THE GENDERED CONSEQUENCES OF COVID-19: INITIAL INSIGHTS FOR AMERICAN FAMILIES

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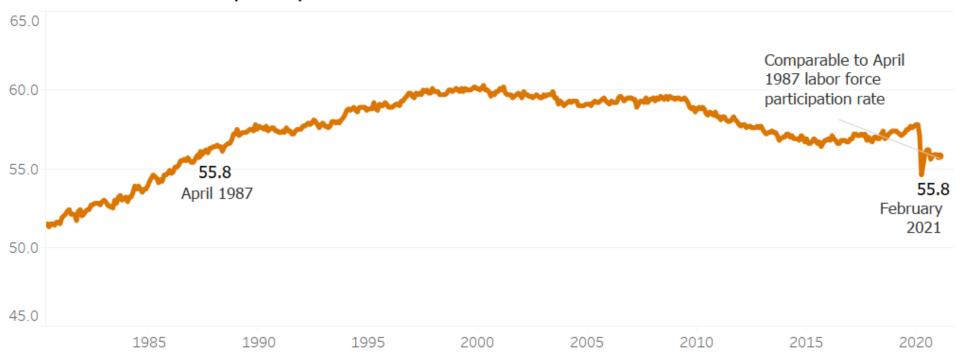
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COVID-19 IS DISPROPORTIONATELY IMPACTING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

- Women have experienced higher job loss and slower recovery than men
- Women are clustered in industries hardest hit by the pandemic
- Women remain disproportionately responsible for childcare which makes employment difficult in light of school closures
- The COVID-19 pandemic is creating a "she-cession"

Women's labor force participation rate: 1980-2021



Note: Seasonally adjusted labor force participation rate of women ages 16 and over.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey

Graphic: Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR PARENTS – ESPECIALLY MOTHERS?

We know:

- Mothers are more likely to "scale back" or "opt out" of employment when young children are present
- Mothers are more likely to assume a larger share of the housework and childcare even when working full-time
- Gaps in mothers' employment following childbirth have major long-term consequences - widening economic and employment gender gaps

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR PARENTS?

GENDER REVOLUTION?

WIDENING OF GENDER GAPS?

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FEMINIST FRONTIERS

COVID-19 and the gender gap in work hours

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Caitlyn Collins, Department of Sociology, Washington University in St Louis, 1 Brookings Drive, St. Louis, Missouri 63130, School and day care closures due to the COVID-19 pandemic have increased caregiving responsibilities for working parents. As a result, many have changed their work hours to meet these growing demands. In this study, we use panel data from the US Current Population Survey to examine changes in mothers' and fathers' work hours from February through April 2020, the period of time prior to the widespread COVID-19 outbreak in the United States and through its first peak. Using person-level fixed effects models, we find that mothers with young children have

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO PARENTS' EMPLOYMENT?

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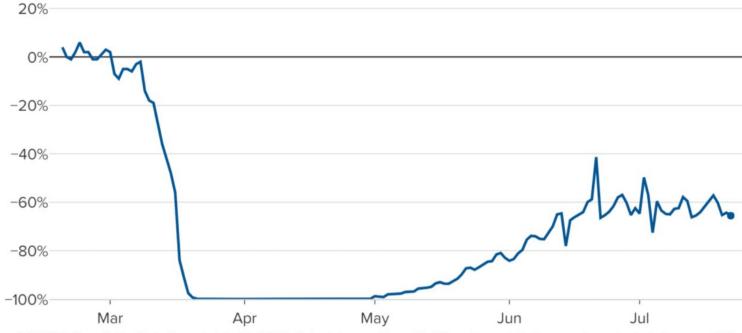
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U.S. Restaurant bookings

Year-over-year change in seated diners at restaurants on the OpenTable network



SOURCE: OpenTable. Data through July 22, 2020. Only states or cities with 50+ restaurants in the sample are included. NOTE: The drop and spike in year-over-year change in June is due to the Father's Day holiday occurring earlier in 2019.







- DATA: Panel Data from the US Current Population Survey
- **SAMPLE:** Dual-Earner, married heterosexual parents
- **TIMEFRAME:** February April 2020, the period of time prior to the widespread COVID-19 outbreak in the United States and through its first peak.
- METHOD: Person-level fixed effects models

TABLE 2 Dual-earner married heterosexual households: person-level fixed effects models predicting changes in work hours, February through April 2020

	Children aged 1-5		Models 1 and	Children aged 6-12		Models 3 and	Children aged 13-17		Models 5 and
	Mothers 1	Fathers 2	2 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?	Mothers 3	Fathers 4	4 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?	Mothers 5	Fathers 6	6 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?
Month (February)									
March	-0.07 (0.40)	0.56 (0.50)	No	-0.60 (0.45)	-0.27 (0.46)	No	0.10 (0.51)	0.05 (0.43)	No
April	-1.77*** (0.51)	-0.45 (0.58)	Yes	-1.85*** (0.54)	-0.23 (0.48)	Yes	-1.47* (0.63)	-1.19* (0.53)	No
Fixed effects	Person	Person		Person	Person		Person	Person	
Constant	8.77** (3.29)	12.80* (5.07)	Yes	8.96* (4.41)	5.74* (2.53)	No	5.57* (2.65)	11.38*** (3.23)	No
N person-months	1194	1194		1464	1464		990	990	
R-squared	0.65	0.45		0.60	0.50		0.54	0.52	

Note. Models include controls for usual hours worked, change in occupation and change in industry. Standard errors in parentheses.

RESULTS

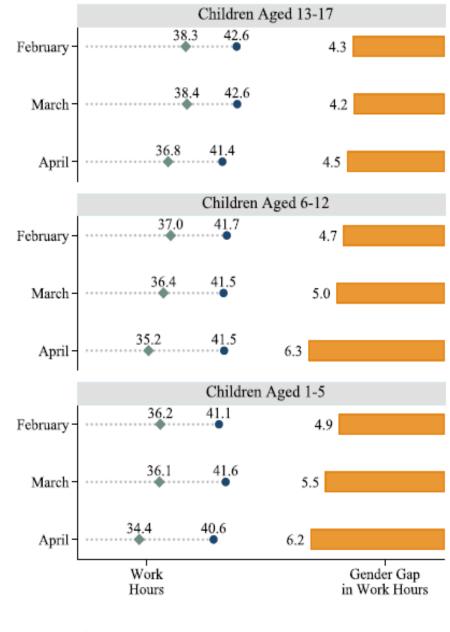
^{*}p < 0.05,

^{**}p < 0.01,

^{***}p < 0.001.

RESULTS

FIGURE 1 Gender gap in hours worked among married, employed parents. Source. Current Population Survey, February, March and April 2020 [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



Mothers' Work Hours

Fathers' Work Hours

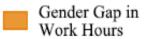


TABLE 3 Telecommuting workers: person-level fixed effects models predicting changes in work hours, February through April 2020

	Children aged 1	-5	Models 1 and 2 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?	Children aged 6-12			Children aged 13-17		
	Mothers 1	Fathers 2		Mothers 3	Fathers 4	Models 3 and 4 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?	Mothers 5	Fathers 6	Models 5 and 6 coef. sig. differ. (0.05 level)?
Month (February)									
March	0.53 (0.58)	1.20 (0.79)	No	0.39 (0.79)	-0.08 (0.69)	No	0.36 (0.93)	0.78 (0.67)	No
April	-2.60** (0.84)	-0.56 (0.97)	Yes	-1.50 (1.01)	-0.40 (0.85)	No	-0.57 (0.89)	-0.33 (0.87)	No
Fixed effects	Person	Person		Person	Person		Person	Person	
Constant	13.04* (6.05)	20.51* (10.07)	No	8.44 (6.33)	0.51 (3.42)	No	4.30 (4.44)	5.38 (3.59)	No
N person-months	570	570		495	495		339	339	
R-squared	0.62	0.36		0.69	0.52		0.52	0.60	

Note. Models include controls for usual hours worked, change in occupation and change in industry. Standard errors in parentheses.

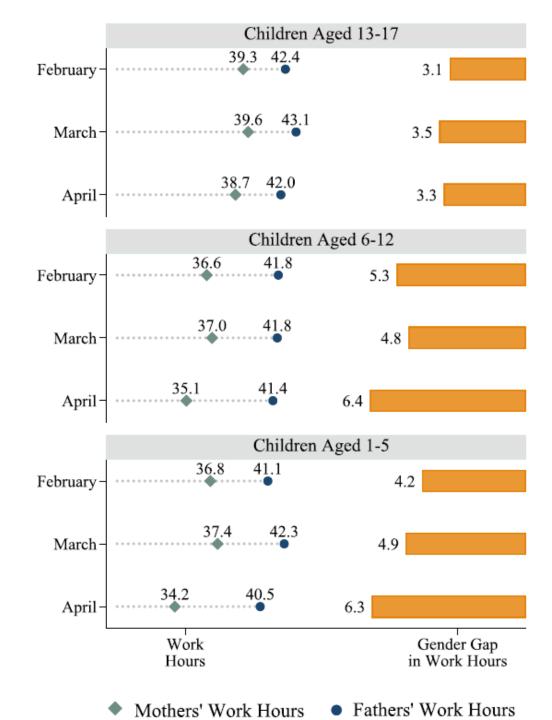
RESULTS

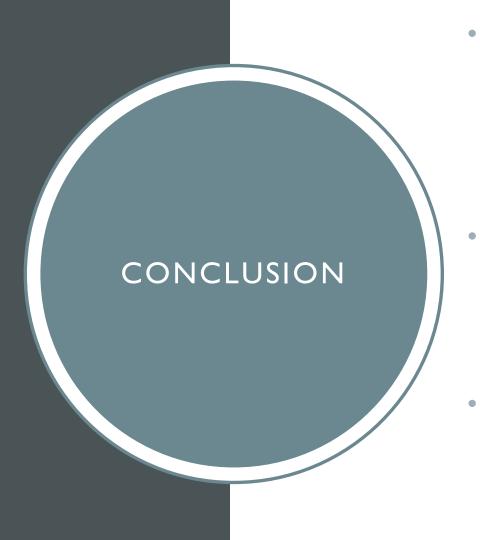
^{*}p < 0.05,

^{**}p < 0.01,

^{***}p < 0.001.

RESULTS





• The gender gap in work hours has grown by 20–50 per cent from February to April as mothers have reduced work time at higher rates than fathers when both are employed

 Telecommuting may have buffered mothers from more extensive job loss as schools and day cares closed.

• Yet, amongst telecommuters, mothers with young children in the home (ages I-5) report work time reductions.

ARE MARRIED
PARENTS
DIFFERENT
FROM COUPLES
WITHOUT KIDS?





Early Signs Indicate That COVID-19 Is Exacerbating Gender Inequality in the Labor Force



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(\$)SAGE

Liana Christin Landivar¹, Leah Ruppanner², William J. Scarborough³, and Caitlyn Collins⁴

Abstract

In this data visualization, the authors examine how the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) crisis in the United States has affected labor force participation, unemployment, and work hours across gender and parental status. Using data from the Current Population Survey, the authors compare estimates between February and April 2020 to examine the period of time before the COVID-19 outbreak in the United States to the height of the first wave, when stay-at-home orders were issued across the country. The findings illustrate that women, particularly mothers, have employment disproportionately affected by COVID-19. Mothers are more likely than fathers to exit the labor force and become unemployed. Among heterosexual married couples of which both partners work in telecommuting-capable occupations, mothers have scaled back their work hours to a far greater extent than fathers. These patterns suggest that the COVID-19 crisis is already worsening existing gender inequality, with long-term implications for women's employment.

Keywords

COVID-19, gender, family, employment, work hours

MARRIED HETEROSEXUAL COUPLES FROM FEBRUARY TO APRIL 2020

DATA: CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY

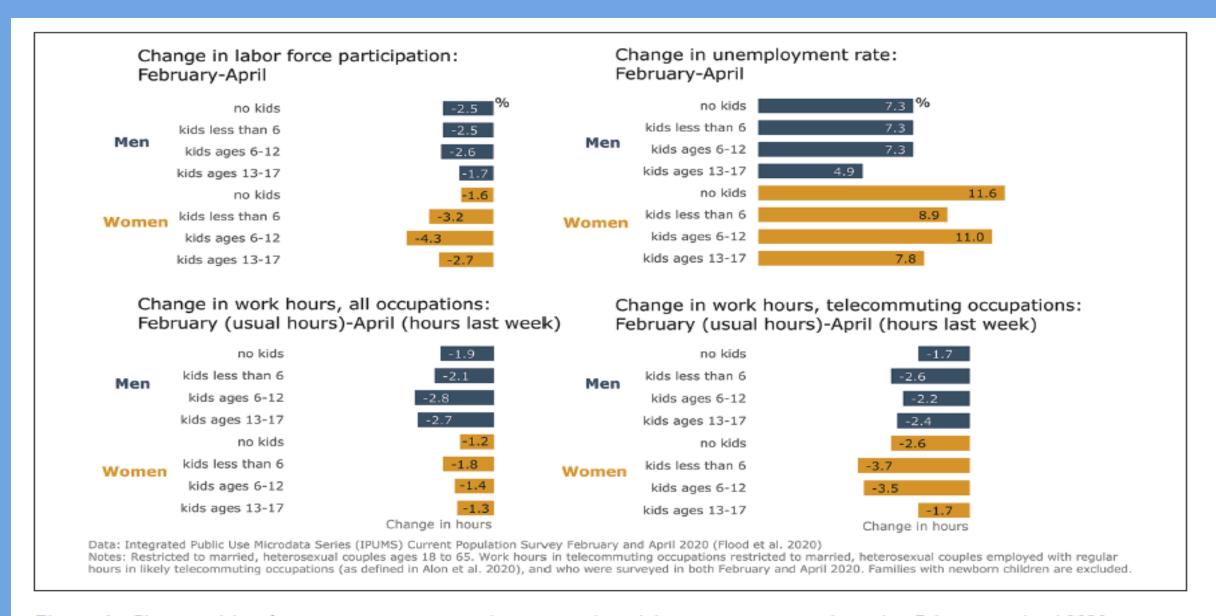


Figure 1. Change in labor force participation, unemployment, and work hours among married couples: February to April 2020. Source: Flood et al. (2020).

CONCLUSIONS

EMPLOYMENT

- Mothers of young children experienced the largest reduction in labor force participation between February and April 2020
- Fathers have also exited the labor force, but their exit rates are 1 to 2 percentage points lower, which means that nearly 250,000 more mothers than fathers with children younger than 13 left the labor force between February and April

CONCLUSIONS

UNEMPLOYMENT

- Women with and those without children are facing the largest increase in unemployment.
- The unemployment rate for mothers with young children grew by double digits between February and April 2020 (a 9 percentage point increase for mothers of children aged younger than 6 and an 11 percentage point increase for mothers of children 6 to 12)

WORK HOURS

• Mothers with young children scaled back by more than 3.5 hours per week between February and April 2020. Fathers scaled back by about 2.5 hours weekly.

The Gendered Consequences of a Weak Infrastructure of Care:

School Reopening Plans and Parents' Employment During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Gender and Society

Caitlyn Collins, Leah Ruppanner, Liana Christin Landivar, and William Scarborough WHAT IS DRIVING MOTHERS' REDUCED EMPLOYMENT?

STATES HAVE VERY
DIFFERENT
INSTITUTIONAL
CHILDCARE
STRUCTURES THAT
IMPACT UPON
MATERNAL
EMPLOYMENT



MOTHERLANDS

How States Push Mothers Out of Employment

LEAH RUPPANNER



PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION:

 ESOS is a comprehensive database on school district reopening status with data for 26 states to date. Upon completion, ESOS will provide data on the reopening status of all elementary school districts in the country serving more than 500 students, or approximately 9,000 school districts, for all 50 states and the District of Columbia. ESOS wave I indicates whether schools were operating fully remote, hybrid, or in-person programs as of September 2020.

DATA, METHOD AND APPROACH

We aggregate school district data to the state level, weighted by student population size, to combine these data with the Current Population Survey (CPS)

We use CPS data for September through November in both 2019 and 2020.

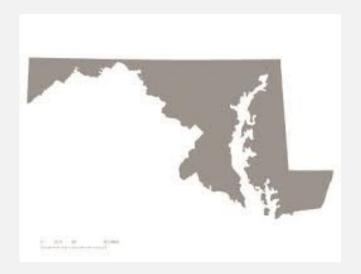
We restrict our sample to mothers and fathers ages 18 to 55 with a youngest child aged 5 to 12.

The sample size across all 26 states is 20,807 respondents in 2019 and 18,889 respondents in 2020 for a total sample of 39,696.

THREE STATES: CASE STUDIES FOR REOPENING

MARYLAND

FULLY REMOTE



NEW YORK

 HYBRID – 50% OPTED FOR IN PERSON 2 x WEEK



TEXAS

 MAJORITY FACE-TO-FACE



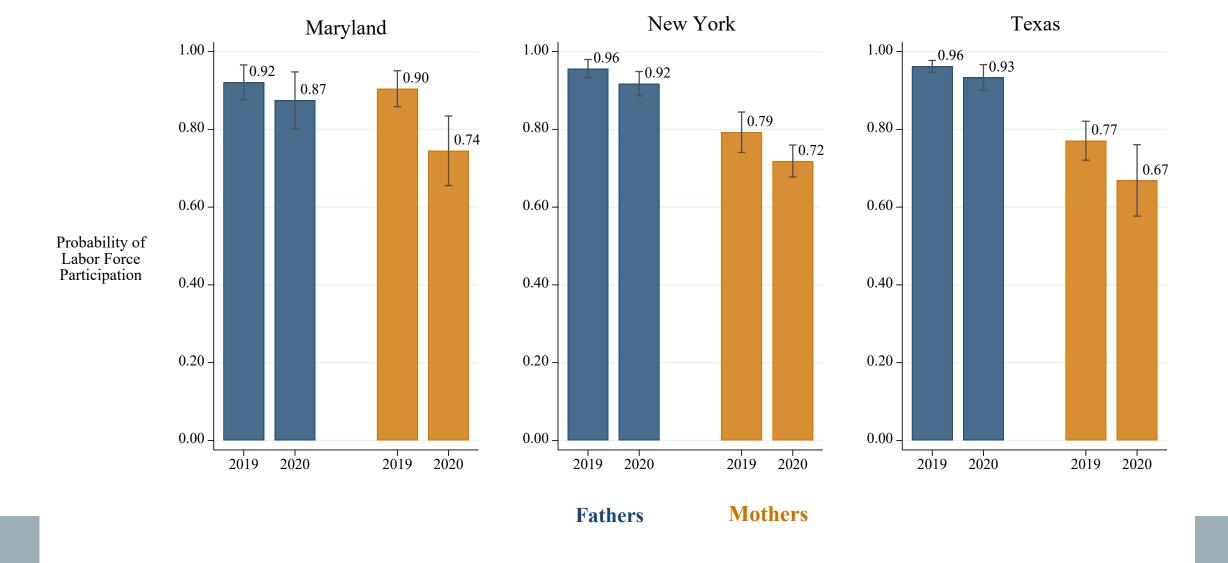
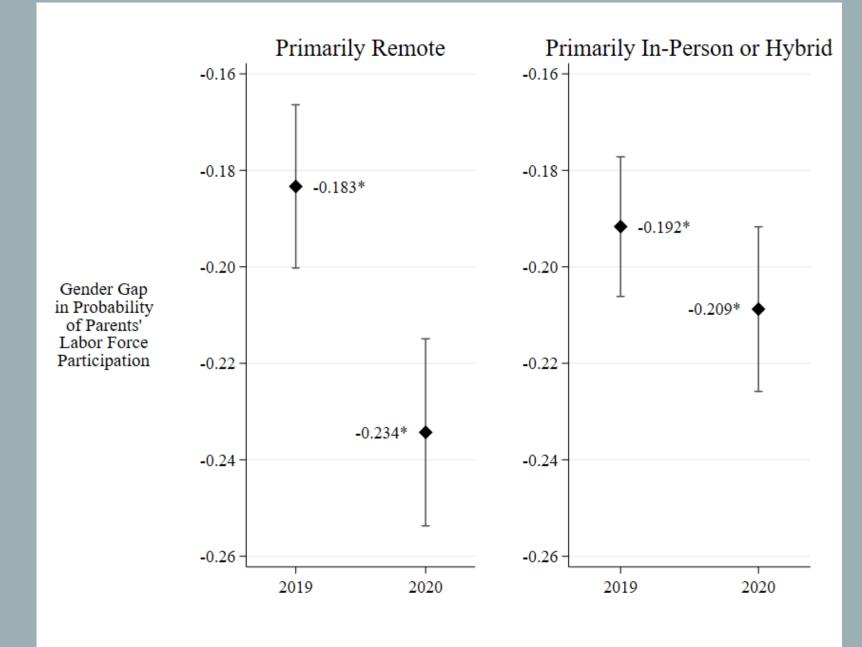


FIGURE 1. PREDICTED PROBABILITIES OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION FOR MOTHERS AND FATHERS WITH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN (5-12) DURING FIRST SEMESTER (SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER) OF SCHOOL YEARS 2019 AND 2020

FIGURE 2. GENDER GAP
IN PARENTS' LABOR
FORCE PARTICIPATION
FOR MOTHERS AND
FATHERS WITH
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLAGE CHILDREN (5-12)
DURING FIRST
SEMESTER
(SEPTEMBERNOVEMBER) OF
SCHOOL YEARS 2019
AND 2020 FOR 26
STATES INCLUDED IN
ESOS WAVE I



CONCLUSIONS

- We find that, across states, maternal labor force rates fell to a greater extent than fathers decining by 5% between 2019 and 2020 (18 vs 23%)
- Mothers of elementary-aged school children in Maryland were 16 percentage points less likely to be in the labor force during the first semester of the 2020 school year than during the same period of 2019 (from 90% to 76%; p<.05).
- Childcare and public schooling are fundamental forms of infrastructure that support families, businesses, and our economy (Folbre 2006). Here, we show remote education had the most detrimental impact on maternal employment.

•

Public School Operating
Status During the COVID-19
Pandemic and Implications
for Parental Employment

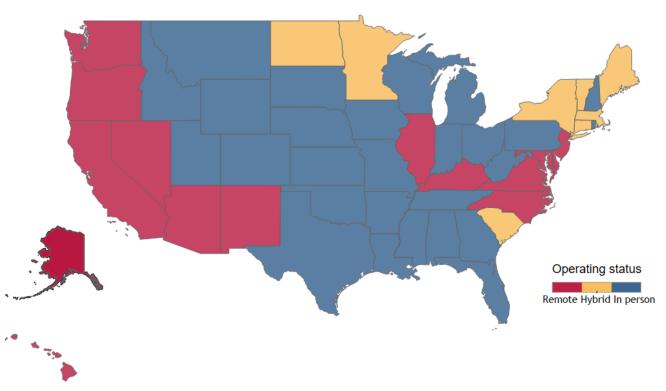
Under Review at Demography

Liana Christin Landivar, Leah Ruppanner, Lloyd Rouse, William Scarborough and Caitlyn Collins ESOS WAVE I COMPLETE

25 MILLION ELEMENTARY STUDENTS

SCHOOL REOPENING AT THE STATE LEVEL

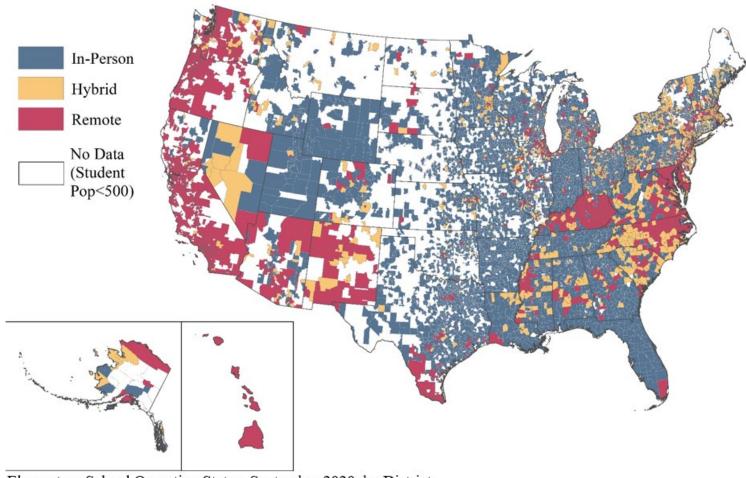
Elementary School District Primary Operating Status in September 2020: **Remote**, **Hybrid**, **In Person**



Source: Elementary School Operating Status wave 1

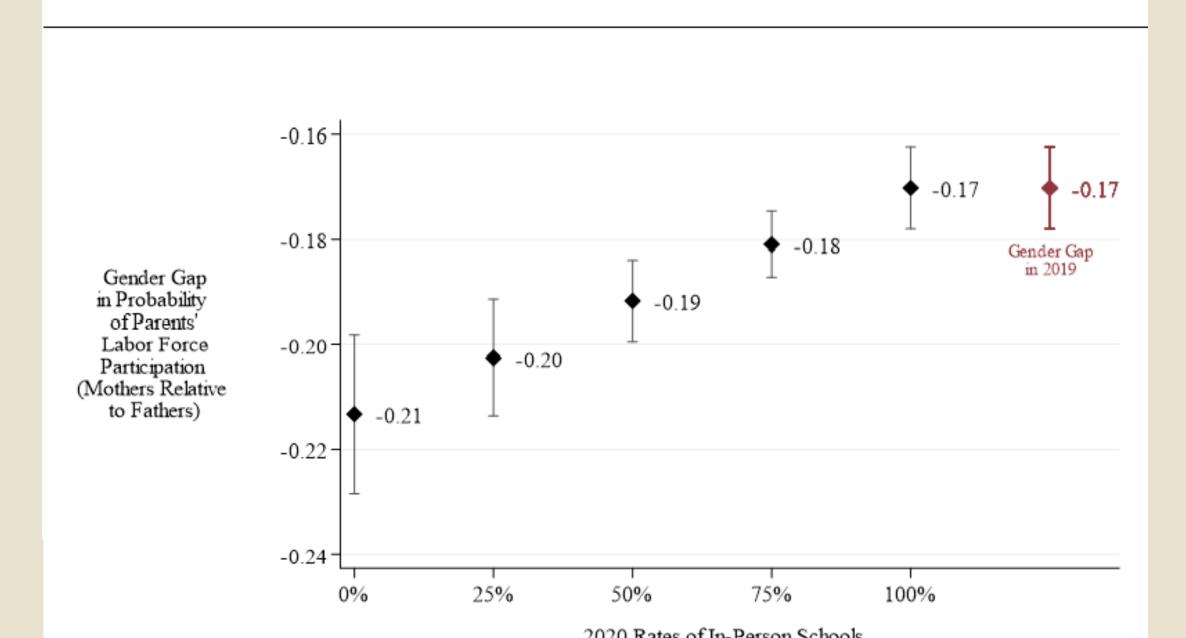
Note: School district-level data aggregated to state level and weighted by student population size.

SCHOOL REOPENING AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL



Elementary School Operating Status, September 2020, by District *Source*: ESOS (Landivar et al. 2021). Data includes all school districts with at least 500 students.

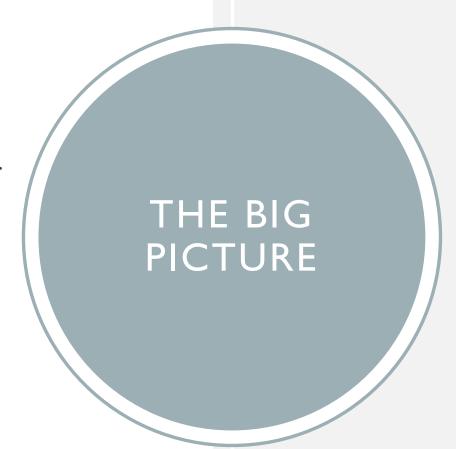
Gender Gap in Parents' Probability of Labor Force Participation by Average Share of Time in In-Person Schooling



• The COVID-19 pandemic has not equalized gender relations but rather has disadvantaged mothers

 American mothers are knocked out of employment at higher rates than fathers and their mental health is impacted by unstable employment and larger domestic loads (see our Masculinities article)

• These experiences vary across states with mothers in states with remote learning particularly disadvantaged



POLICY SOLUTIONS



Zoom out (Ctrl+Minus) Family Relations Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Science

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Head Start and Families' Recovery From Economic Recession: Policy Recommendations for COVID-19

Objective: This article examines whether the availability of Head Start during the Great Recession mitigated the impact of this crisis on poverty rates among families with young children.

Background: The first 2 decades of the 21st century have witnessed two major economic crises: the Great Recession and the COVID-19 pandemic. Poverty rates among families with young children grew substantially during the Great Recession. Families with young children are also more vulnerable to instability during the COVID-19 pandemic because job losses have been steeper and childcare availability has been

Results: States with higher rates of Head Start enrollment had a smaller increase in family poverty during the Great Recession and a more stable recovery than states with lower Head Start enrollment.

Conclusions: These findings suggest that greater access to Head Start programs prevented many families from falling into poverty and helped others exit poverty during the Great Recession.

Implications: The findings provide clear, evidence-based policy recommendations. Increased federal funding for Head Start is needed to support families during a COVID-19



• **DATA:** American Community Survey from 2006 to 2016 and state-level measures of Head Start Enrollment

• **SAMPLE:** Families with children under the age of 5 years - 1,540,486 families across 50 states and Washington, D.C. (between 132,000 and 146,000 families per year)

MODELS: Growth Curve Models

HEAD START ENROLLMENT VARIES ACROSS STATES

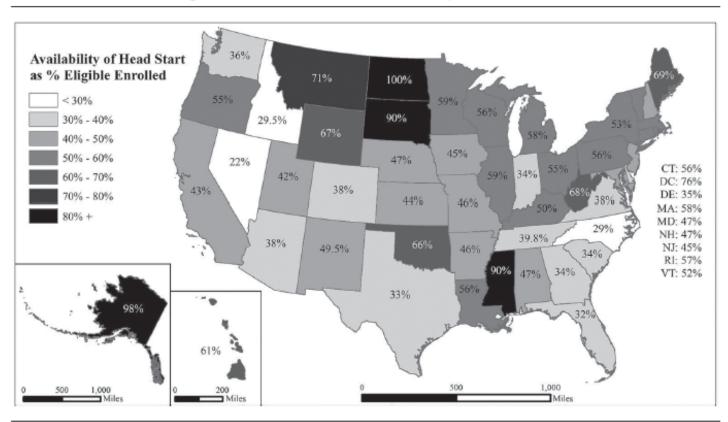
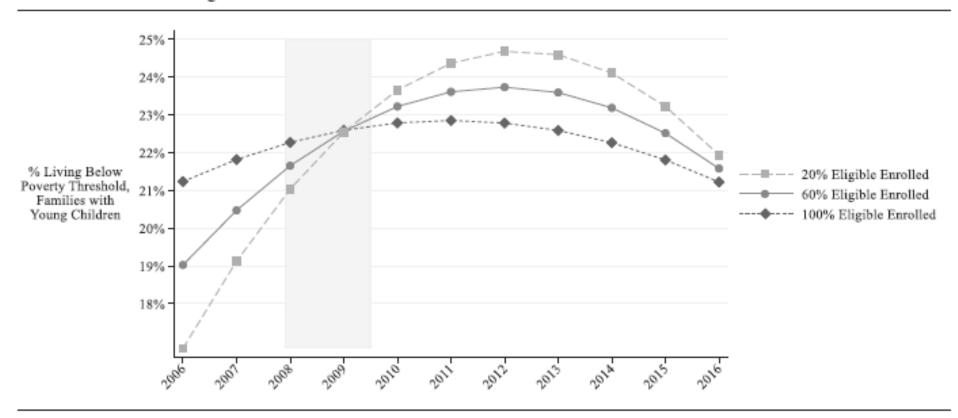


Figure 1. Availability of Head Start in 2009-2011 by State.

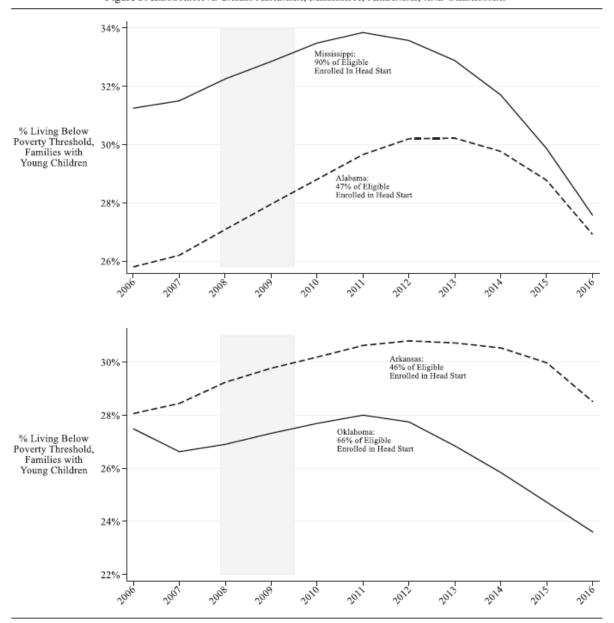
Note. Source: Head Start program information reports, years 2009-2011.

Figure 4. Predicted Family Poverty Rates by Head Start Availability.



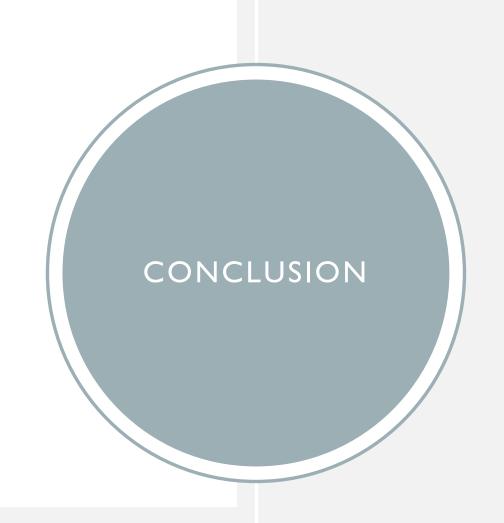
Note. Shaded area represents recession period from December 2007–June 2009.

Figure 5. Illustrative Cases: Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Oklahoma.



Note. Top panel: Convergence in family poverty rates. Bottom panel: Divergence in family poverty rates. Running-mean smoothing is used to highlight longitudinal trends. Shaded areas represent the recession period from December 2007 through

- States with higher rates of Head Start enrollment had a smaller increase in family poverty during the Great Recession and a more stable recovery than states with lower Head Start enrollment
- Greater access to Head Start programs pre-vented many families from falling into poverty and helped others exit poverty during the Great Recession.
- The findings provide clear, evidence-based policy recommendations. Increased federal funding for Head Start is needed to support families during a COVID-19 recession. States should supplement these allocations to expand Head Start enrollment for all eligible families.





Childcare is a critical resource to parental employment

 Our Team: Looking at school operating status and maternal employment – race, occupation, income and parents' resources – during the pandemic

• **Data Gaps:** Comprehensive measures of childcare for those young children (0-5) during the pandemic and, importantly, whether childcare centers reopened or closed permanently

THANK YOU!

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ESOS DATA AVAILABLE AT

HTTPS://OSF.IO/ZEQRJ/