployed individuals in the sample will additionally show drops in work hours across the groups due to unemployment.

I separate data into eight groups based on sex, marital status, and parental status: single childless men (1,587 respondents in the employed sample and 1,720 in the sample of employed and unemployed), single childless women (1,435 employed, 1,542 unemployed or unemployed), partnered childless men (1,278 employed, 1,320 employed or unemployed), partnered childless women (1,166 employed, 1,210 employed or unemployed), single fathers (180 employed, 196 employed or unemployed), single mothers (600 employed, 654 employed or unemployed), partnered fathers (1,914 employed, 1,960 employed or unemployed), and partnered mothers (1,533 employed, 1,591 employed or unemployed). The number of individuals observed are consistently smaller in the employed sample because there is unemployment in each group.

#### *D. Descriptive Statistics*

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for several variables. Columns 1 and 3 show the average values of the variables for the samples before Covid, while Columns 2 and 4 show the average values after Covid. The average work hours for the sample of employed and unemployed people after Covid-19 is 286 minutes in a day. According to Column 4, people worked nearly twenty fewer minutes on average, compared to before the pandemic, with a significance at the five-percent level.

The portion of people working remotely is higher after the pandemic, with over one-quarter of individuals reporting working from home. In comparison, only about 16 percent of employed respondents worked from home before the pandemic. The massive shift to working from home was noticeable in the employed sample as well as the sample of both employed and unemployed.

Across all columns, the average respondent is about 40 years of age and more than half of the respondents are white. Most respondents reached a level of education of high school or above. About sixty percent of respondents have a spouse or unmarried partner, while the remaining forty percent are single.

A greater portion of respondents lives in metropolitan areas after the pandemic. About 88 percent of respondents live in metropolitan areas after Covid, in comparison to about 86 percent before. Perhaps with the flexibility in location that remote work allowed, people decided to move during the pandemic.

Among the employed and unemployed sample, the percent of respondents who are paid an hourly wage experienced a decline that is significant at the five-percent level.

Previously, about 50 percent of respondents were paid an hourly wage, but after the pandemic this dropped to 47 percent, as seen in Columns 3 and 4. In the same time period, there is no significant change in the portion of respondents who are paid non-hourly, so this may suggest that workers who were paid hourly wages were more greatly impacted by unemployment.



## **CHAPTER FOUR:**

### **RESULTS**

#### *A. Regression Analysis*

I perform over twenty sets of regressions with various controls. The dependent variable is time spent on paid work in a day, in minutes.

In Table 2, I use a sample of employed people in the first three columns and then a larger sample of employed and unemployed people in the remaining columns. Columns 1 and 4 include control variables such as age, sex, marital status, number of children, race, ethnicity, and education level, but do not include any controls for remote work. A control variable for work from home is included in Columns 2 and 5, and Columns 3 and 6 include an additional interaction term for work from home during Covid.

The first row shows how work hours are impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic. Even after controlling for work from home in general and specifically during Covid in Columns 2 and 3, there is no significant decrease in work hours of employed people during Covid. However, after including people in the sample who are not employed and adding controls for remote work in Columns 5 and 6, Covid has a significant negative impact on work hours. If a person does not work from home, their hours decrease due to Covid by an average of 42 minutes (Column 6). Since it is significant for the larger sample but not for the sample of just the employed, this drop in work hours can be attributed to high unemployment levels.

In the fourth row of Table 2, age is shown to have a positive impact on hours worked. This is perhaps due to older workers having been able to establish themselves more in their field over their career or having protections to ensure their continued

employment, such as tenure. The row titled “Female” shows how the sex of respondents affects work hours. Within the employed sample as well as among the sample of both employed and unemployed respondents, women work fewer hours on average. They work about 50 minutes less than men.

The fifth row shows the effect of marital status on hours worked. Across all columns, marital status has no significance at the five-percent level. The insignificance of marital status in this regression may be related to the fact that the sample includes both men and women. Marital status likely affects the work hours of women differently than men. I suspect that marriage has a negative effect on the work hours of women and a positive effect on those of men, but no effect is shown in this table because those effects are combined and offset each other.

The sixth row shows how the number of children a person has impacts their hours. Across all columns, as the number of children a person has increases, their hours worked declines by about nine minutes on average. Having children negatively impacts individuals’ work hours because parents often have more child-related obligations that can disrupt their work. Parents could also simply choose to work fewer hours to spend more time with their children.

The last row shows the mean work hours, in minutes, of employed respondents and both employed and unemployed respondents. The average amount of time spent on paid work in a day is 316 minutes for employed individuals, and 298 minutes for individuals who are either employed or unemployed. The lower average in the latter is due to the fact that unemployed people are included, and their work hours are equal to zero.

In subsequent tables, I separate data into groups according to sex, marital status, and parental status. The columns of the tables show the effects of the independent variable and control variables on the average hours worked by each group. In all regressions, I control for age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, metropolitan statistical area, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. When the sample groups are parents, a control variable for child number is added.

In Table 3, Covid has a positive effect on the hours worked by employed partnered childless men, showing that they worked an additional 82 minutes on average during the pandemic. Column 8 indicates a slightly statistically significant negative impact on employed partnered mothers' hours.

Table 4 includes a control variable for work from home. Across all eight groups, working from home has a significant positive effect on hours worked. Since remote work became much more prevalent during the pandemic, the inclusion of this variable helps to isolate the impact of Covid. With its inclusion, a negative effect of Covid on the hours worked by employed partnered childless women becomes statistically significant at the 10 percent level, as seen in Column 4. Also, the negative effect on employed partnered mothers' hours becomes more significant, as seen in Column 8.

Table 5 includes a control for remote work specifically during Covid, represented by Work from home  $\times$  Covid. Its inclusion makes the coefficient on Covid for partnered mothers even more negative, implying that hours worked by partnered mothers who were employed and could not work remotely during the pandemic fell by nearly 106 minutes on average. It also shows that the hours worked by partnered childless women who did not work from home decreased by an average of 64 minutes during Covid, and the hours

worked by partnered childless men who did not work from home increased by an average of 65 minutes. Table 6 includes controls for the occupation and industry in which respondents work and shows very similar results to Table 5.

Table 7 uses both employed and unemployed respondents as its sample and does not include controls for remote work. Even before controlling for work from home, Covid has a statistically significant negative impact on the hours worked by partnered mothers, single fathers, and partnered childless women. Covid has a positive impact on the hours of partnered childless men. It is possible that, when partnered childless women became unemployed, their spouses (who, in most cases, were partnered childless men) increased their work hours in order to make up for lost household income.

As controls for remote work are added in Tables 8 and 9, the effect of Covid on work hours of partnered mothers, single fathers, and partnered childless women become increasingly negative. The effect on the hours of partnered childless men become less significant.

Table 9 indicates that the work hours of partnered childless women who did not work from home fell by about 84 minutes on average due to Covid, while those of partnered mothers fell by an average of 111 minutes. It also shows a decline of 256 minutes in the work hours of single fathers. However, it should be noted that the sample of single fathers is comprised of less than 200 people.

The effects of Covid on the hours of partnered childless women and single fathers are more significant across the sample of employed and unemployed people (Tables 7-Table 9) than across the sample of only employed people (Tables 3-6). The impact on the hours of partnered mothers is also more negative across the sample of both employed and

unemployed respondents. The greater decline in hours among the sample of both employed and unemployed individuals implies a rise in unemployment. Indeed, this implication is supported by data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which finds that the unemployment rate tripled from the fourth quarter of 2019 to the second quarter of 2020 (Smith, Edwards, and Duong 2021).

In Table 10 through Table 23, I look only across parents. As before, I perform regressions on employed and unemployed individuals as well as only the employed. I include control variables for the age of the parents' youngest child.

Before controlling for remote work during the pandemic, in Tables 10 and 11 Covid has no significant effect on the hours worked by employed parents. However, a negative effect on the hours of partnered mothers emerges when the interaction term is added in Table 12. Among employed partnered mothers who did not work from home, work hours decreased during Covid by about 88 minutes on average. The row titled Youngest child less than 6  $\times$  Covid in Tables 10 through 12 shows that employed single fathers with young children had reduced hours. However, once again, the group of single fathers is very small, so a drop in hours for only a few single fathers could significantly affect the results.

Table 13 controls for occupation and industry of employed parents. According to Column 4, Covid reduced the hours worked by partnered mothers by 85 minutes on average. The effect of Covid on the hours of partnered mothers is slightly less negative than it is in Table 12, before industry and occupation controls are added. This implies that the occupations and industries in which partnered mothers work contribute to the reduction in hours seen in Table 12.

Tables 14 through 16 look across employed and unemployed parents but have similar findings to the regressions performed on the employed sample. As the controls variables for remote work are added, the decreases in the hours of partnered mothers due to Covid become larger. The negative impact of Covid is larger for the sample of both employed and unemployed partnered mothers than it is for only the employed, with an average reduction of 107 minutes among those who do not work from home in Column 4 of Table 16.

In Tables 17 through 23, I add a control variable for the number of children the respondents have. The inclusion of the control does not dramatically impact the results. The effect of Covid on employed partnered mothers who did not work from home is not much different between Table 12 and Table 19, which are identical except for the presence of the control for number of children in Table 19. The coefficient on Covid differs by less than a minute between the two tables.

### *B. Summary of Findings*

The main finding of my research is that the hours worked by partnered mothers decreased more significantly than other groups during the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, I find that the work hours of partnered women without children declined during the pandemic. The reductions in hours for both partnered mothers and partnered childless women were greater in the sample of all respondents than in the sample of only the employed, indicating unemployment.

My results support the findings of Collins et al. (2021) that during the pandemic, among employed and married parents, mothers' work hours declined more than fathers'.

However, their finding that reductions in hours were greater among parents of young children are not supported by my results. None of the variables for the age of the respondent's youngest child in Tables 10 to 23 are statistically significant, except among single fathers which is a very small group.

I find that the reduction in the hours of partnered mothers during the pandemic is greater before occupation and industry controls are added, implying that occupation contributed to the decline in hours. This agrees with several studies that find that the impact of Covid on occupations and industries in which women have a large presence contributed to the gender gap in employment (Alon et al. 2021; Hensvik, Le Barbanchon, and Rathelot 2020).

The findings of several studies that during the pandemic there was more childcare work to be done and that mothers did most of it helps to explain my results (Sevilla and Smith 2020; Boll, Müller, and Schüller 2021; Yamamura and Tsustsui 2021). Partnered mothers likely reduced their work hours in order to dedicate that time to childcare duties instead.

Fuller and Qian (2021) find that, in Canada, mothers frequently decreased their work hours when schools closed during the pandemic. This is supported by my own findings that, in America, hours fell more for employed partnered mothers than for employed partnered fathers.

Similarly, Lofton, Petrosky-Nadeau, and Seitelman (2021) find that, as schools closed in America, employment and labor force participation rates declined more for mothers than for fathers. This finding is supported by my own finding that hours fell more across the sample of both employed and unemployed partnered mothers than across

only employed partnered mothers. Some partnered mothers became unemployed or left the labor force during the pandemic.

My results support Kalenkoski and Pabilonia's (2020) finding that married men were more likely to be working during the pandemic than married women, because I find that the hours worked by partnered women both with and without children fell more than they did for partnered men.

My findings are not strongly supported by the concept of reservation wage. The data on reservation wage discussed earlier suggest that unemployment was higher among men than women during the pandemic, but my results find that, in general, women were more significantly impacted by unemployment.

The opportunity cost of labor, however, supports my results. The opportunity cost of labor suggests that parents were more likely to reduce their work hours than childless people during the pandemic. I find this to be true for partnered women. As opportunity costs of working increased, partnered mothers were more likely to reduce their work hours.



## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS**

### *A. Main Findings*

In this paper, I use pooled cross-sectional data from the 2019-2020 American Time Use Survey to examine how people's work hours were impacted differently by the Covid-19 pandemic based on sex, marital status, and parental status.

According to my study, women's hours tended to decrease more during Covid if they were partnered than if they were single. Both partnered mothers and partnered childless women experienced declines in their work hours during the pandemic, while the work hours of single mothers and single childless women did not fall significantly. In contrast, men's hours tended to decrease more if they were single than if they were partnered. Single fathers' hours decreased more than those of partnered fathers or childless men.

Partnered mothers likely reduced their work hours in order to allocate more time to childcare, while their spouses continued working the same hours as before. My findings support those of other studies that, when parents are faced with increased childcare needs, the burden tends to fall on mothers more heavily than fathers. Although partnered mothers are much more likely now than in the past to choose to work outside of the home, the gender norm of the mother being the main caretaker for the children is still present in the changes that occurred to hours worked during the pandemic. As the work hours of partnered women were disproportionately impacted, employment inequalities between men and women were enlarged by the Covid-19 pandemic.

### *B. Suggestions for Future Research*

My study has some limitations. The nature of the ATUS data is potentially problematic. Respondents are interviewed about a single day, and that one day may not truly reflect their work hours. In addition, no ATUS data was collected from mid-March to mid-May in 2020. While the weight added to the data allows 2019 and 2020 to be compared, it cannot be applied to years beyond that, thus limiting comparisons over a larger timespan.

Future research should, if possible, track the changes in the hours worked by the same individuals from before until after the pandemic. In addition, future studies should use larger samples. A larger amount of data on single fathers in particular would increase confidence in the results.

### *C. Policy Implications*

Policies going forward should encourage partnered women to increase their work hours or simply rejoin the labor force. Mothers are likely to be more flexible now in terms of their time allocation, since most children have returned to in-person classes and do not need to be supervised by parents throughout the weekdays. In order to shrink the gap in employment between men and women, policy should target partnered women. Changes to tax policy and the general work environment could help increase women's participation in the workforce.

With the current tax policy, couples in which the partners have similar incomes often face higher income taxes after marriage (Tax Policy Center 2022). Marriage tax

penalties can encourage a spouse to reduce their work hours or exit the labor force altogether, and the spouse to do so is often a woman. A reduction in the effect of the marriage tax penalty could encourage more partnered women to participate in the workforce.

In addition, childcare subsidies could push women with children into the labor force. It would make childcare services more affordable and enable low-income women to allocate more of their time to paid work than was previously possible.

Lastly, greater flexibility in terms of the time and location in which work can be done would also help mothers participate in the workforce. It would allow more mothers to manage working a job alongside childcare obligations they may have.

Reforms such as the ones I have just described could help undo some of the damage Covid-19 has done to the gender gap in employment, and perhaps lessen the harm that could be done if there is ever another shock to the labor market like the one that occurred when the pandemic struck.

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**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Employed, before Covid	(2) Employed, after Covid	(3) All, before Covid	(4) All, after Covid
Work hours in minutes	319.854 (4.611)	309.539 (5.685)	305.411 (4.646)	286.417* (5.722)
Work from home	0.164 (0.006)	0.279* (0.010)	0.158 (0.006)	0.259* (0.009)
Age	40.447 (0.252)	40.671 (0.307)	40.197 (0.252)	40.284 (0.301)
Hispanic	0.182 (0.008)	0.186 (0.010)	0.187 (0.008)	0.190 (0.010)
White	0.633 (0.009)	0.635 (0.011)	0.627 (0.009)	0.626 (0.011)
Black	0.114 (0.006)	0.107 (0.007)	0.116 (0.006)	0.110 (0.007)
Native American	0.005 (0.001)	0.005 (0.001)	0.004 (0.001)	0.004 (0.001)
Asian	0.056 (0.004)	0.056 (0.005)	0.055 (0.004)	0.057 (0.005)
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)
Other race/ethnicity	0.009 (0.001)	0.010 (0.002)	0.008 (0.001)	0.011 (0.002)
Less than high school	0.074 (0.005)	0.068 (0.006)	0.078 (0.005)	0.067 (0.006)
High school	0.259 (0.009)	0.253 (0.011)	0.261 (0.008)	0.262 (0.011)
Some college	0.251 (0.008)	0.243 (0.009)	0.253 (0.008)	0.246 (0.009)
College	0.256 (0.008)	0.272 (0.010)	0.252 (0.007)	0.268 (0.009)
Graduate degree	0.160 (0.006)	0.165 (0.007)	0.156 (0.006)	0.156 (0.007)
Married/Partnered	0.618 (0.001)	0.613 (0.011)	0.605 (0.009)	0.595 (0.011)
Single	0.382 (0.009)	0.387 (0.011)	0.395 (0.009)	0.405 (0.011)
MSA	0.862 (0.006)	0.883* (0.007)	0.861 (0.006)	0.884* (0.007)
Paid hourly	0.520 (0.009)	0.503 (0.011)	0.495 (0.009)	0.465* (0.011)
Not paid hourly	0.390 (0.009)	0.404 (0.011)	0.371 (0.008)	0.373 (0.010)
Self-employed	0.089 (0.005)	0.093 (0.006)	0.085 (0.005)	0.085 (0.006)
Number of children	0.775 (0.019)	0.755 (0.025)	0.765 (0.019)	0.750 (0.024)
Observations	6,293	3,400	6,563	3,630

\* Indicates statistically significant difference at the 5% level in comparison to mean before Covid.

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses. In columns 3 and 4, "All" refers to employed and unemployed individuals. Means are weighted using TU20FWGT.

**Table 2: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & All, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Employed	(2) Employed	(3) Employed	(4) All	(5) All	(6) All
Covid	-0.605 (14.636)	-15.834 (14.687)	-21.027 (15.163)	-18.118 (14.928)	-33.958** (14.935)	- (15.384)
Work from home		95.720*** (7.136)	84.640*** (9.379)		114.069*** (7.173)	96.080*** (9.474)
Work from home × Covid			25.000* (13.414)			40.232*** (13.513)
Age	12.045*** (2.037)	10.961*** (2.020)	10.905*** (2.022)	13.530*** (2.045)	12.272*** (2.022)	12.188*** (2.025)
Age squared	-0.135*** (0.024)	-0.125*** (0.024)	-0.124*** (0.024)	-0.150*** (0.024)	-0.138*** (0.024)	-0.137*** (0.024)
Female	- 48.610*** (6.366)	- 51.714*** (6.301)	- 51.892*** (6.300)	- 47.413*** (6.433)	-50.792*** (6.337)	- 51.052*** (6.333)
Married/Partnered	2.995 (7.070)	0.039 (7.001)	0.038 (7.002)	13.677* (7.218)	9.946 (7.098)	9.868 (7.093)
No of children	-9.020*** (3.282)	-9.282*** (3.278)	-9.187*** (3.279)	-8.480** (3.342)	-8.818*** (3.332)	-8.667*** (3.333)
Black	19.784* (11.765)	24.236** (11.607)	24.187** (11.628)	10.778 (11.670)	16.321 (11.469)	16.269 (11.498)
Native American	53.379 (35.173)	45.131 (34.205)	45.241 (34.114)	54.904 (35.335)	45.114 (34.339)	45.235 (34.233)
Asian	17.612 (12.857)	19.368 (12.808)	18.332 (12.786)	18.619 (13.237)	20.915 (13.081)	19.369 (13.018)
Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	-75.342 (55.269)	-71.592 (54.153)	-71.691 (54.080)	-57.401 (51.226)	-52.038 (49.931)	-52.031 (49.869)
Hispanic	12.141 (9.949)	15.987 (9.944)	15.747 (9.958)	9.253 (10.091)	13.310 (10.039)	12.971 (10.050)
Other race/ethnicity	31.715 (26.089)	32.664 (25.195)	34.043 (25.261)	28.065 (25.513)	28.629 (24.617)	30.598 (24.696)
High school	7.929 (17.071)	7.093 (16.873)	7.181 (16.889)	13.266 (16.995)	12.294 (16.766)	12.672 (16.787)
Some college	0.483 (16.837)	-4.018 (16.627)	-4.229 (16.641)	7.809 (16.702)	2.760 (16.475)	2.630 (16.495)
College	0.323 (16.587)	-17.237 (16.427)	-17.438 (16.442)	10.903 (16.494)	-9.414 (16.314)	-9.542 (16.332)
Graduate degree	5.960 (16.715)	-18.579 (16.587)	-18.934 (16.599)	19.163 (16.693)	-9.768 (16.563)	-10.204 (16.577)
Observations	9,693	9,693	9,693	10,193	10,193	10,193
R-squared	0.304	0.323	0.323	0.277	0.302	0.303
Mean work hours (in minutes)	316.135	316.135	316.135	298.431	298.431	298.431

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls not shown in the table are MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.



**Table 3: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	23.934 (37.396)	35.692 (41.715)	82.157** (33.366)	-53.591 (34.057)	- 107.905 (86.032)	-25.983 (46.020)	-11.215 (27.409)	-54.081* (28.581)
Observations	1,587	1,435	1,278	1,166	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.310	0.301	0.396	0.393	0.712	0.450	0.430	0.348
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	319.863	295.409	335.827	299.969	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 4: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	13.538 (37.474)	9.767 (41.921)	68.597** (33.458)	-60.126* (34.194)	-145.308* (84.066)	-33.731 (44.777)	-24.858 (27.415)	-78.134*** (28.834)
Work from home	93.837*** (21.500)	136.787*** (22.089)	56.073*** (16.398)	94.233*** (17.656)	187.686*** (41.625)	130.165*** (27.927)	92.189*** (13.662)	109.213*** (15.727)
Observations	1,587	1,435	1,278	1,166	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.321	0.334	0.402	0.414	0.743	0.478	0.446	0.379
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	319.863	295.409	335.827	299.969	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 5: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	17.476 (37.620)	8.614 (42.961)	65.416* (34.298)	-64.277* (35.336)	-136.786 (85.315)	-25.077 (44.930)	-28.293 (29.015)	-105.848*** (30.371)
Work from home	111.736*** (29.938)	133.967*** (29.032)	46.714** (21.738)	87.775*** (24.291)	213.018*** (57.279)	145.410*** (34.956)	86.283*** (17.902)	70.379*** (19.596)
Work from home × Covid	-37.628 (38.648)	5.780 (38.507)	23.272 (30.518)	14.586 (35.248)	-48.256 (80.055)	-36.244 (50.739)	12.872 (26.338)	92.204*** (29.721)
Observations	1,587	1,435	1,278	1,166	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.322	0.334	0.402	0.414	0.744	0.478	0.446	0.385
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	319.863	295.409	335.827	299.969	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 6: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed, Controlling for Occupation & Industry, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	12.300 (37.198)	14.468 (43.215)	65.137* (33.471)	-61.318* (35.341)	-79.238 (63.725)	-15.783 (44.678)	-22.558 (28.697)	-105.485*** (30.055)
Work from home	117.875*** (30.350)	127.282*** (28.924)	44.556** (21.775)	78.983*** (24.260)	131.009*** (42.878)	139.556*** (32.895)	87.758*** (18.310)	69.698*** (19.532)
Work from home × Covid	-38.381 (38.686)	13.756 (37.854)	22.886 (30.669)	24.111 (35.057)	-38.090 (67.378)	-35.988 (50.794)	18.871 (26.849)	93.594*** (29.417)
Observations	1,587	1,435	1,278	1,166	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.336	0.356	0.413	0.432	0.850	0.505	0.456	0.395
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	319.863	295.409	335.827	299.969	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8. Occupation and industry controls were added.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 7: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed, ATUS 2019-2020**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
VARIABLES	Single childless men	Single childless women	Partnered childless men	Partnered childless women	Single father	Single mother	Partnered father	Partnered mother
Covid	-4.541 (38.655)	-2.576 (40.896)	79.498** (34.173)	-68.373* (35.003)	-220.766*** (82.905)	-21.431 (45.817)	-18.922 (27.491)	-56.915** (28.298)
Observations	1,720	1,542	1,320	1,210	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.288	0.286	0.358	0.361	0.684	0.410	0.405	0.339
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	289.460	271.816	323.959	287.171	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 8: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	-15.181 (38.542)	-29.095 (40.961)	61.475* (34.137)	-73.711** (34.990)	-250.640*** (77.424)	-29.156 (44.103)	-33.367 (27.469)	-81.960*** (28.522)
Work from home	120.854*** (21.082)	162.858*** (21.787)	79.428*** (16.739)	110.574*** (17.723)	228.663*** (47.146)	167.503*** (27.354)	104.072*** (13.776)	116.811*** (15.739)
Observations	1,720	1,542	1,320	1,210	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.305	0.330	0.369	0.389	0.725	0.454	0.425	0.374
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	289.460	271.816	323.959	287.171	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 9: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single childless men	(2) Single childless women	(3) Partnered childless men	(4) Partnered childless women	(5) Single father	(6) Single mother	(7) Partnered father	(8) Partnered mother
Covid	-13.089 (38.702)	-33.878 (41.876)	57.002 (35.032)	-83.930** (36.320)	-256.524*** (78.587)	-19.354 (44.884)	-38.630 (29.294)	-111.390*** (29.892)
Work from home	131.467*** (29.474)	148.800*** (28.975)	65.268*** (22.095)	93.581*** (24.118)	209.991*** (73.078)	185.914*** (33.752)	94.680*** (17.978)	74.216*** (19.694)
Work from home × Covid	-22.688 (38.238)	28.498 (38.863)	34.938 (30.833)	37.890 (35.421)	34.345 (88.069)	-44.277 (51.131)	20.256 (26.899)	99.929*** (29.165)
Observations	1,720	1,542	1,320	1,210	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.306	0.330	0.370	0.390	0.725	0.454	0.425	0.382
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	289.460	271.816	323.959	287.171	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Child number is controlled for in columns 5 through 8.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 10: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-27.781 (125.304)	-32.216 (54.308)	12.877 (39.174)	-19.168 (40.981)
Youngest child less than age 6	92.972 (63.959)	-38.099 (38.921)	-28.325 (26.433)	-24.809 (26.809)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	46.324 (60.335)	51.403 (34.568)	23.833 (26.510)	5.972 (24.767)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-213.508* (116.794)	-2.155 (59.678)	-5.713 (33.126)	-42.710 (37.512)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-55.920 (105.636)	39.220 (52.991)	-54.765 (38.465)	-40.718 (41.887)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.720	0.471	0.434	0.350
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.



**Table 11: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-18.906 (110.548)	-48.817 (52.530)	-17.529 (39.427)	-51.604 (41.107)
Work from home	195.173*** (43.509)	120.464*** (26.742)	92.256*** (13.350)	106.209*** (15.625)
Youngest child less than age 6	112.753* (59.532)	-32.131 (37.735)	-39.120 (25.978)	-29.992 (26.687)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	86.075 (54.908)	42.257 (33.560)	13.494 (25.876)	2.585 (24.598)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-250.231** (105.895)	9.716 (57.113)	12.377 (33.229)	-26.649 (37.124)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-123.310 (91.787)	48.422 (49.873)	-33.600 (38.126)	-34.154 (40.682)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.754	0.494	0.450	0.380
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 12: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-10.905 (107.657)	-41.196 (52.169)	-20.923 (40.355)	-88.236** (43.244)
Work from home	230.173*** (63.916)	138.557*** (33.970)	87.637*** (17.518)	67.899*** (19.324)
Work from home × Covid	-65.951 (88.208)	-42.991 (48.095)	10.102 (25.895)	92.848*** (29.750)
Youngest child less than age 6	116.596** (58.277)	-31.095 (37.735)	-38.707 (25.991)	-29.453 (26.618)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	88.397 (53.787)	40.480 (33.450)	13.857 (25.919)	2.303 (24.659)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-249.689** (106.261)	10.675 (57.007)	13.252 (33.263)	-12.882 (37.684)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-116.387 (92.438)	53.578 (50.438)	-32.829 (37.900)	-28.721 (40.724)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.755	0.495	0.450	0.386
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 13: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Occupation & Industry, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-13.272 (101.922)	-39.639 (50.910)	-22.567 (39.601)	-85.213** (42.576)
Work from home	140.106*** (45.512)	131.574*** (32.392)	89.553*** (17.926)	66.745*** (19.282)
Work from home × Covid	-44.464 (66.341)	-40.988 (48.544)	16.288 (26.240)	94.235*** (29.452)
Youngest child less than age 6	141.016*** (48.348)	-31.165 (36.812)	-43.090* (25.418)	-32.189 (26.800)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	70.373 (43.419)	40.266 (33.514)	9.234 (25.362)	0.863 (24.406)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-197.380** (97.641)	24.013 (55.263)	21.854 (32.107)	-15.959 (37.631)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-48.743 (84.700)	64.854 (49.736)	-23.467 (37.339)	-32.835 (40.449)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.856	0.522	0.460	0.396
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Occupation and industry controls were added.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 14: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-27.026 (119.774)	-12.693 (53.346)	-20.260 (43.505)	-37.336 (41.463)
Youngest child less than age 6	65.549 (72.194)	-13.663 (39.804)	-25.086 (26.491)	-24.611 (27.171)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	88.598 (64.650)	61.567* (36.712)	26.450 (26.403)	0.778 (24.795)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-238.254** (109.791)	-28.339 (58.187)	27.348 (38.642)	-26.595 (38.246)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-190.917* (106.856)	17.815 (55.237)	-28.419 (42.264)	-20.122 (42.062)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.681	0.426	0.409	0.341
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 15: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-12.997 (100.268)	-34.054 (51.271)	-51.041 (43.338)	-69.067* (41.160)
Work from home	265.505*** (46.642)	161.793*** (26.747)	104.721*** (13.593)	114.493*** (15.665)
Youngest child less than age 6	91.876 (68.388)	-7.556 (38.226)	-36.526 (25.945)	-30.375 (26.871)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	136.901** (59.508)	48.649 (35.069)	14.958 (25.690)	-2.083 (24.575)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-283.853*** (95.893)	-13.364 (54.649)	44.518 (38.142)	-11.727 (37.339)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-260.057*** (91.701)	35.146 (50.608)	-7.353 (41.535)	-16.861 (40.267)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.737	0.466	0.429	0.375
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 16: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-23.435 (99.454)	-24.120 (52.005)	-57.297 (45.102)	-107.001** (43.036)
Work from home	230.607*** (74.767)	185.172*** (33.723)	95.431*** (17.639)	72.026*** (19.410)
Work from home × Covid	60.821 (89.609)	-56.107 (49.803)	20.047 (26.791)	101.441*** (29.235)
Youngest child less than age 6	87.511 (67.912)	-5.503 (38.291)	-35.612 (25.974)	-30.185 (26.751)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	132.406** (59.680)	47.483 (35.069)	15.697 (25.774)	-2.749 (24.598)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-281.033*** (95.613)	-13.480 (54.605)	45.847 (38.375)	1.369 (37.620)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-260.870*** (92.124)	40.589 (51.086)	-6.188 (41.539)	-12.402 (40.051)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.738	0.467	0.429	0.382
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 17: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-27.583 (120.045)	-30.946 (54.232)	13.069 (39.173)	-20.103 (40.827)
No of children	0.288 (29.632)	-15.532 (12.701)	2.470 (6.699)	-7.525 (7.666)
Youngest child less than age 6	92.880 (65.300)	-19.813 (41.227)	-30.366 (26.876)	-17.622 (28.293)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	46.252 (61.474)	57.499* (34.278)	22.170 (26.891)	10.699 (25.587)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-213.511* (116.776)	-11.575 (59.472)	-5.702 (33.129)	-42.849 (37.523)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-56.002 (104.415)	36.675 (52.775)	-54.887 (38.425)	-41.392 (41.824)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.720	0.472	0.434	0.351
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 18: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-12.968 (106.378)	-47.616 (52.472)	-17.324 (39.434)	-53.642 (40.795)
Work from home	196.519*** (43.944)	118.590*** (26.723)	92.325*** (13.327)	108.164*** (15.718)
No of children	8.560 (28.361)	-11.521 (12.210)	2.933 (6.599)	-11.606 (7.685)
Youngest child less than age 6	110.166* (59.557)	-18.661 (40.319)	-41.552 (26.349)	-19.002 (27.956)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	84.200 (55.183)	46.922 (33.252)	11.511 (26.194)	9.814 (25.345)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-250.572** (105.690)	2.544 (57.091)	12.403 (33.230)	-26.569 (37.061)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-126.223 (91.427)	46.391 (49.654)	-33.728 (38.098)	-35.072 (40.483)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.754	0.495	0.450	0.381
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.



**Table 19: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-8.633 (104.873)	-40.804 (52.122)	-20.849 (40.371)	-88.774** (42.961)
Work from home	228.663*** (61.437)	135.118*** (34.234)	87.524*** (17.500)	70.824*** (19.586)
Work from home × Covid	-61.925 (84.198)	-38.937 (48.898)	10.506 (25.787)	89.802*** (29.901)
No of children	3.980 (27.674)	-10.658 (12.306)	3.014 (6.575)	-9.905 (7.711)
Youngest child less than age 6	115.159** (57.965)	-18.731 (40.291)	-41.189 (26.387)	-20.092 (27.842)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	87.383 (53.891)	44.963 (33.130)	11.834 (26.251)	8.481 (25.365)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-249.880** (106.240)	3.950 (57.031)	13.314 (33.267)	-13.265 (37.620)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-118.164 (92.517)	51.213 (50.184)	-32.930 (37.889)	-29.682 (40.555)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.755	0.496	0.450	0.387
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 20: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed Parents, Controlling for Occupation & Industry & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-33.945 (97.946)	-39.173 (50.899)	-22.481 (39.621)	-85.488** (42.313)
Work from home	144.902*** (45.804)	129.504*** (32.736)	89.466*** (17.919)	70.095*** (19.548)
Work from home × Covid	-62.873 (66.337)	-38.268 (49.141)	16.433 (26.178)	91.013*** (29.572)
No of children	-23.618 (21.126)	-7.284 (12.508)	1.608 (6.456)	-9.922 (7.645)
Youngest child less than age 6	150.699*** (49.369)	-22.750 (39.348)	-44.420* (25.843)	-22.600 (28.019)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	73.412* (44.090)	43.102 (33.406)	8.147 (25.723)	7.223 (25.196)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-192.812* (97.854)	19.180 (55.301)	21.887 (32.114)	-16.735 (37.579)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-31.154 (83.171)	63.471 (49.587)	-23.557 (37.293)	-34.192 (40.312)
Observations	180	600	1,914	1,533
R-squared	0.858	0.523	0.460	0.397
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	340.950	289.133	365.408	269.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year. Occupation and industry controls were added.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 21: Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-71.514 (116.529)	-11.133 (53.305)	-19.957 (43.455)	-38.203 (41.322)
No of children	-58.865** (22.976)	-20.963 (13.009)	3.870 (6.988)	-5.949 (7.598)
Youngest child less than age 6	106.723 (75.784)	7.883 (41.651)	-28.292 (27.042)	-18.860 (28.588)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	105.314 (65.826)	69.400* (36.152)	23.898 (26.773)	4.572 (25.604)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-258.548** (108.444)	-34.621 (57.508)	27.387 (38.630)	-26.598 (38.270)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-154.167 (105.962)	15.267 (54.898)	-28.564 (42.225)	-20.539 (42.052)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.697	0.429	0.409	0.341
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 22 Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-44.349 (98.993)	-32.512 (51.247)	-50.727 (43.291)	-71.083* (40.889)
Work from home	247.532*** (49.829)	159.024*** (26.694)	104.876*** (13.564)	116.284*** (15.761)
No of children	-40.228* (23.633)	-15.803 (12.359)	4.610 (6.835)	-10.425 (7.606)
Youngest child less than age 6	118.232* (68.771)	8.582 (40.131)	-40.362 (26.426)	-20.388 (28.113)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	145.055** (58.534)	54.775 (34.611)	11.900 (26.009)	4.520 (25.321)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-294.634*** (94.957)	-18.357 (54.176)	44.590 (38.123)	-11.499 (37.305)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-230.263** (92.899)	32.928 (50.344)	-7.494 (41.503)	-17.542 (40.147)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.744	0.468	0.429	0.376
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

**Table 23 Work Hours Regression Results: Employed & Unemployed Parents, Controlling for Remote Work during Pandemic & Number of Children, ATUS 2019-2020**

VARIABLES	(1) Single father	(2) Single mother	(3) Partnered father	(4) Partnered mother
Covid	-44.961 (98.369)	-23.417 (51.943)	-57.191 (45.070)	-107.751** (42.797)
Work from home	244.706*** (75.142)	180.733*** (33.805)	95.264*** (17.610)	74.552*** (19.666)
Work from home × Covid	5.207 (87.405)	-51.786 (50.411)	20.755 (26.695)	98.965*** (29.383)
No of children	-39.867* (23.354)	-15.055 (12.358)	4.785 (6.815)	-8.667 (7.625)
Youngest child less than age 6	117.622* (66.946)	9.713 (40.166)	-39.561 (26.474)	-21.887 (27.953)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12	144.597** (58.024)	53.409 (34.633)	12.550 (26.101)	2.757 (25.309)
Youngest child less than 6 × Covid	-294.296*** (94.159)	-18.228 (54.128)	45.968 (38.359)	1.238 (37.590)
Youngest child aged 6 to 12 × Covid	-230.600** (93.672)	38.057 (50.811)	-6.293 (41.519)	-13.077 (39.959)
Observations	196	654	1,960	1,591
R-squared	0.744	0.469	0.429	0.383
Mean work hrs. (mins.)	303.924	257.856	356.266	261.985

Notes: Standard errors are shown in parentheses. The regression is weighted using TU20FWGT. Additional controls are age and age-squared, ethnicity, race, education level, MSA, holiday, diary day, month, state, and year.

\*Statistically significant at the 0.10 level.

\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*\*Statistically significant at the 0.01 level.