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## Household-Level Impacts of COVID-19 With and Without Children Present

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## COVID-19 Era Impacts on Households with Children

40

### 41 **Abstract**

42 Households with children faced unique challenges from COVID-19 adjustments, including  
43 balancing economic factors alongside the concurrent loss of support systems and increase in  
44 caregiver requirements (i.e. providing schooling). A nationally representative sample of 1,198  
45 U.S. residents were surveyed between June 12<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> 2020, of which 347 respondents  
46 reported having children under 18 in their household. In households with children, 20% reported  
47 they were unable to access their usual childcare, 53% had to take on schooling activities, and  
48 28% were not able work or had to cut back on hours due to childcare responsibilities. For all five  
49 household activities studied, mean impact was higher for households with children than those  
50 without. We modeled self-reported ability to find meat, milk and perishable grocery items and  
51 found that having a child increased the impact score by 0.360 and being female increased the  
52 score by 0.273. There was an increased probability the respondent took on schooling activities  
53 for their child if they were female, supporting concerns specific to female caregiver's  
54 employment and economic consequences in light of changes in response to COVID-19.

55

### 56 **Introduction**

57 As schools closed in response to the rapidly spreading COVID-19 virus, many parents and  
58 caretakers grappled with balancing caregiving and schooling activities alongside maintenance of  
59 employment and financial stability. Changes to daily routine and loss of support systems added a  
60 layer of complexity to caretaking activities (McLean, 2020). In addition to balancing economic  
61 and caregiving responsibilities the physiological impacts of caretaking for individuals unable to  
62 care for themselves compounded the emotional tolls for many people. Media attention on  
63 physical health outcomes, mental and emotional wellbeing (Panchal et al., 2020), economic

64 consequences (The Economist, 2020; The World Bank, 2020), and societal challenges resulting  
65 from the COVID-19 pandemic are plentiful. Many families are facing economic stresses of  
66 employment changes compounded with increased caretaker duties managing home care without  
67 social or structural support networks.

68         Societal challenges emerged quickly when critical employees, such as medical  
69 professionals, were forced to balance childcare and family needs alongside health-care work  
70 (Viner et al., 2020). In some regions of the U.S., parents who are dependent on school and  
71 childcare to be able to work supply as much as 29% of the workforce, making their re-entry into  
72 the workforce important for post-COVID-19 economic recovery (Bateman, 2020). As fall  
73 approached, national news media covered the struggles between professional lives and caring for  
74 children who may be out of school entirely, intermittently, or while schedules still unknown just  
75 days or weeks prior to anticipated reopenings (Beer, 2020). A survey conducted of 1,000  
76 working parents of children under 15, found 73% of respondents reported major changes at work  
77 if schools do not reopen, including schedule amendments (44%), looking for an alternate job  
78 (21%), or even leaving the workforce entirely (15%) (Paisner, 2020).

79         There has been widespread public interest on household's survival and functionality  
80 during pandemic-related shutdowns. This analysis seeks to contribute to the understanding of  
81 COVID-19's impacts on U.S. households, with particular interest in impacts on households with  
82 children (versus those without children). It is hypothesized that households with children  
83 experienced unique impacts of COVID-19 adjustments. The significance of personal  
84 demographics, household demographics, and beliefs about mask-wearing to lessen risk of  
85 disease spread are explored with respect to understanding self-stated impacts on  
86 childcare/schooling and other household activities. Greater understanding of pandemic-era

87 impacts in households with children may facilitate future resource allocation decisions.  
88 Disproportionate impacts of the pandemic on women, individuals working in certain industries,  
89 and/or caretakers are increasing concerns worthy of further analyses.

90

## 91 **Methods**

92 Data collection took place during the beginning of the relaxation of social distancing in the U.S.,  
93 from June 12, 2020 to June 20, 2020. A total of 1,198 completed responses were obtained; of  
94 them, 347 reported having children in the household while 851 reported no children under the  
95 age of 18 resided in their household at the time of data collection. The company Kantar, which  
96 hosts a large opt-in panel database (Kantar, 2020), was used to obtain survey respondents. All  
97 survey respondents were required to be 18 years of age or older to participate. The research  
98 process was approved by Oklahoma State University IRB (number: 20-283). Quotas were set  
99 within Qualtrics, an online survey tool (Qualtrics, 2020), to target the proportion of respondents  
100 to match the U.S. census proportions for sex, age, education, income, and U.S. region of  
101 residence (U.S. Census, 2016). This analysis focuses on potential differences in the impact of  
102 COVID-19 on daily life and beliefs surrounding the use of face masks between those who  
103 indicated they had children in their household and those that did not. The test of proportions was  
104 employed to evaluate demographic differences between the two groups of respondents.

105 A test of the difference of two proportions  $\widehat{p}_1$  and  $\widehat{p}_2$ , can be calculated as:

$$106 \quad z = \frac{\widehat{p}_1 - \widehat{p}_2}{\sqrt{\widehat{p}_p(1-\widehat{p}_p)\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}\right)}} \quad (1)$$

107 given:

$$108 \quad \widehat{P}_p = \frac{x_1 + x_2}{n_1 + n_2} \quad (2)$$

109 where  $x_1$  and  $x_2$  are the total number of successes in the two populations (Acock, 2018). The tests  
110 of proportion were conducted using STATA/SE16 (StataCorp, 2019).

111 Individual states in the U.S. have not experienced the same level of COVID-19 case level  
112 and potential impact. Therefore, states were grouped by three different criteria at the time of data  
113 collection to coincide with the state-specific situation being faced by respondents at the time that  
114 they took the survey: (1) number of cases over 40,001, (2) the top 10 states as defined by  
115 COVID-19 cases per capita, and (3) the top 6 states that experienced a rapid increase in COVID-  
116 19 cases after the 2020 U.S. Memorial Day holiday. As of June 17th 2020, 17 states had over  
117 40,001 cases of COVID-19: California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana,  
118 Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio,  
119 Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia (CDC, 2020a). In order to facilitate sound comparisons across  
120 states with varying population sizes, the number of COVID-19 cases as of June 17, 2020, was  
121 divided by the estimated 2019 population according to the U.S. census to generate a per-capita  
122 adjusted number of COVID-19 cases (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). The top 10 states with the  
123 highest number of COVID-19 cases per-capita were Connecticut, Delaware, District of  
124 Columbia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. In  
125 response to reopening plans and post-memorial weekend, six states had record numbers of new  
126 cases including Arizona, Florida, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Texas (CBS News, 2020).

127 In addition to demographics, respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1  
128 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) their level of agreement for the statements: *Someone in*  
129 *my household, or that I frequently spend time with is at higher risk of complications of COVID-*  
130 *19 and I am in the higher risk group for complications of COVID-19.* The mean of the responses  
131 for those who indicated they had children in the household and those that did not were

132 calculated. A t-test was completed to compare between those who indicated they had children in  
 133 the household and those that did not using STATA/SE16 (StataCorp, 2019). The test for  $\mu_x$   
 134 (sample x) =  $\mu_y$  (sample y) for unknown  $\sigma_x$  (standard deviation) and  $\sigma_y$  and  $\sigma_x \neq \sigma_y$  is (Gosset,  
 135 1908):

$$136 \quad t = \frac{(\bar{x} - \bar{y})}{\left(\frac{s_x^2}{n_x} + \frac{s_y^2}{n_y}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}}} \quad (3)$$

137 where  $\bar{x}$  is the mean of sample x,  $\bar{y}$  is the mean for sample y,  $s$  is the standard deviation and  $n$  is  
 138 the sample size. The result of Equation 3 has a Student's  $t$  distribution with  $\nu$  degrees of freedom  
 139 given by (Welch, 1947):

$$140 \quad -2 + \frac{\left(\frac{s_x^2}{n_x} + \frac{s_y^2}{n_y}\right)^2}{\frac{\left(\frac{s_x^2}{n_x}\right)^2}{n_x+1} + \frac{\left(\frac{s_y^2}{n_y}\right)^2}{n_y+1}} \quad (4)$$

141 To gauge beliefs surrounding mask wearing, respondents were asked to indicate their  
 142 belief in a variety of mask related questions. Statements included: *yes masks have some potential*  
 143 *role in U.S. society related to the spread of viral disease including COVID-19, wearing a mask*  
 144 *helps prevent the spread of COVID-19, wearing a mask helps prevent me from getting COVID-*  
 145 *19, wearing a mask helps prevent me from spreading COVID-19, wearing a mask will help*  
 146 *prevent future lock-downs in my community related to COVID-19, there is social pressure in my*  
 147 *community to wear a mask, wearing a mask does not prevent the spread of COVID-19, and*  
 148 *wearing a mask has negative health consequences for the mask wearer.* The test of proportions  
 149 (Equations 1 and 2) was used to statistically compare the percentage of respondents with children  
 150 in their household and those without who believed in the statements.

151 Respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1 (not impacted) to 5 (impacted) the  
 152 level of impact they experienced due to COVID-19 for 5 different areas of daily life.

153 Respondents also had the option to select *does not apply to me*. The activities included: *daily*  
 154 *activities outside of work/school, ability to buy paper products (e.g., toilet paper, paper towels),*  
 155 *ability to find meat, milk, and perishable grocery items, ability to execute travel plans, and*  
 156 *activities related to respondent's work/school*. The percent of respondents who selected each  
 157 option was determined for those who indicated having children in the household and those that  
 158 did not. After removing the respondents who indicated that particular activity did not apply to  
 159 them, the mean of the responses was calculated. A t-test was used to statistically compare the  
 160 mean impact level for those who indicated having children in the household and those who did  
 161 not for each activity.

162 A series of ordinary least square (OLS) regressions were employed using STATA/SE16  
 163 (StataCorp, 2019) to evaluate the relationship between demographics, mask-related beliefs, and  
 164 the impact level respondents felt from COVID-19 in their daily activities. Correlated error terms  
 165 for the equations are likely suggesting a seemingly unrelated regression would be appropriate;  
 166 however the independent variables did not differ therefore seemingly unrelated regression  
 167 collapses to ordinary least squares (Greene, 2003). Given impact level  $L$  activity  $i$  and respondent  
 168  $n$  the equation can be given as:

$$169 \quad L_{in} = \beta_1 Kids_{in} + \beta_2 Female_{in} + \beta_3 Age_{in} + \beta_4 Income_{in} + \beta_5 HighCase_{in} + \beta_6 HighCap_{in} +$$

$$170 \quad \beta_7 HighIncrease_{in} + \beta_8 YesMasks_{in} + \varepsilon_{in} \quad (5)$$

171 where  $Kids_{in}$  is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent reported children in the  
 172 household,  $Female_{in}$  is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent selected female or  
 173 male,  $Age_{in}$  is a continuous variable ranging from 1 (age 18-24) to 6 (65+),  $Income_{in}$  is a  
 174 continuous variable ranging from 1 (income of \$0-\$24,999) to 5 (income of \$100,000 or greater),  
 175  $HighCase_{in}$  is a dummy variable indicating the respondents reported residence in a state with

176 greater than 401,000 cases of COVID-19,  $HighCap_{in}$  is a dummy variable indicating the  
177 respondents reported residence in a state with a high per-capita number of COVID-19 cases,  
178  $HighIncesase_{in}$  is a dummy variable that indicates the respondents reported residence in a state  
179 that experienced a spike in COVID-19 cases post memorial day 2020, and  $YesMasks_{in}$  indicates  
180 the respondent believed masks had a role in U.S. society related to the spread of COVID-19. The  
181 error term is represented by  $\varepsilon_{in}$ .

182 Respondents who reported there was a child in the household were asked about whether  
183 four additional statements occurred in their household as a result of COVID-19. The statements  
184 were: *my child was no longer able to attend daycare, stay with a family member etc. for*  
185 *childcare, I had to take on schooling activities for my child, I was not able to continue working*  
186 *or had to cut back on work hours due to childcare responsibilities, and my childcare and*  
187 *educational routine did not change due to COVID-19. A multivariate probit (Cappellari and*  
188 *Jenkins, 2003) was employed to estimate the relationship between these statements (which took*  
189 *on the value of 1 if it occurred, and 0 otherwise) and demographics. The individual models were*  
190 *also estimated independently in order to obtain marginal effects, since the estimated marginal*  
191 *effects for each outcome are independent of the correlation structure itself (Mullahy, 2017).*  
192 Given child related occurrence  $j$ , where  $j$  is equal to an affirmative response to one of the  
193 following occurrences: *my child was no longer able to attend daycare, stay with a family*  
194 *member etc. for childcare, I had to take on schooling activities for my child, or my childcare and*  
195 *educational routine did not change due to COVID-19, the dependent variable  $Y$  (yes it occurred)*  
196 can be estimated as:

$$197 \quad Y_{jn} = \beta_1 Female_{jn} + \beta_2 Age_{jn} + \beta_3 Income_{jn} + \beta_4 ImpactOutsideWork_{jn} + \alpha_{jn}. \quad (6)$$



198  $Female_{jn}$  is a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent self-reported as female,  $Age_{jn}$  is  
199 a continuous variable ranging from 1 (age 18-24) to 6 (65+),  $Income_{jn}$  is a continuous variable  
200 ranging from 1 (income of \$0-\$24,999) to 5 (income of \$100,000 or greater),  
201  $ImpactOutsideWork_{jn}$  is the level of impact from 1 (not impacted) to 5 (impacted) that COVID-  
202 19 had on the respondent's daily activities outside of work. For the occasion *I was not able to*  
203 *continue working or had to cut back on work hours due to childcare responsibilities* dependent  
204 variable  $Y$  (yes it occurred) can be estimated as:

$$205 \quad Y_n = \beta_1 Female_n + \beta_2 Age_n + \beta_3 Income_n + \beta_4 ImpactWork_n + \alpha_n. \quad (7)$$

206 Where all variables are as defined in equation 6 and  $ImpactWork_n$  is the level of impact, on a  
207 scale from 1 (not impacted) to 5 (impacted), COVID-19 had on daily activities related to the  
208 respondent's work/school.

## 209

## 210 **Results**

211 Demographics of respondents who indicated there were children in the household differed  
212 statistically from those who did not for several categories (Table 1). Fifty-eight percent of  
213 respondents from the households with children were female and respondents most often  
214 reporting children in the household were between 25 and 54 years of age. A higher percentage of  
215 respondents with children in the household reported over \$100,000 in annual household income  
216 (28%) when compared to those who did not report children in the household and an income over  
217 \$100,000 annually (16%). A lower percentage of respondents with children in the household  
218 reported having a Bachelor's degree (27%) when compared to those who did not have children  
219 and reported a Bachelor's degree (33%). For the statement *I am in the higher risk group for*

220 *complications of COVID-19*, respondents with children had a lower self-reported risk (2.571)  
221 when compared to those without children (2.976).

222 In response to the statement *masks have some potential role in U.S. society related to the*  
223 *spread of viral disease including COVID-19*, there was not a statistical difference between the  
224 percentage of respondents who selected yes and had children (82%) and those that did not have  
225 children (84%) (Table 2). A lower percentage of respondents with children, when compared to  
226 those without children, agreed with the statements *wearing a mask helps prevent the spread of*  
227 *COVID-19*, and *prevents me from spreading COVID-19*. Additionally, a lower percentage of  
228 respondents with children agreed with the statement *wearing a mask will help prevent future*  
229 *lock-downs in my community related to COVID-19* (41%) when compared to those without  
230 children (50%). A higher percentage of respondents with children (17%) agreed with the  
231 statement *wearing a mask has negative health consequences for the mask wearer* when  
232 compared to those without children (11%).

233 For all household activities studied, the mean score on a scale from 1 (not impacted) to 5  
234 (impacted) was statistically higher for those with children in the household when compared to  
235 those without (Table 3). For both groups of respondents, with and without children, *the ability to*  
236 *find meat, milk and perishable grocery items* had the lowest mean impact score. Considering the  
237 OLS equation of the impact score for respondents' daily activities outside of work/school, having  
238 a child increased that impact score by 0.375 (Table 4). Selecting female and believing masks  
239 have a role in society to prevent the spread of COVID-19 increased scores by 0.350 and 0.532,  
240 respectively. As age increased, the impact score decreased. Conversely, as income increased the  
241 score increased for respondents' daily activities outside of work/school. For the model of ability  
242 to buy paper products, having a child increased the impact score by 0.272, being female

243 increased the score by 0.284, and believing masks have a role increased the score by 0.455. For  
244 the model of ability to find meat, milk and perishable grocery items, having a child increased the  
245 impact score by 0.360, being female increased the score by 0.273, and believing masks have a  
246 role increased the score by 0.335. Again, the score decreased as age increased. For the model of  
247 ability to execute travel plans, the impact score increased as income increased, and increased for  
248 those who believed masks have a role in society. For the model of activities related to the  
249 respondent's work/school, having children (0.474), being female (0.235), being in a state with a  
250 high number of cases (0.308), and believing masks had a role (0.484) all increased the impact  
251 score. The impact score also increased with income, and decreased with age.

252 Twenty percent of respondents with children (n=347) indicated their child was no longer  
253 able to access childcare. Additionally, 53% of respondents with children had to take on schooling  
254 activities for their child and 28% were not able to continue working, or had to cut back on hours  
255 due to childcare responsibilities. Finally, 21% of respondents with children indicated their  
256 childcare and educational routine did not change due to COVID-19. More women than men  
257 reported having taken on schooling activities for children, although both sexes reported impacts  
258 on loss of childcare and schooling for their children

259 Considering the probit model of *my child was no longer able to attend daycare, stay with*  
260 *family member etc. for childcare*, the probability of selecting yes decreased with age (-0.044).  
261 Conversely, the probability of saying yes increased with income (0.038). Selecting female  
262 (0.123) increased the probability the respondent took on schooling activities for their child.  
263 Additionally, the probability of taking on schooling activities for their child increased as age  
264 increased (0.113) and increased as the impact from COVID-19 on daily activities outside of  
265 work increased (0.055). The probability the person selected their childcare and educational

266 routine did not change due to COVID-19 decreased with the impact score COVID-19 had on  
267 activities related to their work/school.

268

## 269 **Discussion**

270 The differing demographics between households with and without children were expected due to  
271 the demographics/household characteristics typical of families with children at home. Data from  
272 the 2019 Current Population Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019) indicate over half the women in  
273 the US with a child under the age of 18 are younger than 40 years old.

274 Understanding people's self-perceived risk level for complications or severe illness if  
275 they contract COVID-19 may help explain individual's behaviors. According to the CDC, people  
276 who are at high risk for COVID-19 are those with underlying medical conditions (CDC,  
277 2020b,d) and older adults (especially those 85 years of age or older (CDC, 2020c). The CDC  
278 also lists 12 additional medical conditions which *might* put people at increased risk for severe  
279 illness, including asthma, cystic fibrosis, pregnancy, and high blood pressure (CDC, 2020d). The  
280 mean level of agreement the respondent was at high risk for COVID-19 complications was  
281 statistically lower in households with children which may be partially explained by younger  
282 age(s) of household members. While respondents with children reported less agreement they  
283 were at high risk themselves, the mean response was statistically equivalent for households with  
284 and without children in response to the statement "someone in my household, or that I frequently  
285 spend time with, is at higher risk of complications of COVID-19." Thus, even if the respondent  
286 felt less at risk, the likelihood of interacting with high risk individuals is not lessened in  
287 households with children. This fuels concern about in-person schooling in the sense that while  
288 the children or parents themselves may be at relatively lower risk than others, their networks risk

289 exposure of high risk individuals. Even as schools began to open in some regions of the U.S., the  
290 country remained divided about schools reopening, citing questions about the risk to children  
291 themselves, transmission to/from adults, and a variety of other factors (Tingley, 2020).

292 At the time of data collection, in June 2020, there was less agreement in households with  
293 children that wearing a mask helps prevent the spread of COVID-19, helps prevent the wearer  
294 from spreading the disease, and helps prevent future community lockdowns related to COVID-  
295 19. Lesser agreement in households with children that mask wearing may prevent future  
296 lockdowns is puzzling, although possible explanations, include pessimism associated with school  
297 opening plans and/or lengthened time without childcare options. Perhaps part of the lack of  
298 agreement that masks can aid societal outcomes is related to the consequences faced by parents  
299 during the ongoing pandemic. Past literature has explored a variety of aspects of workplace  
300 versus home stresses faced by caregivers, ranging from the overemphasis of workplace stress and  
301 largely ignored stresses of home, especially for women (Baruch, et al., 1987), to the application  
302 of workplace stress management practices for home caregivers (Winefield, 2000).

303 Statistically equivalent proportions of respondents with and without kids in the household  
304 felt there was social pressure to wear masks (33% and 30%) and reported wearing a mask does  
305 not prevent the spread of COVID-19 (16% and 13%) in June 2020. Very few negative health  
306 consequences for the mask wearer have been reported by medical professionals (Marfin, 2020)  
307 but the higher proportion (17% versus 11%) of respondents from households with children  
308 reporting negative health outcomes could be arising due to concerns about masks on very young  
309 children, under 2 years of age, or those who are unable to remove a mask without assistance, for  
310 whom masks are not recommended by the CDC (CDC, 2020e).

311 Higher self-reported impacts for all activities studied by households with children relative  
312 to those without suggests heightened stress in households with kids during the pandemic. The  
313 Household Pulse Survey by the U.S. Census Bureau revealed in an early results release that  
314 “55% of households with a child under the age of 18 had at least one adult lose employment  
315 income since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, higher than the rate for all households”  
316 (Monte, 2020). While ability to find perishable grocery items, like meat and milk, was rated the  
317 lowest mean level of impact in the dataset as a whole, it is notable that impact was higher for  
318 those households with children present. Monte (2020) found adults living with children were  
319 more likely to report sometimes not having enough to eat, and were less confident in their ability  
320 to pay their rent or mortgage in June 2020, than those living without children.

321 Activities outside of work/school and travel are highly correlated with household income  
322 and other demographics. Older respondents may have different shopping behaviors with respect  
323 to stocking pantries and shopping for essentials, for a variety of reasons ranging from intentional  
324 reduction in numbers of trips into public in response to COVID-19 (Miller, 2020) to  
325 tastes/preferences or shopping behaviors formed prior to 2020. Higher income households may  
326 have the ability to fund large quantity purchases at bulk retailers, which may be out of reach for  
327 households with less ability to buy ahead. Constrained cash flow necessitates smaller scale  
328 purchases and thus a higher probability of difficulty finding items during peak demand periods.  
329 Regardless, the presence of children was statistically significant in explaining higher reported  
330 impacts for the diverse set of statements investigated in multivariate analysis.

331 Over half of respondents with children had to take on schooling activities for their child  
332 and twenty percent were impacted by loss of daycare or family childcare. Twenty-eight percent  
333 of respondents had to reduce working hours or stop entirely due to childcare responsibilities. The

334 probability of a child no longer being able to attend daycare or stay with a family member  
335 increased with household income, which may reflect the increased likelihood of higher income  
336 households paying for childcare pre-pandemic. Childcare can cost \$10,000 or more a year if it  
337 can be found at all (Rexrode and Weber, 2020). Many childcare businesses did not survive the  
338 initial pandemic related closings, and those left have additional cleaning and personal protective  
339 gear expenses (Rexrode and Weber, 2020).

340 While age of children was not collected in the survey data, the probability childcare was  
341 impacted decreased with respondent age, perhaps reflecting older respondents who have older  
342 children, on average, not requiring childcare as younger children would. Supporting this  
343 hypothesis is the finding that the probability of taking on school activities increased as  
344 respondent age increased, reflecting the time allocation of older parents, with on average older  
345 children, towards schooling activities. Self-reporting gender as female statistically significantly  
346 increased the probability the respondent took on child schooling activities, adding to a growing  
347 body of literature citing COVID-19 consequences specifically for female caregivers, in addition  
348 to the universal consequences for parents. The most recent American Time Use Survey by the  
349 Bureau of Labor Statistics employs data from before the COVID-19 outbreak, but revealed full-  
350 time working women did more household work than men, like cooking and childcare (BLS,  
351 2020). Additionally, the 2019 based analysis revealed on working days women were slightly  
352 more likely than men (26% compared to 22%) to do all of their work at home (BLS, 2020). The  
353 preexisting disproportionate load of unpaid domestic work on women (BLS, 2020) combined  
354 with their, albeit slight, relative propensity to be at home, set the stage for what is being seen  
355 today in national news and public debate about the toll of the pandemic on women's careers  
356 relative to men's.

357 In the US, the increase of employer-provided childcare options as well as the expansion  
358 of the public schooling system in recent decades target the overall growth in female employment  
359 – especially a rapid growth in employed mothers – which comes with the inevitable work-family  
360 time conflict (Ruhm, 2011). Simonsen (2010) found the cross-price elasticity responsiveness of  
361 female employment to childcare costs is approximately -0.17, indicating that as cost (and in the  
362 extreme case, availability) becomes a significant barrier, female employment decreases. A  
363 similar finding for young mothers in Germany followed in a working paper by Bauernschuster  
364 and Schlotter (2013). Taken together this implies the availability and accessibility of childcare  
365 most benefits women of lower income levels, and therefore may offer improved educational and  
366 career prospects for children of disadvantaged families in developed countries.

367 In the US, school-aged children have the option but not the obligation to attend public or  
368 private school. While subsidized childcare in the US is both sparse and heterogeneous in quality,  
369 it stands to reason that the studies investigating the impacts of childcare services on female  
370 employment apply in the American context. Indeed, with the tax-funded availability of diverse  
371 schooling options serving as a coarse proxy for subsidized childcare services, it stands to reason  
372 US female employment is higher than it would be without such options available. Hence, without  
373 them (in the event of a widespread, pandemic-induced closure) it is plausible to conclude US  
374 female employment has disproportionately suffered due to shutdowns of daycare centers and  
375 schools. This line of reasoning in existing literature is largely confirmed empirically by our  
376 results that women, more often than men, reported taking on schooling responsibilities after  
377 shutdowns induced by COVID-19. Not all cases involved termination of employment in order to  
378 take on the educational activities by women in the household; in many cases juggling of  
379 employment from home alongside childcare and/or shifting or reducing hours were reported. The



380 adjustments undertaken in all of these cases, however, illustrate the complexities and  
381 multiplicative nature of household stresses amassing to households, especially those with  
382 children present, during the pandemic.

383 While ability to work from home varies by profession, industry, and by a multitude of  
384 individual-specific factors, emerging evidence reveals gender inequality with respect to  
385 professional advancement activities during work-from-home. Kim and Patterson (2020) found  
386 evidence from analysis of social media use by political scientists for career advancement that the  
387 gap in work-related tweets between male and female academics roughly tripled following work-  
388 from-home. Thus, while the ability to work from home may aid in maintaining employment,  
389 compared to employment activities that must be conducted outside the home, the professional,  
390 economic, and societal implications of how adjustments impact individuals with varying  
391 demographics cannot be ignored.

392

### 393 **Conclusions and Implications**

394 Higher self-reported impacts on household activities and procurement of essential goods in  
395 households with children were documented. This analysis provides empirical support for the now  
396 popularized conversation around the disproportionate impacts of COVID-19 adjustments on  
397 women, including both with respect to reported impact on everyday activities and taking on  
398 caregiving activities. The societal impacts for loss of childcare and educational opportunities,  
399 alongside lost professional opportunities for caretakers, which could take years to materialize in  
400 measurable ways cannot be ignored.

401 Whilst this analysis focused exclusively on providing childcare, caregiving domestically  
402 should be explored more generally. Childcare and schooling offers an obvious entry into this

403 conversation as it is easily identified, measured, and quantified, but caregiving activities may  
404 incorporate children, individuals with special or exceptional needs, elders, or short-term  
405 caretaking of others who may be ill or in recovery from medical procedures. The COVID-19  
406 pandemic with associated health concerns, including raised awareness for caregivers of those  
407 who qualify as high risk for complications if they contract the disease, and associated household  
408 and societal changes taking place simultaneously strain caregivers (Allegretto, 2020).

409

410

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522

523 Table 1. Demographics for respondents who reported children in their household and those that  
 524 did not report children in their household. Percentage of respondents.

<b>Demographic Variable</b>	<b>Children in the Household n=347</b>	<b>No Children in the Household n=851</b>
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	41 <sup>Ψ</sup>	50 <sup>Ψ</sup>
Female	58 <sup>Ψ</sup>	50 <sup>Ψ</sup>
<i>Age</i>		
18-24	12	10
25-34	29 <sup>Ψ</sup>	13 <sup>Ψ</sup>
35-44	30 <sup>Ψ</sup>	11 <sup>Ψ</sup>
45-54	21 <sup>Ψ</sup>	17 <sup>Ψ</sup>
55-65	5 <sup>Ψ</sup>	22 <sup>Ψ</sup>
65 +	3 <sup>Ψ</sup>	27 <sup>Ψ</sup>
<i>Income</i>		
\$0-\$24,999	24	24
\$25,000-\$49,999	19 <sup>Ψ</sup>	27 <sup>Ψ</sup>
\$50,000-\$74,999	14 <sup>Ψ</sup>	20 <sup>Ψ</sup>
\$75,000-\$99,999	14	13
\$100,000 and higher	28 <sup>Ψ</sup>	16 <sup>Ψ</sup>
<i>Education</i>		
Did not graduate from high school	4	2
Graduated from high school, Did not attend college	29	29
Attended College, No Degree earned	25	23
Attended College, Associates or Bachelor's Degree earned	27 <sup>Ψ</sup>	33 <sup>Ψ</sup>
Attended College, Graduate or Professional Degree earned	15	13
<i>Region of residence</i>		
Northeast	20	18
South	40	39
Midwest	20	22
West	20	21
<i>State COVID status</i>		
High number of cases	66	68
High number of cases by population	14	15
High increase in cases	22	23
<i>Perceived COVID risk</i>		
	Mean	Mean
	(SD)	(SD)
Someone in my household, or that I frequently spend time, with is at higher risk of complications of COVID-19 <sup>1</sup>	2.919 (0.082)	2.914 (0.053)
I am in the higher risk group for complications of COVID-19 <sup>1</sup>	2.571 <sup>Ψ</sup> (0.078)	2.976 <sup>Ψ</sup> (0.052)

525 <sup>Ψ</sup>Indicates the percentage or mean of respondents who indicated they had children in their  
 526 household and those that did not is statistically different at the <0.05 level

527 <sup>1</sup>Indicated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

528

529 Table 2. Comparison between the percentage of respondents with and without children in the household who believe the following  
 530 statements regarding masks. (Percentage of respondents)

	Children in the Household N=347	No Children in the Household N=851
YES - masks have some potential role in U.S. society related to the spread of viral disease	82	84
Wearing a mask helps prevent the spread of COVID-19	62 <sup>ψ</sup>	73 <sup>ψ</sup>
Wearing a mask helps prevent me from getting COVID-19	51	54
Wearing a mask helps prevent me from spreading COVID-19	59 <sup>ψ</sup>	66 <sup>ψ</sup>
Wearing a mask will help prevent future lock-downs in my community related to COVID-19	41 <sup>ψ</sup>	50 <sup>ψ</sup>
There is social pressure in my community to wear a mask	33	30
Wearing a mask does not prevent the spread of COVID-19	16	13
Wearing a mask has negative health consequences for the mask wearer	17 <sup>ψ</sup>	11 <sup>ψ</sup>

531 <sup>ψ</sup>Indicates the percentage of respondents who indicated there were children in their household and selected yes to that statement is  
 532 statistically different from the percentage of people who did not indicate there were children in the household and said yes to that  
 533 statement. <0.05 level  
 534

535 Table 3. Impact level of COVID-19 on daily life for those who reported children in the household (Kids N=347) and those who did  
 536 not report children in the household (No Kids N=851) and mean response for both groups for all respondents who did not select does  
 537 not apply to me (n given in table).

Household Activity	1 (Not impacted)		2		3		4		5 (Impacted)		Does not apply to me		Mean (St Dev)	
	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids	Kids	No Kids
Respondents daily activities outside of work/school	6%	15%	5%	10%	17%	18%	26%	20%	41%	28%	4%	9%	3.93ab <sup>‡</sup> (1.19) N=333	3.40a <sup>‡</sup> (1.44) N=773
Ability to buy paper products (e.g., toilet paper, paper towels)	8%	17%	10%	10%	17%	20%	28%	24%	35%	27%	2%	2%	3.74b <sup>‡</sup> (1.26) N=339	3.36a <sup>‡</sup> (1.42) N=833
Ability to find meat, milk, and perishable grocery items	12%	23%	14%	17%	20%	23%	27%	20%	25%	14%	2%	3%	3.40c <sup>‡</sup> (1.33) N=341	2.85b <sup>‡</sup> (1.38) N=826
Ability to execute travel plans	7%	12%	3%	4%	13%	9%	19%	12%	45%	38%	13%	25%	4.07a <sup>‡</sup> (1.22) N=301	3.80c <sup>‡</sup> (1.50) N=634
Activities related to respondent's work/school	8%	17%	6%	6%	10%	9%	20%	11%	46%	24%	11%	33%	4.00a <sup>‡</sup> (1.30) N=309	3.29a <sup>‡</sup> (1.62) N=571

538 <sup>‡</sup>Matching letters indicate the mean is statistically different down the column. For example the mean for respondents daily activities outside of work/school is  
 539 statistically different than ability to find meat, milk and perishable grocery items at the <0.05 level.

540 <sup>‡</sup>Indicates the mean is statistically different between those who have children and do not have children for that activity at the <0.05 level.

541



542 Table 4. Ordinary least squares model of the impact of COVID-19 on respondents activities on a scale of 1 (not impacted) 5  
 543 (impacted). Respondents who indicated the activity applied to them, N given in table.

	Respondents daily activities outside of work/school		Ability to buy paper products (e.g., toilet paper, paper towels)		Ability to find meat, milk, and perishable grocery items		Ability to execute travel plans		Activities related to respondent's work/school	
	N=									
	R-squared	0.0882	0.0511	0.078	0.0825	0.1176				
	Prob>F	<0.000	<0.000	<0.000	<0.000	<0.000				
	Coef.	P-	Coef.	P-	Coef.	P-	Coef.	P-	Coef.	P-
	(SE)	Value	(SE)	Value	(SE)	Value	(SE)	Value	(SE)	Value
Children present in the household	0.375 (0.094)	<0.000	0.272 (0.094)	0.004	0.360 (0.093)	<0.000	0.197 (0.103)	0.055	0.474 (0.110)	<0.000
Female	0.350 (0.081)	<0.000	0.284 (0.080)	<0.000	0.273 (0.079)	0.001	0.010 (0.090)	0.907	0.235 (0.100)	0.019
Age	-0.088 (0.026)	0.001	-0.070 (0.026)	0.008	-0.146 (0.026)	<0.000	0.007 (0.029)	0.814	-0.198 (0.034)	<0.000
Income	0.095 (0.029)	0.001	0.015 (0.028)	0.597	-0.024 (0.028)	0.389	0.222 (0.032)	<0.000	0.114 (0.036)	0.001
State with high number of cases	0.171 (0.089)	0.055	0.045 (0.087)	0.608	-0.000 (0.086)	0.994	0.030 (0.098)	0.763	0.308 (0.109)	0.005
State with high number of cases per capita	0.050 (0.119)	0.676	-0.201 (0.117)	0.087	-0.160 (0.116)	0.166	-0.008 (0.133)	0.95	-0.141 (0.145)	0.331
State with high increase in cases	-0.112 (0.099)	0.257	-0.221 (0.098)	0.024	-0.107 (0.097)	0.269	-0.038 (0.110)	0.728	-0.154 (0.123)	0.212
Believes masks have a role	0.532 (0.108)	<0.000	0.455 (0.108)	<0.000	0.335 (0.107)	0.002	0.458 (0.122)	<0.000	0.484 (0.131)	<0.000
Constant	2.868 (0.179)	<0.000	3.206 (0.179)	<0.000	3.292 (0.176)	<0.000	2.749 (0.197)	<0.000	3.241 (0.217)	<0.000

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547 Table 5. Individual probit models of child related occurrences due to COVID-19

	My child was no longer able to attend daycare, stay with a family member etc for childcare			I had to take on schooling activities for my child			I was not able to continue working or had to cut back on work hours due to childcare responsibilities			My childcare and educational routine did not change due to COVID-19		
Pseudo R-squared	0.0387			0.0634			0.0660			0.0231		
Prob>Chi squared	0.0111			<0.000			<0.000			0.0231		
	Coefficient (SE)	Marginal effect (SE)	P-value <sup>2</sup>	Coefficient (SE)	Marginal effect (SE)	P-value <sup>2</sup>	Coefficient (SE)	Marginal effect (SE)	P-value <sup>2</sup>	Coefficient (SE)	Marginal effect (SE)	P-value <sup>2</sup>
Female	-0.100 (0.163)	0.028 (0.045)	0.541	0.309 (0.147)	0.123 (0.058)	0.035	-0.094 (0.160)	0.032 (0.054)	0.558	-0.079 (0.162)	0.022 (0.047)	0.629
Age	-0.159 (0.073)	-0.044 (0.020)	0.028	0.283 (0.064)	0.113 (0.025)	<0.000	-0.292 (0.074)	0.098 (0.025)	<0.000	-0.098 (0.069)	0.028 (0.020)	0.154
Income	0.140 (0.054)	0.038 (0.015)	0.010	-0.034 (0.049)	0.013 (0.019)	0.486	-0.049 (0.054)	0.016 (0.018)	0.361	0.070 (0.054)	0.020 (0.015)	0.195
COVID-19 impact on daily activities outside of work <sup>1</sup>	0.100 (0.070)	0.027 (0.019)	0.154	0.138 (0.060)	0.055 (0.024)	0.022				-0.141 (0.064)	0.040 (0.018)	0.027
COVID-19 impact on activities related to your work/school <sup>1</sup>							0.145 (0.064)	0.048 (0.021)	0.024			
Constant	-1.002 (0.431)			-1.637 (0.378)			0.143 (0.393)			-0.055 (0.389)		

548 <sup>1</sup> On a scale of 1 (not impacted) 5 (impacted)

549 <sup>2</sup>This is the p-value of the marginal effect

550 Table 6. Multivariate probit models of child related occurrences due to COVID-19

	My child was no longer able to attend daycare, stay with a family member etc for childcare		I had to take on schooling activities for my child		I was not able to continue working or had to cut back on work hours due to childcare responsibilities		My childcare and educational routine did not change due to COVID-19	
	Coefficient (SE)	P-value	Coefficient (SE)	P-value	Coefficient (SE)	P-value	Coefficient (SE)	P-value
Female	-0.044 (0.168)	0.795	0.341 (0.152)	0.025	-0.007 (0.162)	0.966	0.005 (0.157)	0.977
Age	-0.189 (0.080)	0.019	0.249 (0.070)	<0.000	-0.299 (0.075)	<0.000	-0.112 (0.073)	0.123
Income	0.136 (0.057)	0.017	-0.032 (0.051)	0.536	-0.031 (0.054)	0.574	0.063 (0.054)	0.245
COVID-19 impact on daily activities outside of work <sup>1</sup>	0.137 (0.077)	0.074	0.133 (0.064)	0.038			-0.174 (0.063)	0.006
COVID-19 impact on activities related to your work/school <sup>1</sup>					0.122 (0.063)	0.053		
Constant	-1.031 (0.455)	0.023	-1.461 (0.400)	<0.000	0.190 (0.396)	0.632	0.182 (0.379)	0.63

<sup>1</sup> On a scale of 1 (not impacted) 5 (impacted)

Note: Prob>Chi squared is <0.000. Likelihood ratio test that the correlation of the residuals between the equations is equal to zero is rejected at the <0.000 level.

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