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Research Article

Trajectories of US parents' divisions of domestic labor throughout the COVID-19 pandemic

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Trajectories of US parents' divisions of domestic labor throughout the COVID-19 pandemic

Richard J. Petts¹

Daniel L. Carlson²

Abstract

BACKGROUND

Research on parents' divisions of domestic labor during the COVID-19 pandemic has focused on average changes in housework and child care during the pandemic's first year, limiting our understanding of variation in parents' experiences as well as the long-term consequences of the pandemic for gender inequality.

OBJECTIVE

This study identifies distinct patterns of change in US parents' divisions of housework and child care from spring 2020 to fall 2023 and factors associated with changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor.

METHODS

We use five waves of survey data (2020–2023) from partnered US parents along with group-based trajectory and fixed effects models to identify longitudinal trajectories of parents' divisions of housework and child care, and key factors associated with these trajectories.

RESULTS

Most US parents (75%–80%) maintained the same division of domestic labor throughout the pandemic. Nonetheless, one-quarter experienced long-term changes. Parents were equally as likely to transition to a nontraditional division of housework as to a traditional one (10%) but were four times more likely to transition to a nontraditional division of child care than to a traditional division (21% vs. 5%). Parents were more likely to shift toward a nontraditional division of domestic labor when mothers worked full-time (and earned more income) and fathers worked from home at least sometimes during the pandemic.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

Overall, results suggest that the COVID-19 pandemic affected the long-term division of domestic labor in only a minority of families. Where change has occurred, however, it has been long-lasting, and in the case of child care, the change has tended to reduce gender inequalities rather than exacerbate them.

1. Introduction

Significant attention has been placed on the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic for gender inequality. Numerous studies from early in the pandemic illustrate how mothers increased their time spent in housework and child care as well as decreased their paid labor force participation – fueling concerns that the pandemic was exacerbating gender inequality (e.g., Augustine and Prickett 2022; Calarco et al. 2021; Collins et al. 2020; Landivar et al. 2020; Petts, Carlson, and Pepin 2021). Yet fathers also increased their participation in domestic labor, and divisions of domestic labor in families with different-gender partners became more egalitarian – providing hope that the pandemic would improve gender equality (Augustine and Prickett 2022; Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2022; Chung et al. 2021; Churchill and Craig 2021; Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020).

Despite the flurry of research on shifts in domestic labor early in the pandemic, much less is known about the extent to which these changes endured throughout the pandemic and beyond. Two studies that cover the first year of the pandemic found that fathers' shares of child care remained greater at the end of 2020 than prior to the pandemic but that fathers' shares of housework largely reverted back to pre-pandemic levels (Carlson and Petts 2022; Rodríguez Sánchez, Fasang, and Harkness 2021). One additional study suggests that more egalitarian sharing extended into 2021 as well (André, Remery, and Yerkes 2023). Yet what happened in the subsequent one to two years of the pandemic and beyond remains largely unknown. Moreover, extant survey research has largely focused on average changes and has not considered the possibility that parents' experiences varied throughout the pandemic.

In this study, we use longitudinal data from a national panel of US parents to address these gaps in the literature. Specifically, we ask: (1) what were the patterns of change in parents' divisions of housework and child care throughout the pandemic, and (2) what factors are associated with changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor? Given that conditions continually fluctuated throughout the pandemic, we expect that parents likely experienced different patterns of dividing domestic labor throughout the pandemic. The extent to which parents changed how they divided housework and child care (and whether these changes persisted) was likely influenced by parents' varying circumstances during the pandemic, such as their employment and ability to work remotely. By examining trajectories of parents' divisions of domestic labor and identifying factors that are

associated with these changing patterns, this study provides valuable insight into the long-term effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on gender inequality.

2. Conceptual framework

2.1 Changes throughout the COVID-19 pandemic

The three years of the COVID-19 pandemic (March 12, 2020–May 5, 2023) were a period of flux; reoccurring viral outbreaks and subsequent social distancing measures led to repeated changes in work, school, and child care. Over the course of the pandemic, the United States experienced four waves of COVID-19 outbreaks. The initial wave of COVID, in spring 2020, generated great concern and fear. To limit viral transmission, officials instituted widespread lockdowns, which included the closure of child care centers, schools, and nonessential face-to-face businesses. Most employees worked remotely (Brenan 2020), though some essential service jobs remained in-person.

The shuttering of so many businesses had immediate economic impacts. The US unemployment rate rose from 3.5% to 14.7% from February 2020 to April 2020, and women's employment was particularly affected (Crane et al. 2021; Landivar et al. 2020; US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2020). This gender difference was due in part to female-dominated industries being most affected by lockdowns (Qian and Fuller 2020), but also women were more likely to voluntarily exit the labor force to take on increased domestic responsibilities that resulted from the closure of domestic services and schools (Collins et al. 2020; Petts, Carlson, and Pepin 2021). Indeed, labor force participation fell most precipitously among parents – especially among mothers – during the pandemic (Heggeness and Suri 2021).

Social distancing protocols at the beginning of the pandemic also affected the nature of work for those who remained employed. Specifically, workers in many essential fields, such as health care, continued in their positions, while jobs that could be performed remotely moved into workers' homes. As of 2019, 42 million workers (one-third of the labor force) worked in essential health care or frontline industries; their work continued to occur outside the home (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2021). Women constituted nearly two-thirds of these workers (Rho, Brown, and Fremstad 2020). Though only 10% of remote eligible workers worked exclusively from home in 2019, this number had jumped to nearly 70% by spring 2020 (Wigert and Agrawal 2022).

Not only did lockdowns affect jobs, but they also affected educational and care settings. When the pandemic first hit, all schools and most child care centers closed (Landivar et al. 2022; Procare Solutions 2022). Though federal and state legislatures instituted policies in the early days of the pandemic to aid families affected by lockdowns – including issuing stimulus checks and payroll loans, expanding unemployment insurance, and increasing access to paid leave – little was done to address parents' loss

of care and educational supports (US Department of Labor 2020). With children home, parents' time in domestic labor increased substantially (Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2022; Ruppanner et al. 2021), as did the probability that these responsibilities would conflict with paid work (Montazer et al. 2022). Concomitantly, stress increased in the early days of the pandemic, especially for parents (Carlson et al. 2022; Montazer et al. 2022).

By summer 2020, COVID case counts had dropped substantially (Worldometer). Lockdowns ended, and many face-to-face businesses reopened. Perceptions about the threat of COVID and the need for restrictions were highly polarized (Shepherd, MacKendrick, and Mora 2020). Amid political polarization, school and child care reopening plans moved to the center of the COVID debate. The result was substantial variation in school reopening plans across the country (Landivar et al. 2022). A slight majority (56%) of school districts opened in-person in fall 2020, yet every school district offered a remote option, allowing many parents to choose their children's learning modality. Ultimately, the majority of students attended school either remotely or in a hybrid format (Landivar et al. 2022). Also, child care attendance remained 20%–40% lower throughout the 2020–2021 school year compared to pre-pandemic levels (Procure Solutions 2022).

With lockdown measures relaxed and many children back in school (at least part-time), COVID cases increased significantly in fall 2020 and winter 2021, leading to the highest daily death tolls of the pandemic and substantial public concern (AP NORC Center for Public Affairs Research 2022; Worldometer). Despite increased deaths, policies providing greater access to paid leave for US workers were not extended (Jelliffe et al. 2021). Coinciding with this reduction in family supports, concern over COVID transmission, and a continuation for many of remote work and schooling, labor force participation for some mothers declined again in fall 2020 (Bauer, Estep, and Lee 2021; Landivar and DeWolf 2022; Lofton, Petrosky-Nadeau, and Seitelman 2021).

The first year of the pandemic proved incredibly difficult for parents, but things improved greatly in 2021. The introduction of COVID vaccines in spring 2021 was followed by another decline in COVID-19 cases in summer 2021 (Worldometer). The US economy also rebounded. Though US GDP declined by nearly 4% in 2020, it increased by nearly 6% in 2021 – the highest year-to-year increase since 1984 (Bureau of Economic Analysis 2022). An improved economy coincided with one of the most robust job markets in US history. In June 2021, the number of job openings topped 10 million for the first time on record and would peak in March 2022 (US Bureau of Labor Statistics n.d.). By early 2022, fathers' employment rates had fully rebounded, whereas mothers' employment rates, though higher, had not yet recovered to pre-pandemic levels (Landivar and deWolf 2022).

The introduction of vaccines was also associated with a substantial reduction in social distancing protocols and fears about COVID. Indeed, the vast majority of schools opened the fall 2021 school year in-person (Landivar et al. 2022). Many workers returned to the office, though remote work remained more prominent than pre-pandemic (Pew

Research Center 2022; US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2022). In fact, the overall percentage of home-based workers in the United States, a slight majority of whom are female (51%), tripled between 2019 and 2021, jumping from 6% to 18% (Palarino, Burrows, and McKenzie 2023). Yet relief once again proved fleeting as the United States experienced the largest spike in case counts of the entire pandemic in fall 2021 and winter 2022 (Worldometer).

Following this third wave of COVID, cases declined once more in spring 2022 (Worldometer). By fall 2022, almost all school districts offered in-person schooling and the percentage offering full-time virtual learning options had declined to 14% (Institute of Education Sciences 2022). Attendance at child care centers also rebounded to 90% of pre-pandemic levels (Procure Solutions 2022). The last and smallest wave of COVID cases began in late summer 2022 and stretched into winter 2023, coinciding with outbreaks of other viruses, including influenza and RSV (McKoy 2022). Labor force participation rates for mothers fell again in fall 2022 before rebounding and eventually surpassing pre-pandemic levels by early 2023 (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2023). After this wave dissipated, the US public health emergency declaration associated with the pandemic ended in May 2023.

2.2 Parents' divisions of domestic labor in the early pandemic

Research on changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor during the pandemic has focused largely on the first year of the pandemic. Studies consistently show that during lockdowns, fathers performed greater shares of housework and child care than they did pre-pandemic, leading to more egalitarian arrangements (Augustine and Prickett 2022; Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2022; Chung et al. 2021; Craig and Churchill 2021; Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020). Less is known about what happened after the lockdown period, but existing evidence suggests that this dramatic change in the division of domestic labor was fairly short-lived. By the end of 2020, parents' divisions of housework had largely reverted back to pre-pandemic arrangements (Carlson and Petts 2022; Rodríguez Sánchez, Fasang, and Harkness 2021). The number of US families equally sharing child care tasks also declined at the end of 2020 compared to the lockdown period, but even with this decline, there remained a greater proportion of US families reporting an egalitarian division of child care than pre-pandemic (Carlson and Petts 2022). A recent study also found that a more egalitarian division of child care among Dutch parents persisted after the first year of the pandemic into 2021 (André, Remery, and Yerkes 2023).

Although existing literature provides useful insight into changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor early in the pandemic, we aim to address two notable limitations. First, previous studies have largely focused on average changes in parents' relative shares of domestic responsibilities or the prevalence of traditional (i.e., mother

does most of the domestic labor) or nontraditional divisions. This approach likely masks important variation in how divisions of domestic labor shifted over the course of the pandemic. Second, we know little about trends in domestic labor after the first two years of the pandemic. Given continued fluctuation in circumstances throughout 2021 and 2022, and the end of public declarations of the pandemic in 2023, it is possible that changes in social and structural conditions led to new changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor.

2.3 Theoretical perspectives on parents' divisions of domestic labor

To understand how shifting conditions affected parents' divisions of housework and child care over the course of the pandemic, we draw on a number of theories on the gendered division of labor. First, the *time availability* hypothesis acknowledges that the division of domestic labor may vary based on who has more relative time to perform housework and child care tasks (Blair and Lichter 1991; Cunningham 2007; Gough and Killewald 2011; Noonan, Estes, and Glass 2007). Time availability is most often conceptualized as a function of one's paid work hours, with the assumption that paid work is prioritized over domestic work and that paid work hours are inversely related to time spent in domestic tasks. Indeed, men do more of the domestic labor when their partners work more hours in paid labor but perform less of the domestic labor when they themselves work longer hours (Blair and Lichter 1991; Nordenmark 2004; Ross 1987). Time availability is also a function of access to leave and job flexibility (i.e., the ability to choose one's schedule and/or work from home). Leave policies (e.g., sick leave, parental leave) increase time availability by enabling parents to take time away from paid jobs to attend to family, health, and caretaking needs, whereas schedule control and remote work increase time availability by allowing for more efficient time use and reducing commuting time (in the case of remote work). Notably, research shows that leave-taking, schedule control, and the ability to work from home are all associated with increased family time and child care among fathers, leading to more egalitarian divisions of child care (Bünning 2015; Petts and Knoester 2018; Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2021; Wray 2021; Lyttleton, Zang, and Musick 2023).

Second, the *relative resources* hypothesis suggests that the division of domestic labor is based on socioeconomic resources and power, such that the parent who earns more income has greater bargaining power to avoid domestic tasks due to being the primary breadwinner (Blood and Wolfe 1960). This theory suggests that women have historically performed most of the domestic labor because they earn less than men, whereas men perform more domestic labor as women's shares of family income increase (Carlson and Lynch 2017; Cunningham 2007).

Last, the *gender ideology* hypothesis suggests that parents' domestic arrangements are determined by their endorsement of traditional gender attitudes. That is, parents are

more likely to share domestic tasks equally when they believe more strongly in gender egalitarianism, whereas embracing more traditional gender attitudes increases the likelihood that mothers will perform greater shares of domestic labor (Carlson and Lynch 2013; Dernberger and Pepin 2020).

2.4 Pandemic changes and variations in parents' divisions of domestic labor

Building upon early pandemic research and theories regarding the division of domestic labor in families, we assess the extent to which variations in parents' experiences during the pandemic are associated with differences in their divisions of domestic labor. From a time availability perspective, changes in paid work, leave-taking, remote work/essential work, and schedule flexibility likely led to variations in available time for domestic labor for both mothers and fathers and, accordingly, various ways in which parents divided this labor.

Regarding paid work, losing and (re)gaining employment likely influenced parents' available time and consequently altered how domestic labor was divided in families across the pandemic. Since female-dominated occupations were more affected by lockdowns than male-dominated occupations (Qian and Fuller 2020), the disproportionate number of mothers who became unemployed relative to fathers may have increased the proportion of traditional (compared to nontraditional) divisions of domestic labor early in the pandemic (e.g., Cunningham 2007). Moreover, the higher prevalence of new traditional arrangements may have persisted across the pandemic, especially since fathers reentered the labor market more quickly than mothers. Yet where mothers (re)entered the labor force after lockdowns, families may have shifted (back) to more egalitarian divisions of domestic labor as less time at home for mothers may have facilitated fathers' involvement in domestic tasks. Of course, most families likely experienced no changes in employment during the pandemic. Therefore stable dual-earner families likely maintained more egalitarian divisions of domestic labor across the pandemic, whereas families where mothers were stably out of the labor force throughout the pandemic likely maintained a more traditional division of domestic labor.

Greater access to paid leave in 2020 may have also facilitated changes in the division of domestic labor in families. Fathers' leave-taking likely increased the likelihood of more egalitarian divisions of domestic labor (Bünning 2015; Petts and Knoester 2018), whereas mothers leave-taking may have facilitated more traditional divisions of domestic labor (Zagorsky 2017). Diminishing access to paid leave after 2020 (SHRM 2022) may have led to a reversion back to pre-pandemic divisions of domestic labor for some families.

Regarding job flexibility, fathers' schedule control, fathers' remote work, and mothers' employment in essential jobs (which have little to no job flexibility) were likely associated with more egalitarian divisions of domestic labor during the pandemic, since

fathers likely had more time availability relative to mothers. On the other hand, mothers' job flexibility and fathers' employment in essential jobs should be associated with more traditional divisions of domestic labor. Though shifts into essential jobs were likely rare, shifts toward more job flexibility were common early in the pandemic (Brenan 2020; Wigert and Agrawal 2022). Moreover, job flexibility remains elevated in the United States (Lobell 2023), although it has dropped from early pandemic highs. In families where fathers gained job flexibility during the pandemic, egalitarian divisions of domestic labor should be more likely. In families where mothers gained job flexibility, traditional divisions should be more likely (Chung 2022). Indeed, previous research illustrates that fathers' remote work (positive) and mothers' remote work (negative) were associated with the likelihood of egalitarian divisions of domestic labor during the first two years of the pandemic, and mothers who were essential workers experienced a decline in child care tasks (André, Remery, and Yerkes 2023; Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2021; Carlson and Petts 2022; Lyttleton, Zang, and Musick 2023). Given changes in parents' job flexibility, we expect that in families where fathers gained and then lost flexibility, divisions of domestic labor became more egalitarian early in the pandemic before reverting to a more traditional division as the pandemic progressed. Conversely, in families where fathers gained and retained job flexibility, it is likely that divisions of domestic labor became more egalitarian and that these new arrangements persisted. We expect the opposite patterns regarding mothers' job flexibility.

From a relative resources perspective, fluctuations in labor force participation may have contributed to shifts in relative earnings between mothers and fathers. Parents who did not experience any compensation changes during the pandemic likely maintained a stable division of domestic labor throughout the pandemic given that relative resources did not change within these families. Notably, the expansion of unemployment benefits during the pandemic (Gwyn 2022) may have helped to stabilize relative resources as well as the division of domestic labor even within families that experienced job loss. In families where mothers' earnings decreased relative to fathers', shifts toward a more traditional division of domestic labor are likely (Cunningham 2007). Conversely, in families where mothers' earnings increased relative to fathers', shifts toward a more egalitarian division of domestic labor are likely. Given trends in mothers' and fathers' labor force participation across the pandemic, the relative resources perspective predicts that early in the pandemic, more families transitioned toward traditional divisions of domestic labor than toward egalitarian divisions. Moreover, these new arrangements likely persisted as mothers remained out of the labor force. Pre-pandemic domestic arrangements may have returned only when labor force participation fully rebounded as the pandemic ended (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2023).

Lastly, from a gender ideology perspective, parents with egalitarian ideologies were more likely to have stable egalitarian divisions of domestic labor or transition to an egalitarian domestic arrangement as the pandemic progressed. Conversely, those with traditional ideologies were more likely to have stably traditional domestic arrangements

or transition into a traditional arrangement during the pandemic. Though gender ideologies are predictive of behavior, beliefs are malleable and responsive to context and experience (Kroska and Elman 2009; Carlson and Lynch 2013). Studies suggest there was a shift toward more traditional gender attitudes in the first year of the pandemic (Mize, Kaufman, and Petts 2021; Rosenfeld and Tomiyama 2021), but less is known about whether these changes were short-lived or persisted throughout the pandemic. It is possible that some families shifted to a more traditional arrangement of domestic labor during or after the first year of the pandemic to align their behaviors with their revised gender ideologies. However, it is also possible that some parents developed more egalitarian gender ideologies, particularly as more fathers were exposed to domestic labor needs and may have embraced the idea of being more fully engaged fathers (Petts 2022; Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020). Thus we expect that changes in gender ideology will predict changes in the division of domestic labor.

Given the myriad changes during the pandemic and parents' varied circumstances relative to these changes, we expect there were distinct patterns of how parents divided domestic labor throughout and after the pandemic. Based on the previous discussion and prior work grounded in time availability, relative resources, and gender ideology perspectives, we anticipate several distinct patterns of change: (a) parents who maintained a consistent division of domestic labor throughout the pandemic (both traditional and nontraditional arrangements), (b) parents who experienced more long-term shifts in their division of domestic labor (both becoming more traditional and becoming more nontraditional), and (c) parents who experienced temporary changes early in the pandemic before reverting back toward pre-pandemic divisions of labor (most likely becoming more nontraditional early in the pandemic before reverting back to a more traditional arrangement). Moreover, we expect that the trajectory that parents experienced depends on changes in paid work, leave-taking, remote work/essential work, schedule flexibility, relative earnings, and gender ideology.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Data

This study utilizes data from the Study on US Parents' Divisions of Labor During COVID-19 (SPDLC; Carlson and Petts 2023). The SPDLC is a longitudinal study of US parents residing with a spouse or partner and biological children, collected using Prolific's online, opt-in panel.³ Wave 1 was conducted in April 2020 and includes two data points as respondents reported on both their pre-pandemic situation (March 2020)

³ The study had no inclusion or exclusion criteria about age of resident children. In the wave 1 survey, approximately 6% of parents reported that their youngest child was age 18 or older.

and their current situation (April 2020).⁴ Subsequent waves were conducted in November 2020 (W2), October 2021 (W3), October 2022 (W4), and October 2023 (W5). At each wave, previous participants were invited to participate in the follow-up survey and a new cohort of parents was also recruited. (See Carlson and Petts 2023 for details on study design.) A total of 4,551 unique parents participated in the first three waves; 66% of them (N = 2,997) participated in at least one follow-up survey.

As with all data collected from opt-in panels, the SPDLC is not nationally representative. However, data from Prolific has been found to be high quality and largely representative of those with good internet access (Peer et al. 2017; Tourangeau, Conrad, and Cooper 2013). Moreover, efforts were made to obtain a diverse sample by parent gender, race/ethnicity, social class, and political ideology, and the original sample looked similar to nationally representative samples of partnered parents residing with children on a variety of factors, including income and political ideology (Carlson and Petts 2023). Even so, the SPDLC is over-representative of highly educated and nonreligious parents. Despite these limitations, the SPDLC is well suited for this study given its longitudinal panel design and wealth of information on both domestic labor and various changes that occurred throughout the pandemic.

For this study, we restrict the sample to parents in different-gender partnerships and exclude parents who were not partnered at any given wave. We also exclude parents who have missing data on key variables of interest. Our analytic sample varies by modeling approach and type of domestic labor (housework vs. child care), as parents whose youngest child was 18 or older were not asked the child care questions. Trajectory models (discussed below) are restricted to parents with data at three or more time points (N = 1,499 for housework, and N = 1,346 for child care),⁵ and fixed effects regression models (discussed below) are restricted to parents with data at two or more time points (N = 2,891 for housework, and N = 2,387 for child care).⁶

⁴ Wave 1 is the only wave where parents reported retrospective data on domestic labor. New cohort parents recruited at later waves were not asked retrospective questions about the division of domestic labor, as this information was likely to be unreliable given the length of time between the start of the pandemic and when later survey waves were administered.

⁵ Among those who participated at wave 1, 817 provided data at three or more time points (N = 745 for child care); a total of 220 parents participated in all five waves. Results from trajectory models that restrict the sample to parents who participated at wave 1 are consistent with the main results presented here (see Figures A-1 and A-2 in the appendix).

⁶ These sample sizes account for listwise deletion of a small number of cases with missing values on variables of interest.

3.2 Parents' divisions of domestic labor

Our main variables of interest are parents' divisions of routine housework and child care. At each wave, parents reported on how several routine housework and child care tasks⁷ were divided between themselves and their partners (ranging from 1 = *I do it all* to 5 = *my partner does it all*). (See Carlson and Petts 2023 for a list of these tasks.) We create separate, gendered mean indicators of mothers' shares of housework and child care (1 = *father does it all* to 5 = *mother does it all*). We also create dichotomous variables to indicate a traditional division of housework/child care (mothers perform more than 60% of the domestic labor, corresponding to values of more than 3.4 on the scale scores) compared to an egalitarian or nontraditional division (mothers perform less than 60% of housework/child care).

3.3 Time-varying predictors

To examine factors associated with changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor, we focus on a number of time-varying variables measured at each wave. Specifically, we incorporate measures indicating each parent's work status (*not working, part-time, full-time*), whether each parent is an essential worker (1 = *yes*), whether each parent has schedule flexibility (1 = *yes*), how frequently each parent works from home (*never, sometimes, exclusively*), each parent's use of paid leave since the previous survey (1 = *yes*), relative income (*father earns more, equal earnings, mother earns more*), and respondents' traditional gender attitudes. We also control for variables that are not a primary focus in our theoretical framework but may influence parents' divisions of domestic labor, including household income (ranging from 1 = *less than \$1,000 per month* to 7 = *\$9,000 a month or more*) and whether each parent is receiving unemployment benefits (1 = *yes*).⁸

⁷ Parents were prompted to report on child care tasks specifically for their youngest child, and a separate set of questions was asked to parents of preschool-age children and parents of school-age children (to assess child care tasks relevant for these different developmental stages). Among parents with at least three data points, approximately 12% had additional children over the course of the study. In these cases, parents would shift their reporting to focus on their new (youngest) child, and doing so would capture changes in child care associated with having a new child.

⁸ In the wave 1 survey, parents reported on whether they and their partners were currently receiving unemployment benefits, but they did not report retrospective data on whether they received unemployment prior to the pandemic.

3.4 Time-invariant predictors

To predict trajectories of housework and child care, we include time-invariant indicators of each of the time-varying predictors (taken from when parents first enter the study), with the exception of paid leave, as this was not asked about at wave 1. We also include sociodemographic control variables, including whether the respondent is a mother or father, respondent age, respondent race/ethnicity (*white, black, Latino, other race*), parent's education (ranging from 1 = *high school diploma or less* to 6 = *PhD or professional degree*), age of youngest child, number of children, whether parents are married (vs. cohabiting), and length of leave taken at the time of the child's birth. Descriptive statistics can be found in the appendix (Table A-1).

3.5 Analytic strategy

We employ two modeling approaches: group-based trajectory models and fixed effects models. First, we use group-based trajectory models to assess the different patterns of the division of domestic labor that parents experienced during the pandemic. Group-based trajectory modeling assumes that groups of individuals (e.g., parents) follow similar patterns of behavior (trajectories). Using maximum likelihood techniques, this method estimates these various trajectories and the probability of following each trajectory (Nagin 2005). Thus these models identify the various longitudinal patterns of divisions of housework and child care that parents experience. Although estimates from group-based trajectory models are approximations (and do not identify distinct groups within a population), they are useful in illustrating the various patterns of divisions of housework and child care throughout the pandemic. We used logistic models to estimate trajectories of the probability that parents would traditionally divide domestic labor (i.e., mothers do most of the housework/child care). This approach was used to identify major changes in how parents divided labor that may be linked to greater gender equality (or inequality), as opposed to focusing on minor fluctuations that may be captured by using continuous measures of mothers' shares of domestic labor.

After identifying the trajectory models, we used multinomial logistic regression to identify time-invariant factors associated with membership in each trajectory group and also present descriptive statistics of time-varying factors across the trajectory groups at the later waves (W2–W5). Despite the advantages of group-based trajectory models, the use of time-varying predictors is limited. Time-varying factors can be included, but these are used to estimate *within*-trajectory-group differences (e.g., whether working from home increases fathers' shares of child care among parents with a nontraditional division of child care) as opposed to assessing how time-varying factors explain differences *between* trajectory groups (Nagin 2005). Given that we are interested in understanding why parents experienced different patterns of the division of domestic labor, we only

present descriptive statistics of time-varying factors across each trajectory group. All group-based trajectory models are estimated using the post-stratification weight available in the SPDLC, such that results are nationally representative of US parents with resident children by parent gender, age, and race/ethnicity. The multinomial logistic regression model results are also weighted by the average posterior probabilities of trajectory group membership to account for the probabilistic nature of these groups.

To better estimate the associations of time-varying predictors with changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor, we also use fixed effects regression models. We use these models to predict the likelihood of having a traditional division of housework and child care versus an egalitarian or nontraditional division (using logit models) and to predict mothers' shares of housework and child care (using linear models). Fixed effects models are an effective way to estimate causal associations between time-varying factors and parents' divisions of domestic labor because these models control for all time-invariant factors (genetic factors, stable personality characteristics, etc.) and minimize concerns about sample selectivity by focusing on within-person change (Allison 2009). Yet fixed effects models do not account for heterogeneity in change and instead estimate averages across the sample. Given that we expect heterogeneity in change – that parents will follow different trajectories of the division of domestic labor – we employ both group-based trajectory models and fixed effects models to illustrate trajectories of parents' divisions of labor during the pandemic and identify factors associated with these varying patterns. Thus we focus on results that are largely consistent in both the group-based trajectory and fixed effects model estimates in this manuscript. We present results involving focal variables in the tables; results including all variables can be found in the appendix.

4. Results

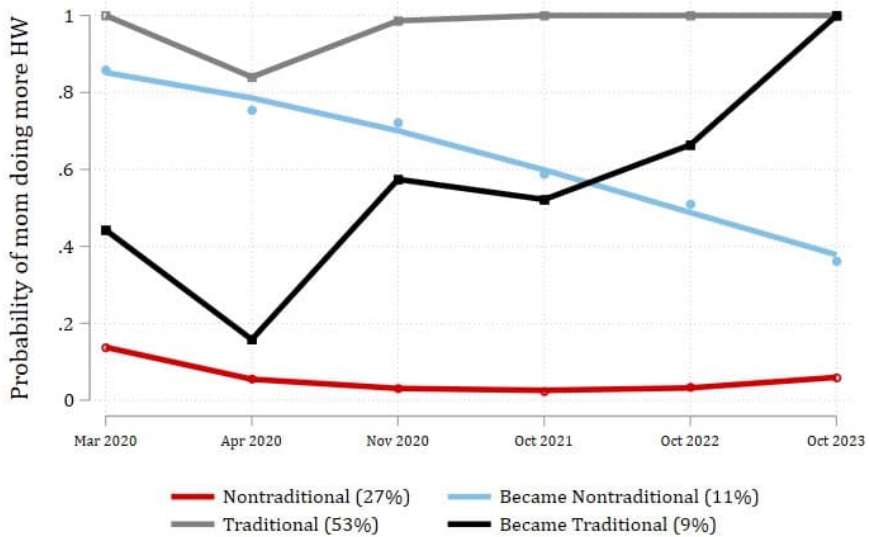
4.1 Trajectories of parents' divisions of housework

To estimate group-based trajectory models, Bayesian information criterion (BIC) statistics and researcher judgment are used to identify the optimal number of groups and the form (linear, quadratic, etc.) of each trajectory. The primary goal in determining model selection is to identify the model that conveys all the important features within the data while remaining parsimonious (Nagin 2005). Recommendations suggest that good-fitting models have the highest BIC statistic and that the average posterior probability for each group (the average probability that individuals assigned to that group actually demonstrate patterns consistent with that group based on their data) should be at least 0.70 (Nagin 2005).

For models estimating trajectories of parents' divisions of housework, a four-group model emerged as the best-fitting model (see Table A-2 for model fit statistics).

Trajectories from this model are presented in Figure 1. Estimates suggest that parents followed one of four trajectories of housework: mothers consistently performed most of the housework throughout the pandemic in the majority (53%) of families; about one in four parents consistently divided housework in nontraditional ways; and about equal numbers (one in ten families) transitioned from either having a traditional division of housework to having a more nontraditional division of housework or from having a more nontraditional division of housework to having a traditional division. Variations between trajectory groups are further illustrated in the appendix (Table A-3).

Figure 1: Trajectories of traditional division of housework



Overall, these patterns are largely consistent with our expectations. Indeed, there is even some evidence of reversion; the traditional housework group shifted toward a more nontraditional division of housework during lockdown in April 2020 before reverting to pre-pandemic levels in November 2020. Among those who became traditional, initial changes indicated a movement toward a nontraditional division of housework early in the pandemic (from a 0.40 probability of a traditional arrangement to a 0.20 probability), but by November 2020, this group had a 0.60 probability of a traditional housework arrangement, and by November 2023 the probability was nearly 1.

To analyze factors that differentiate between these housework trajectories, we first use multinomial logistic regression models to identify baseline factors associated with

following these trajectories. Results are presented in Table 1 and suggest that parents were more likely to maintain a nontraditional division of housework or switch to a more nontraditional division of housework (compared to either maintaining or switching to a traditional division of housework) when fathers worked from home at baseline. When fathers worked from home exclusively at baseline, parents had a 50% higher probability of following the became-nontraditional trajectory of housework compared to when fathers never worked from home (0.163 vs. 0.087) and a 50% lower probability of following the became-traditional trajectory compared to when fathers never worked from home (0.038 vs. 0.080).

Table 1: Results from multinomial logistic regression models predicting housework trajectory group membership (N = 1,499)

	<i>Became nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Became nontraditional vs. became traditional</i>			<i>Became traditional vs. nontraditional</i>		
	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>
<i>Father work status (ref = FT)</i>												
Not working	2.14	1.06	.126	1.15	0.45	.717	1.46	0.87	.527	1.27	0.61	.615
Part-time	2.19	1.00	.087	2.61	1.04	.016	1.93	1.24	.305	0.43	0.26	.165
Father essential worker	1.55	0.43	.113	1.00	0.24	.998	2.60	0.96	.010	0.60	0.21	.135
Father flexible schedule	0.95	0.22	.828	0.77	0.17	.252	0.85	0.28	.619	1.45	0.47	.245
<i>Father work from home status (ref = never)</i>												
Exclusively	2.37	0.81	.012	1.52	0.48	.180	4.15	2.20	.007	0.38	0.19	.055
Sometimes	1.43	0.45	.257	2.01	0.55	.012	1.25	0.50	.569	0.57	0.20	.115
<i>Mother work status (ref = FT)</i>												
Not working	0.82	0.34	.628	0.42	0.15	.014	1.75	0.87	.258	1.12	0.51	.801
Part-time	0.60	0.21	.137	0.64	0.17	.101	0.87	0.41	.758	1.08	0.45	.849
Mother essential worker	1.29	0.44	.454	1.68	0.50	.081	1.64	0.76	.285	0.47	0.20	.073
Mother flexible schedule	1.15	0.39	.687	0.92	0.24	.758	0.94	0.42	.889	1.32	0.49	.463
<i>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</i>												
Exclusively	1.20	0.48	.654	1.06	0.35	.866	0.77	0.39	.608	1.47	0.68	.400
Sometimes	0.95	0.44	.910	1.06	0.35	.863	1.41	0.83	.556	0.63	0.29	.325
<i>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</i>												
Father earns more	1.62	0.64	.218	0.52	0.14	.014	1.77	0.84	.234	1.76	0.68	.146
Mother earns more	1.02	0.49	.969	0.95	0.30	.861	1.51	0.88	.478	0.71	0.32	.451
Traditional gender attitudes	0.73	0.15	.119	0.55	0.08	.000	0.99	0.25	.970	1.35	0.30	.168
Father length of parental leave	1.05	0.07	.420	1.07	0.05	.187	1.16	0.10	.086	0.85	0.06	.028
Mother length of parental leave	0.98	0.04	.717	1.03	0.04	.462	1.04	0.06	.484	0.92	0.05	.122

Notes: Results presented as relative risk ratios. Only key variables are presented here, but results include all variables described in the data and methods section. Full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-4).

Descriptive analyses focusing on how time-varying factors are associated with housework trajectories suggest that fathers’ employment, mothers’ employment, fathers’ remote work, whether fathers have schedule flexibility, and relative income vary across the trajectory groups (Table 2). Specifically, the majority of fathers in the nontraditional

and became-nontraditional trajectories worked from home at least sometimes and had flexible schedules in most waves, whereas most fathers in the traditional and became-traditional trajectories did not work from home or have flexible schedules in most waves. Additionally, mothers were more likely to work full-time and earn as much or more than fathers in the nontraditional and became-nontraditional trajectories compared to the traditional or became-traditional trajectories, with mothers being twice as likely to be the primary breadwinner in the nontraditional trajectory group compared to families who became traditional (20% vs. 10%).

Table 2: Key descriptive statistics on time-varying factors associated with housework trajectories

	Nov 2020				Oct 2021			
	Nontrad	Became NT	Trad	Became trad	Nontrad	Became NT	Trad	Became trad
<i>Father work status</i>								
Not working	0.14 (0.09, 0.20)	0.13 (0.06, 0.23)	0.12 (0.09, 0.16)	0.11 (0.05, 0.21)	0.13 (0.09, 0.20)	0.10 (0.05, 0.17)	0.11 (0.08, 0.16)	0.12 (0.07, 0.21)
Part-time	0.12 (0.08, 0.18)	0.09 (0.05, 0.16)	0.07 (0.04, 0.11)	0.03 (0.01, 0.08)	0.13 (0.08, 0.19)	0.06 (0.03, 0.12)	0.08 (0.05, 0.12)	0.05 (0.02, 0.12)
Full-time	0.74 (0.67, 0.80)	0.78 (0.67, 0.86)	0.81 (0.76, 0.85)	0.86 (0.76, 0.92)	0.74 (0.67, 0.81)	0.84 (0.76, 0.90)	0.83 (0.76, 0.84)	0.83 (0.74, 0.89)
Father flexible schedule	0.54 (0.47, 0.62)	0.46 (0.34, 0.57)	0.35 (0.30, 0.40)	0.52 (0.39, 0.65)	0.58 (0.51, 0.65)	0.54 (0.43, 0.64)	0.41 (0.36, 0.47)	0.42 (0.30, 0.54)
<i>Father work from home</i>								
Exclusively	0.41 (0.34, 0.48)	0.42 (0.31, 0.54)	0.29 (0.24, 0.34)	0.30 (0.19, 0.45)	0.32 (0.26, 0.40)	0.32 (0.23, 0.42)	0.18 (0.14, 0.23)	0.21 (0.12, 0.34)
Sometimes	0.17 (0.13, 0.23)	0.14 (0.09, 0.23)	0.11 (0.09, 0.14)	0.24 (0.15, 0.36)	0.25 (0.19, 0.32)	0.21 (0.13, 0.32)	0.15 (0.12, 0.19)	0.24 (0.15, 0.36)
Never	0.42 (0.35, 0.49)	0.44 (0.33, 0.55)	0.60 (0.55, 0.65)	0.46 (0.34, 0.59)	0.43 (0.36, 0.50)	0.48 (0.37, 0.58)	0.67 (0.61, 0.71)	0.55 (0.43, 0.67)
<i>Mother work status</i>								
Not working	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.39 (0.29, 0.51)	0.42 (0.37, 0.48)	0.35 (0.24, 0.47)	0.19 (0.14, 0.25)	0.32 (0.22, 0.42)	0.41 (0.35, 0.46)	0.32 (0.22, 0.43)
Part-time	0.21 (0.16, 0.28)	0.31 (0.21, 0.44)	0.25 (0.21, 0.30)	0.27 (0.17, 0.41)	0.17 (0.12, 0.24)	0.24 (0.16, 0.34)	0.29 (0.24, 0.33)	0.26 (0.16, 0.38)
Full-time	0.52 (0.45, 0.59)	0.30 (0.21, 0.40)	0.33 (0.28, 0.38)	0.38 (0.26, 0.52)	0.64 (0.57, 0.71)	0.45 (0.34, 0.55)	0.31 (0.26, 0.36)	0.43 (0.31, 0.55)
<i>Relative earnings</i>								
Father earns more	0.53 (0.46, 0.60)	0.64 (0.52, 0.74)	0.67 (0.62, 0.72)	0.65 (0.52, 0.76)	0.47 (0.40, 0.54)	0.65 (0.53, 0.75)	0.74 (0.69, 0.78)	0.73 (0.60, 0.82)
Equal	0.27 (0.22, 0.34)	0.22 (0.13, 0.35)	0.18 (0.14, 0.22)	0.26 (0.16, 0.39)	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.21 (0.12, 0.35)	0.15 (0.12, 0.19)	0.21 (0.12, 0.34)
Mother earns more	0.19 (0.14, 0.26)	0.14 (0.08, 0.21)	0.15 (0.11, 0.20)	0.08 (0.04, 0.17)	0.25 (0.19, 0.33)	0.14 (0.08, 0.22)	0.11 (0.08, 0.16)	0.06 (0.03, 0.12)

Table 2: (Continued)

	Oct 2022				Oct 2023			
	Nontrad	Became NT	Trad	Became trad	Nontrad	Became NT	Trad	Became trad
<u>Father work status</u>								
Not working	0.11 (0.07, 0.16)	0.08 (0.03, 0.18)	0.09 (0.07, 0.12)	0.06 (0.03, 0.11)	0.12 (0.07, 0.19)	0.09 (0.05, 0.17)	0.08 (0.05, 0.11)	0.07 (0.03, 0.14)
Part-time	0.12 (0.07, 0.20)	0.11 (0.06, 0.18)	0.09 (0.06, 0.14)	0.01 (0.00, 0.05)	0.11 (0.07, 0.18)	0.06 (0.03, 0.13)	0.06 (0.04, 0.08)	0.04 (0.01, 0.14)
Full-time	0.77 (0.70, 0.83)	0.81 (0.71, 0.89)	0.82 (0.77, 0.86)	0.93 (0.87, 0.96)	0.77 (0.69, 0.83)	0.85 (0.76, 0.91)	0.87 (0.83, 0.90)	0.89 (0.80, 0.95)
Father flexible schedule	0.58 (0.51, 0.65)	0.53 (0.42, 0.65)	0.47 (0.42, 0.52)	0.42 (0.30, 0.54)	0.51 (0.44, 0.59)	0.45 (0.34, 0.57)	0.42 (0.36, 0.47)	0.39 (0.26, 0.52)
<u>Father work from home</u>								
Exclusively	0.24 (0.18, 0.32)	0.18 (0.12, 0.27)	0.15 (0.11, 0.19)	0.21 (0.11, 0.35)	0.22 (0.16, 0.29)	0.16 (0.10, 0.26)	0.14 (0.11, 0.19)	0.15 (0.07, 0.31)
Sometimes	0.31 (0.24, 0.38)	0.32 (0.21, 0.44)	0.23 (0.19, 0.29)	0.32 (0.22, 0.45)	0.33 (0.27, 0.41)	0.30 (0.20, 0.44)	0.22 (0.17, 0.27)	0.29 (0.20, 0.41)
Never	0.45 (0.38, 0.52)	0.50 (0.39, 0.61)	0.62 (0.56, 0.67)	0.47 (0.35, 0.59)	0.45 (0.38, 0.53)	0.53 (0.41, 0.65)	0.64 (0.58, 0.69)	0.55 (0.42, 0.67)
<u>Mother work status</u>								
Not working	0.24 (0.18, 0.32)	0.34 (0.24, 0.46)	0.36 (0.31, 0.41)	0.22 (0.14, 0.32)	0.21 (0.15, 0.27)	0.24 (0.16, 0.34)	0.31 (0.27, 0.37)	0.29 (0.19, 0.40)
Part-time	0.19 (0.13, 0.26)	0.21 (0.13, 0.31)	0.26 (0.22, 0.31)	0.34 (0.13, 0.47)	0.19 (0.14, 0.27)	0.22 (0.14, 0.34)	0.28 (0.23, 0.32)	0.28 (0.18, 0.41)
Full-time	0.57 (0.49, 0.64)	0.45 (0.34, 0.57)	0.38 (0.33, 0.43)	0.44 (0.32, 0.57)	0.60 (0.52, 0.67)	0.54 (0.42, 0.65)	0.41 (0.36, 0.46)	0.43 (0.31, 0.56)
<u>Relative earnings</u>								
Father earns more	0.55 (0.48, 0.62)	0.63 (0.51, 0.74)	0.76 (0.71, 0.80)	0.63 (0.50, 0.75)	0.52 (0.45, 0.60)	0.61 (0.48, 0.72)	0.75 (0.70, 0.79)	0.71 (0.57, 0.82)
Equal	0.26 (0.20, 0.33)	0.22 (0.14, 0.31)	0.11 (0.09, 0.15)	0.24 (0.15, 0.38)	0.25 (0.19, 0.33)	0.23 (0.14, 0.37)	0.13 (0.10, 0.17)	0.25 (0.15, 0.40)
Mother earns more	0.19 (0.14, 0.25)	0.15 (0.07, 0.29)	0.13 (0.09, 0.18)	0.12 (0.06, 0.24)	0.12 (0.17, 0.29)	0.16 (0.09, 0.27)	0.12 (0.09, 0.17)	0.04 (0.01, 0.10)

Notes: 95% confidence intervals are in parentheses. Only key variables discussed in the text are presented; full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-5).

To provide more robust analyses of how changes in pandemic-related factors are associated with changes in parents' divisions of housework, results from binary logit and linear fixed effects models are presented in Table 3. Consistent with the descriptive findings in Table 2, results in Table 3 suggest that parents were more likely to develop a more nontraditional division of housework when fathers exited full-time work, when mothers entered work full-time, when mothers began earning more than fathers, and when fathers started working from home. For example, the predicted probability⁹ of a

⁹ Estimations of predicted probabilities from fixed effects models report the predicted probabilities when the fixed effect is zero.

traditional division of housework was 0.625 for families where mothers were not working, compared to a predicted probability of 0.365 when mothers were employed full-time. In contrast, the predicted probability of a traditional division of housework was much lower when fathers were not working (0.296) compared to when they were working part-time (0.377) or full-time (0.485). Overall, results suggest that parents' work situations were key in shaping how housework was divided throughout the pandemic: Nontraditional divisions of housework were more likely when fathers were home more (working remotely or not working) and when mothers were employed full-time (and thus were more likely to be primary breadwinners), whereas traditional divisions of housework were more likely when fathers worked full-time at work and mothers were not employed.

Table 3: Results from fixed effects regression models predicting parents' divisions of housework

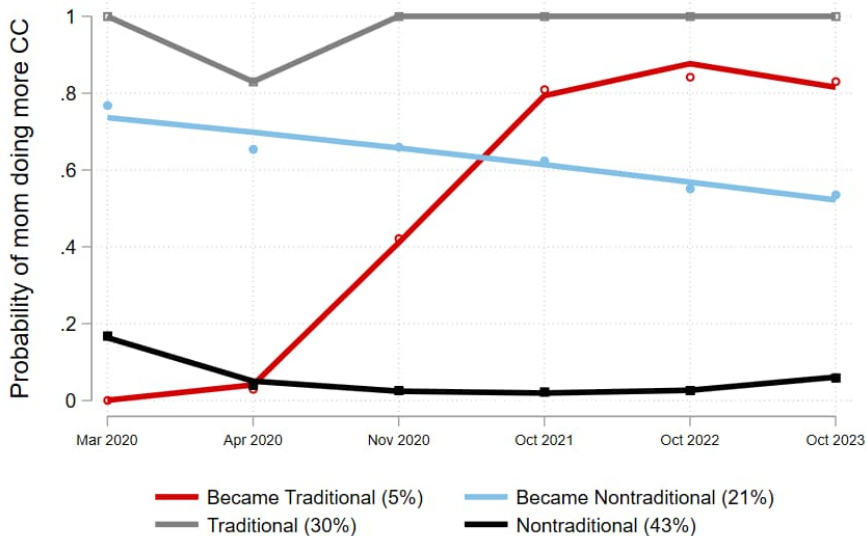
	<i>Traditional division of housework</i>			<i>Mothers' shares of housework</i>		
	OR	SE	<i>p</i>	b	SE	<i>p</i>
<i>Father work status (ref = FT)</i>						
Not working	0.41	0.13	.003	-0.14	0.04	.000
Part-time	0.61	0.15	.047	-0.15	0.03	.000
Father essential worker	1.04	0.16	.780	0.00	0.01	.818
Father flexible schedule	0.99	0.16	.944	-0.01	0.02	.741
<i>Father work from home status (ref = never)</i>						
Exclusively	0.70	0.16	.125	-0.06	0.03	.018
Sometimes	0.78	0.15	.193	-0.06	0.02	.007
<i>Mother work status (ref = FT)</i>						
Not working	3.24	0.92	.000	0.19	0.03	.000
Part-time	1.43	0.27	.074	0.06	0.02	.006
Mother essential worker	1.42	0.26	.049	0.03	0.02	.105
Mother flexible schedule	1.38	0.25	.076	0.02	0.02	.211
<i>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</i>						
Exclusively	1.17	0.27	.492	0.07	0.02	.002
Sometimes	1.25	0.27	.292	0.06	0.02	.006
<i>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</i>						
Father earns more	0.90	0.16	.565	0.01	0.02	.700
Mother earns more	0.51	0.13	.008	-0.03	0.03	.357
Traditional gender attitudes	1.12	0.19	.506	0.00	0.02	.887
Father paid leave	0.99	0.17	.961	-0.00	0.02	.992
Mother paid leave	0.66	0.13	.035	-0.02	0.02	.317
N	559			2909		

Notes: Logistic regression models are used to predict traditional divisions of housework, and results are presented as odds ratios. Sample sizes in this model include only parents who experienced at least one shift between a traditional division of housework and an egalitarian/nontraditional division. Linear regression models are used to predict mothers' shares of housework. Only key variables are presented here, but results include all variables described in the data and methods section. Full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-6).

4.2 Trajectories of parents' divisions of child care

For estimating trajectories of parents' divisions of child care, a four-group model emerged as the best-fitting model.¹⁰ (See Table A-2 for model fit statistics.) The trajectories are presented in Figure 2. Similar to trajectories of housework arrangements, and our expectations, most parents had either a consistently traditional (30%) or a consistently nontraditional (43%) division of child care throughout the pandemic. There are also two trajectories of change: (1) a small group of parents (5%) transitioned from a nontraditional division of child care pre-pandemic to a traditional division by fall 2022, and (2) about one in five parents experienced a slight transition from a more traditional to a more nontraditional division of child care throughout the pandemic. Also similar to the housework trajectories, parents in the traditional group experienced a slight shift toward more nontraditional arrangements during lockdowns before reverting to a fully traditional arrangement by November 2020. Variations between trajectory groups are further illustrated in the appendix (Table A-3).

Figure 2: Trajectories of traditional division of child care



¹⁰ Although one of the groups had an average posterior probability (APP) below the recommended level of 0.70, this model was chosen as the best-fitting model due to having the best BIC statistic and no model errors; and this trajectory group followed a pattern similar to that of models with higher APPs, with a slightly higher number of parents in this group.

Looking first at multinomial logistic regression models to identify baseline factors associated with the child care trajectories, results in Table 4 show that families where fathers were not working at baseline or where mothers were essential workers were more likely to maintain, or transition to, a more nontraditional division of child care. Specifically, fathers who were not working had a much lower probability of following the traditional trajectory of child care (0.133) compared to fathers who were working full-time (0.255), whereas nonworking fathers had a higher probability of following the nontraditional (0.594 vs. 0.521) or became-nontraditional trajectories compared to fathers employed full-time (0.201 vs. 0.190). In addition, families where mothers were essential workers had a higher probability of following the nontraditional (0.576 vs. 0.523) or became-nontraditional trajectories (0.226 vs. 0.182) but a lower probability of following the traditional (0.172 vs. 0.252) or became-traditional trajectories (0.026 vs. 0.043).

Table 4: Results from multinomial logistic regression models predicting child care trajectory group membership (N = 1,346)

	<i>Became nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Became nontraditional vs. became traditional</i>			<i>Became traditional vs. nontraditional</i>		
	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>	RRR	SE	<i>p</i>
<u><i>Father work status (ref = FT)</i></u>												
Not working	2.30	1.04	.065	3.18	1.26	.004	0.40	0.31	.243	1.80	1.32	.424
Part-time	1.09	0.54	.861	2.16	0.92	.069	0.27	0.19	.059	1.84	1.11	.313
Father essential worker	1.09	0.27	.720	0.88	0.23	.612	0.96	0.41	.923	1.30	0.51	.508
Father flexible schedule	0.88	0.20	.574	1.30	0.32	.283	1.01	0.42	.980	0.67	0.26	.304
<u><i>Father work from home status (ref = never)</i></u>												
Exclusively	1.34	0.46	.393	1.25	0.39	.485	0.86	0.54	.817	1.24	0.74	.713
Sometimes	1.72	0.52	.072	1.74	0.55	.078	0.60	0.28	.270	1.67	0.71	.234
<u><i>Mother work status (ref = FT)</i></u>												
Not working	1.20	0.44	.626	0.23	0.08	.000	6.52	3.79	.001	0.81	0.44	.701
Part-time	0.73	0.23	.317	0.34	0.11	.001	0.64	0.32	.378	3.28	1.46	.008
Mother essential worker	1.96	0.66	.047	1.95	0.62	.036	2.01	1.32	.288	0.50	0.31	.262
Mother flexible schedule	1.54	0.52	.205	0.72	0.20	.247	4.97	2.72	.003	0.43	0.20	.076
<u><i>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</i></u>												
Exclusively	0.97	0.36	.937	1.43	0.47	.276	1.69	1.17	.448	0.40	0.26	.153
Sometimes	1.04	0.39	.923	1.34	0.44	.364	0.74	0.49	.647	1.05	0.65	.937
<u><i>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</i></u>												
Father earns more	0.99	0.37	.982	0.52	0.16	.036	1.44	0.81	.523	1.33	0.70	.592
Mother earns more	1.02	0.49	.965	1.06	0.41	.885	0.58	0.41	.433	1.68	1.04	.407
Traditional gender attitudes	0.80	0.13	.182	0.49	0.08	.000	0.81	0.23	.445	2.03	0.55	.009
Father length of parental leave	1.04	0.06	.476	1.12	0.07	.051	0.92	0.08	.348	1.01	0.09	.881
Mother length of parental leave	1.06	0.04	.077	1.03	0.04	.399	1.12	0.07	.091	0.92	0.06	.198

Note: Results presented as relative risk ratios. Only key variables are presented here, but results include all variables described in the data and methods section. Full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-7).

Descriptive analyses focusing on how time-varying factors are associated with child care trajectories suggest that mothers' employment, fathers' remote work, relative earnings, and gender attitudes varied across the trajectory groups (Table 5). Specifically, families who maintained a nontraditional division of child care were more likely to have fathers working from home, more likely to have full-time working mothers, more likely to have mothers earn as much as or more than fathers, and more likely to have egalitarian gender attitudes compared to other trajectory groups (particularly the traditional and became-traditional trajectories). Specifically, among families following the nontraditional trajectory of child care, most fathers worked remotely at least sometimes, most mothers were employed full-time, and about half of mothers earned more than or the same as fathers – the highest percentages across all trajectory groups. Among those whose divisions of child care became traditional, descriptive results indicate that fathers increased their labor force participation, and thus the probability that they would be primary earners, after fall 2020. Among those who shifted toward nontraditional child care arrangements, mothers were more likely to be working toward the end of the pandemic than they were early in the pandemic.

Results from the fixed effects models presented in Table 6 provide more evidence for how changes in pandemic-related factors are associated with changes in parents' divisions of child care. Specifically, results in Table 6 show that parents were more likely to develop a nontraditional division of child care when fathers began working remotely, when mothers entered the labor force, and when parents' gender attitudes became less traditional. For example, the predicted probability of a traditional division of child care was 0.794 for families where fathers never worked remotely compared to a predicted probability of 0.627 when fathers exclusively worked remotely. In addition, the predicted probability of a traditional division of child care was much lower when mothers were employed full-time (0.620) compared to when mothers were not employed (0.859). The probability of a traditional division of child care was also higher among parents with very traditional gender attitudes (0.810) compared to those with more egalitarian gender attitudes (0.689). Overall, similar to findings on the division of housework, results again suggest that parents' work situations were key in shaping their divisions of child care throughout the pandemic: Nontraditional divisions of child care were more likely when fathers were home more (working remotely or not working) and when mothers were employed full-time (and thus earned more), whereas traditional divisions of child care were more likely when fathers worked full-time outside the home and mothers were not employed. Less traditional gender attitudes also increased the likelihood that parents followed a more nontraditional trajectory of child care throughout the pandemic.

Table 5: Key descriptive statistics on time-varying factors associated with child care trajectories

	Nov 2020				Oct 2021			
	Became trad	Became NT	Trad	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	Trad	Nontrad
<i>Father work from home</i>								
Exclusively	0.21 (0.12, 0.35)	0.30 (0.23, 0.39)	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.40 (0.34, 0.46)	0.09 (0.03, 0.23)	0.22 (0.16, 0.30)	0.17 (0.12, 0.23)	0.28 (0.22, 0.34)
Sometimes	0.21 (0.10, 0.39)	0.17 (0.11, 0.25)	0.12 (0.08, 0.17)	0.16 (0.13, 0.21)	0.27 (0.13, 0.49)	0.16 (0.11, 0.21)	0.19 (0.13, 0.26)	0.24 (0.19, 0.30)
Never	0.57 (0.41, 0.72)	0.53 (0.44, 0.62)	0.61 (0.54, 0.68)	0.44 (0.38, 0.50)	0.63 (0.43, 0.80)	0.63 (0.54, 0.70)	0.64 (0.57, 0.71)	0.48 (0.42, 0.54)
<i>Mother work status</i>								
Not working	0.34 (0.22, 0.49)	0.44 (0.36, 0.53)	0.48 (0.41, 0.55)	0.24 (0.19, 0.29)	0.44 (0.26, 0.64)	0.39 (0.32, 0.48)	0.44 (0.37, 0.52)	0.19 (0.15, 0.25)
Part-time	0.28 (0.16, 0.44)	0.25 (0.18, 0.34)	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.24 (0.19, 0.30)	0.30 (0.15, 0.51)	0.24 (0.18, 0.31)	0.34 (0.27, 0.41)	0.19 (0.15, 0.42)
Full-time	0.38 (0.24, 0.55)	0.31 (0.23, 0.40)	0.25 (0.19, 0.32)	0.53 (0.47, 0.59)	0.26 (0.11, 0.50)	0.36 (0.29, 0.45)	0.22 (0.17, 0.28)	0.62 (0.56, 0.67)
<i>Relative earnings</i>								
Father earns more	0.52 (0.37, 0.67)	0.68 (0.58, 0.76)	0.76 (0.69, 0.82)	0.53 (0.47, 0.59)	0.66 (0.43, 0.83)	0.73 (0.65, 0.80)	0.81 (0.75, 0.86)	0.52 (0.46, 0.58)
Equal	0.23 (0.12, 0.41)	0.21 (0.14, 0.30)	0.15 (0.10, 0.21)	0.27 (0.22, 0.32)	0.30 (0.14, 0.54)	0.15 (0.10, 0.23)	0.13 (0.09, 0.19)	0.26 (0.21, 0.32)
Mother earns more	0.25 (0.13, 0.42)	0.12 (0.07, 0.19)	0.09 (0.06, 0.15)	0.20 (0.15, 0.25)	0.04 (0.01, 0.16)	0.12 (0.07, 0.19)	0.06 (0.04, 0.09)	0.22 (0.18, 0.28)
Gender attitudes	2.05 (1.86, 2.24)	1.99 (1.86, 2.12)	1.84 (1.75, 1.94)	1.76 (1.68, 1.83)	2.15 (1.85, 2.45)	1.87 (1.75, 1.99)	1.99 (1.89, 2.10)	1.76 (1.68, 1.83)
	Oct 2022				Oct 2023			
	Became trad	Became NT	Trad	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	Trad	Nontrad
<i>Father work from home</i>								
Exclusively	0.32 (0.14, 0.57)	0.18 (0.12, 0.24)	0.12 (0.08, 0.19)	0.19 (0.15, 0.25)	0.12 (0.05, 0.28)	0.15 (0.10, 0.22)	0.11 (0.07, 0.16)	0.20 (0.15, 0.26)
Sometimes	0.30 (0.14, 0.53)	0.19 (0.14, 0.27)	0.28 (0.21, 0.36)	0.31 (0.25, 0.38)	0.20 (0.07, 0.45)	0.21 (0.15, 0.28)	0.26 (0.19, 0.34)	0.33 (0.27, 0.39)
Never	0.39 (0.21, 0.60)	0.63 (0.55, 0.70)	0.60 (0.52, 0.68)	0.49 (0.43, 0.56)	0.67 (0.46, 0.84)	0.64 (0.55, 0.71)	0.63 (0.55, 0.71)	0.48 (0.41, 0.54)
<i>Mother work status</i>								
Not working	0.41 (0.23, 0.62)	0.36 (0.29, 0.44)	0.35 (0.28, 0.43)	0.23 (0.18, 0.28)	0.48 (0.29, 0.68)	0.28 (0.21, 0.36)	0.33 (0.26, 0.40)	0.21 (0.16, 0.27)
Part-time	0.19 (0.08, 0.40)	0.28 (0.21, 0.35)	0.33 (0.27, 0.41)	0.20 (0.16, 0.26)	0.14 (0.06, 0.29)	0.27 (0.21, 0.35)	0.30 (0.23, 0.37)	0.20 (0.15, 0.26)
Full-time	0.40 (0.20, 0.64)	0.36 (0.29, 0.44)	0.32 (0.25, 0.39)	0.57 (0.51, 0.63)	0.38 (0.20, 0.60)	0.45 (0.36, 0.53)	0.37 (0.31, 0.45)	0.59 (0.53, 0.65)
<i>Relative earnings</i>								
Father earns more	0.63 (0.38, 0.83)	0.74 (0.67, 0.81)	0.81 (0.75, 0.86)	0.54 (0.48, 0.61)	0.82 (0.57, 0.94)	0.69 (0.60, 0.76)	0.80 (0.74, 0.85)	0.55 (0.49, 0.62)
Equal	0.07 (0.03, 0.19)	0.19 (0.14, 0.26)	0.11 (0.08, 0.16)	0.24 (0.19, 0.29)	0.11 (0.02, 0.44)	0.20 (0.15, 0.28)	0.12 (0.08, 0.18)	0.24 (0.19, 0.30)
Mother earns more	0.29 (0.11, 0.57)	0.06 (0.03, 0.12)	0.07 (0.04, 0.12)	0.22 (0.17, 0.28)	0.08 (0.03, 0.19)	0.11 (0.06, 0.20)	0.08 (0.05, 0.12)	0.21 (0.16, 0.27)
Gender attitudes	2.12 (1.90, 2.34)	1.83 (1.73, 1.93)	2.01 (1.88, 2.15)	1.77 (1.69, 1.84)	2.01 (1.73, 2.29)	1.90 (1.79, 2.01)	1.97 (1.84, 2.10)	1.77 (1.70, 1.85)

Notes: 95% confidence intervals are in parentheses. Only key variables discussed in the text are presented; full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-8).

Table 6: Results from fixed effects regression models predicting parents' divisions of child care

	Traditional division of child care			Mothers' shares of child care		
	OR	SE	<i>p</i>	b	SE	<i>p</i>
<u>Father work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	0.40	0.11	.001	-0.16	0.04	.000
Part-time	0.67	0.17	.112	-0.09	0.03	.002
Father essential worker	1.12	0.16	.429	0.01	0.01	.512
Father flexible schedule	0.96	0.14	.810	-0.01	0.02	.388
<u>Father work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	0.39	0.09	.000	-0.10	0.02	.000
Sometimes	0.57	0.11	.003	-0.07	0.02	.003
<u>Mother work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	4.23	1.18	.000	0.21	0.03	.000
Part-time	1.72	0.37	.010	0.08	0.02	.001
Mother essential worker	1.06	0.19	.745	0.02	0.02	.234
Mother flexible schedule	1.26	0.23	.194	0.04	0.02	.024
<u>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	2.39	0.56	.000	0.10	0.02	.000
Sometimes	1.53	0.35	.061	0.03	0.02	.116
<u>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</u>						
Father earns more	0.77	0.14	.156	-0.01	0.02	.535
Mother earns more	0.90	0.24	.694	-0.01	0.03	.793
Traditional gender attitudes	1.44	0.23	.022	0.08	0.02	.000
Father paid leave	1.27	0.22	.175	0.01	0.02	.478
Mother paid leave	0.89	0.19	.596	0.00	0.02	.959
N	626			2401		

Notes: Logistic regression models are used to predict traditional divisions of child care, and results are presented as odds ratios. Sample sizes in this model include only parents who experienced at least one shift between a traditional division of child care and an egalitarian/nontraditional division. Linear regression models are used to predict mothers' shares of child care. Only key variables are presented here, but results include all variables described in the data and methods section. Full results can be found in the appendix (Table A-9).

5. Discussion

The three years of the COVID-19 pandemic can be characterized as a period of significant change and uncertainty both for families trying to navigate the fluctuating conditions of the pandemic and for broader patterns of gender inequality. Focusing on US parents' divisions of housework and child care, our aim was to illustrate the various trajectories that parents experienced throughout the pandemic, identify key factors that led parents to change how they divided housework and child care, and consider how these patterns inform our understanding of whether gender inequality in domestic labor has changed since the start of the pandemic.

Although we expected to find trajectories of parents who maintained a consistent division of domestic labor throughout the pandemic, we found, somewhat surprisingly, that most parents maintained their division of domestic labor throughout the pandemic. Despite all the changes that occurred throughout the pandemic, most parents remained entrenched in their ways, which illustrates the embeddedness of societal norms and patterns of domestic responsibility (Doucet 2001). Consistent with our expectations, we also identified groups of parents who changed how they divided domestic labor during the pandemic, including shifts toward both more nontraditional and more traditional divisions. Parents were equally as likely to transition to a nontraditional division of housework as to a traditional one (11% vs. 9%) but were four times more likely to transition to a nontraditional division of child care than to a traditional division (21% vs. 5%). In contrast to our expectations, we find only limited evidence of short-term changes followed by reversion to pre-pandemic divisions among the traditional trajectories. Although this general pattern has been highlighted in previous work (Carlson and Petts 2022; Rodríguez Sánchez, Fasang, and Harkness 2021), our findings likely differ given our focus on identifying different trajectories of parents' divisions of labor, which allows us to tease out more nuanced variations (as opposed to simply estimating average trends across the population), as well as our emphasis on more substantive shifts in how parents divide labor (traditional vs. nontraditional), which likely masks small-scale (temporary) changes that may have occurred.

We find that a few factors were particularly influential in facilitating these various patterns, some pandemic-induced and some not. Though we find evidence supporting each of the three theories we focus on – time availability, relative resources, and gender ideology – our findings lend the most support to time availability and relative resources explanations. In support of the time availability perspective, we find that paid work, workplace flexibility, and mothers' essential worker status were associated with trajectories of parents' divisions of domestic labor. Notably, parents' paid work is key in understanding changes in parents' divisions of domestic labor. Families with full-time working fathers were more likely to maintain a trajectory of a traditional division of child care, and fathers in these families performed fewer shares of housework and child care during the pandemic. Among those who developed a traditional division of child care over the course of the pandemic, fathers were less likely to be working full-time and were more financially dependent on their partners prior to the pandemic but became full-time workers and at least equal breadwinners after fall 2020 as the US job market strengthened. In contrast, families with full-time working mothers were more likely to follow a trajectory of a nontraditional division of domestic labor. Thus results support the time availability hypothesis (Blair and Lichter 1991; Cunningham 2007) in showing that parents were more likely to divide domestic labor traditionally when fathers had less available time at home due to paid work but were more likely to divide housework and child care in nontraditional ways when mothers had less available time due to paid work.

Fathers' workplace flexibility and mothers' essential worker status also mattered. Specifically, families were more likely to develop a nontraditional division of housework when fathers worked from home pre-pandemic, and fathers' shares of domestic labor during the pandemic grew when they worked from home. Consistent with previous longitudinal studies on the pandemic (André, Remery, and Yerkes 2023; Carlson and Petts 2022), the increase in available time provided by remote work was associated with fathers' greater participation in housework and child care throughout the pandemic. Further, results from the fixed effects models suggest that the likelihood of a more nontraditional division of domestic labor remains elevated when fathers maintain the ability to work from home. However, in families where fathers transitioned back to the office, the likelihood of a more traditional division of housework and child care increased. In addition, families were more likely to maintain, or shift to, a more nontraditional division of child care when mothers were essential workers (at baseline).¹¹ Consistent with recent studies (André, Remery, and Yerkes 2023), fathers may take on a greater share of child care when mothers' time is limited due to being essential workers.

In contrast to our expectations and the time availability hypothesis, we do not find consistent evidence that paid leave was associated with trajectories of parents' divisions of labor. While use of paid leave may affect parents' available time, the lack of consistent findings may be due to the temporary nature of changes to paid leave in the United States, as increased access to paid leave was available only in 2020 for certain eligible workers (Jelliffe et al. 2021). Thus access to paid leave may have been more salient for short-term changes throughout the first year of the pandemic but less influential in predicting long-term patterns throughout and after the pandemic.

In addition to the time availability hypothesis, we also found support for the relative resources perspective. Specifically, families were more likely to maintain, or transition to, a more nontraditional division of housework and child care when mothers earned as much as or more than fathers. Consistent with prior work (e.g., Cunningham 2007), mothers' status as equal or primary breadwinners may enable them to bargain out of performing more of the domestic labor and encourage fathers to perform more equal shares of housework and child care to balance out mothers' equal (or primary) contributions to household income. However, in contrast to our expectations, we did not find that a larger share of parents shifted toward a more traditional division of labor given that mothers were more likely to experience declines in paid labor force participation; in fact, among parents who experienced long-term shifts, there was a greater likelihood of dividing labor more nontraditionally than traditionally. This perhaps suggests that time availability may have mattered more than relative resources during the pandemic for parents' divisions of domestic labor, particularly in regard to paid work and workplace flexibility shaping parents' time and exposure to domestic needs. That is, even though

¹¹ Findings about time-varying essential worker status are a bit more mixed. Trajectory models show higher rates of mothers being essential workers in the nontraditional groups, but fixed effects models show an increased likelihood of a traditional division of labor when mothers become essential workers.

more traditional arrangements were likely when mothers spent less time in paid work, fathers' greater exposure to domestic needs combined with their desire to be more engaged at home (Petts 2022; Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020) may have facilitated more shifts toward nontraditional divisions despite mothers' lower earnings.

Finally, in support of gender ideology theories, we find that maintaining, or shifting to, more egalitarian attitudes corresponded to a more nontraditional division of child care (but not housework). Thus policies that enable and incentivize fathers to work from home are vital in working toward greater egalitarianism in domestic labor, perhaps particularly for fathers who value being more fully engaged in family life. Moreover, in combination with policies promoting mothers' employment, providing fathers with opportunities to spend more time at home may help shift gendered norms about who is primarily responsible for housework and child care.

Though this study substantially enhances our understanding of domestic changes during the COVID-19 pandemic and possibly beyond, it is not without limitations. First, the data for this study are from a non-probability sample and thus may not be representative of the US population. However, the sample is weighted to match the population of partnered US parents on a number of sociodemographic characteristics. In addition, estimates from online samples are largely consistent with probability-based samples when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics, as this study does (Jeong et al. 2019; Tourangeau, Conrad, and Cooper 2013). The use of fixed effects models also reduces the concern about sample representativeness given that these models estimate within-person change. So we believe that this study provides valuable insight into long-term patterns of the division of domestic labor among US parents despite the nonrepresentative nature of the data. Second, this study focuses on the division of domestic labor in couples and cannot therefore speak to trajectories pertaining to mothers' and fathers' individual time in housework and child care. Unfortunately, measures of time in domestic tasks are not available in early waves of the study. Though many parents may have maintained a traditional or nontraditional arrangement, this does not mean that parents' individual time within these arrangements did not shift or that parents – regardless of arrangement – did not face greater burdens. Third, this study does not include families with same-gender parents, who may have experienced unique challenges during the pandemic (Craig and Churchill 2021).

These limitations aside, this study is the first to track changes in the division of domestic labor across the duration of the pandemic, from pre-pandemic until after public health declarations ended, revealing substantial variation in the experiences of partnered parents. Though most parents maintained their domestic arrangements, a fair number experienced changes in their divisions of domestic labor. Though some parents became more traditional, the majority of those who experienced changes in their domestic arrangements transitioned to a nontraditional arrangement of housework or child care, driven by sustained remote work among fathers and a newly robust job market for women. As the pandemic fades into the past, the future of gender equality in the United

States will likely depend on the permanency of these changes and the lessons learned from them.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Descriptive statistics (N = 1,499)

	Mean/Prop	SD	Min	Max
<u>Father work status</u>				
Not working	0.11	-	0	1
Part-time	0.07	-	0	1
Full-time	0.82	-	0	1
Father essential worker	0.23	-	0	1
Father flexible schedule	0.43	-	0	1
Father received unemployment	0.05	-	0	1
<u>Father work from home status</u>				
Exclusively	0.18	-	0	1
Sometimes	0.19	-	0	1
Never	0.63	-	0	1
<u>Mother work status</u>				
Not working	0.34	-	0	1
Part-time	0.22	-	0	1
Full-time	0.44	-	0	1
Mother essential worker	0.21	-	0	1
Mother flexible schedule	0.37	-	0	1
Mother received unemployment	0.03	-	0	1
<u>Mother work from home status</u>				
Exclusively	0.15	-	0	1
Sometimes	0.14	-	0	1
Never	0.71	-	0	1
Household income	4.96	1.62	1	7
<u>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</u>				
Father earns more	0.69	-	0	1
Earnings shared equally	0.13	-	0	1
Mother earns more	0.18	-	0	1
Traditional gender attitudes	1.88	0.65	1	5
Father length of parental leave	1.84	1.95	0	8
Mother length of parental leave	3.86	3.06	0	8
Mother	0.53	-	0	1
Age	41.88	8.90	19	73
<u>Respondent race/ethnicity</u>				
White	0.60	-	0	1
Black	0.08	-	0	1
Latino	0.20	-	0	1
Asian	0.10	-	0	1
Other race	0.02	-	0	1
Married	0.91	-	0	1
Mother education	3.49	1.24	1	6
Father education	3.47	1.45	1	6
Number of children	1.97	0.91	1	4
Age of youngest child	8.49	6.13	1	22
<u>Wave entered study</u>				
March 2020	0.56	-	0	1
November 2020	0.23	-	0	1
October 2021	0.21	-	0	1

Notes: Weighted means presented. The sample reported here coincides with the full sample for the trajectory analyses. Time-varying measures are reported from the first time parents enter the study.

Table A-2: Group-based trajectory model fit statistics

Number of Groups	Parameters	BIC	Model convergence	Model errors	Average posterior probabilities
Housework					
2	0 2	-2833	YES	NO	0.96, 0.98
3	0 2 2	-2810	YES	YES	0.86, 0.92, 0.85
4	0 2 2 2	-2813	YES	YES	0.80, 0.67, 0.92, 0.64
5	0 2 2 2 2	-2778	YES	YES	0.79, 0.60, 0.85, 0.67, 0.75
6	0 2 2 2 2 2	-2837	NO	YES	-
5	0 1 2 2 2	-2775	YES	YES	0.79, 0.61, 0.85, 0.67, 0.75
5	0 1 2 1 2	-2771	YES	YES	0.79, 0.61, 0.85, 0.67, 0.75
4	0 1 2 2	-2779	YES	NO	0.91, 0.71, 0.90, 0.67
4	0 1 2 4	-2777	YES	NO	0.92, 0.79, 0.89, 0.67
4	2 1 2 4	-2773	YES	NO	0.91, 0.79, 0.89, 0.70
Child care					
2	2 2	-2673	YES	YES	0.95, 0.97
3	2 2 2	-2665	YES	YES	0.86 0.81, 0.90
4	2 2 2 2	-2662	YES	YES	0.67, 0.64, 0.84, 0.90
5	2 2 2 2 2	-2664	YES	YES	0.69, 0.77, 0.77, 0.69, 0.65
4	2 3 2 2	-2656	YES	YES	0.70, 0.80, 0.76, 0.91
4	2 1 3 2	-2653	YES	NO	0.67, 0.81, 0.76, 0.91
4	2 1 2 2	-2650	YES	NO	0.67, 0.81, 0.76, 0.91

Note: Final models are bolded. Parameters indicate the shape of each trajectory; 0 = constant; 1 = linear; 2 = quadratic; 3 = cubic; 4 = quartic.

Table A-3: Mean values of continuous measures of parents' divisions of domestic labor by trajectory group

	March 2020	April 2020	November 2020	October 2021	October 2022	October 2023
Housework						
Became traditional	3.16 (2.99, 3.33)	3.00 (2.87, 3.12)	3.34 (3.21, 3.48)	3.27 (3.18, 3.36)	3.44 (3.35, 3.54)	3.66 (3.59, 3.72)
Became nontraditional	3.67 (3.54, 3.79)	3.61 (3.48, 3.75)	3.45 (3.36, 3.54)	3.36 (3.25, 3.46)	3.21 (3.10, 3.32)	3.12 (3.02, 3.23)
Traditional	4.18 (4.13, 4.24)	3.88 (3.80, 3.96)	4.14 (4.09, 4.19)	4.19 (4.13, 4.24)	4.18 (4.12, 4.23)	4.18 (4.13, 4.23)
Nontraditional	2.80 (2.72, 2.88)	2.70 (2.62, 2.78)	2.69 (2.63, 2.76)	2.65 (2.59, 2.71)	2.66 (2.58, 2.75)	2.73 (2.66, 2.81)
Child care						
Became traditional	3.06 (2.95, 3.16)	2.98 (2.90, 3.05)	3.35 (3.20, 3.50)	3.71 (3.61, 3.81)	3.74 (3.50, 3.97)	3.75 (3.59, 3.91)
Became nontraditional	3.64 (3.55, 3.73)	3.50 (3.40, 3.59)	3.53 (3.47, 3.59)	3.47 (3.41, 3.53)	3.43 (3.37, 3.49)	3.41 (3.33, 3.49)
Traditional	4.00 (3.93, 4.07)	3.99 (3.91, 4.07)	3.98 (3.94, 4.02)	4.05 (4.00, 4.10)	4.01 (3.96, 4.07)	4.05 (3.98, 4.11)
Nontraditional	3.05 (2.99, 3.12)	2.88 (2.82, 2.93)	2.94 (2.90, 2.98)	2.90 (2.86, 2.94)	2.89 (2.84, 2.93)	2.97 (2.91, 3.02)

Notes: Variables range from 1 = father does it all to 3 = shared equally to 5 = mother does it all; 95% confidence intervals are in parentheses.

Table A-4: Full results from multinomial logistic regression models predicting housework trajectory group membership (N = 1,499)

	Became traditional vs. traditional			Became nontraditional vs. traditional			Nontraditional vs. traditional			Became nontraditional vs. became traditional			Became nontraditional vs. nontraditional			Became traditional vs. nontraditional		
	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p
<i>Father work status (ref = FT)</i>																		
Not working	1.47	0.67	.402	2.14	1.06	.126	1.15	0.45	.717	1.46	0.87	.527	1.85	0.97	.239	1.27	0.61	.615
Part-time	1.13	0.63	.822	2.19	1.00	.087	2.61	1.04	.016	1.93	1.24	.305	0.84	0.40	.715	0.43	0.26	.165
Father essential worker	0.60	0.18	.091	1.55	0.43	.113	1.00	0.24	.998	2.60	0.96	.010	1.55	0.47	.152	0.60	0.21	.135
Father flexible schedule	1.12	0.33	.697	0.95	0.22	.828	0.77	0.17	.252	0.85	0.28	.619	1.23	0.33	.430	1.45	0.47	.245
<i>Father work from home status (ref = never)</i>																		
Exclusively	0.57	0.28	.255	2.37	0.81	.012	1.52	0.48	.180	4.15	2.20	.007	1.56	0.58	.235	0.38	0.19	.055
Sometimes	1.14	0.38	.691	1.43	0.45	.257	2.01	0.55	.012	1.25	0.50	.569	0.71	0.25	.332	0.57	0.20	.115
<i>Mother work status (ref = FT)</i>																		
Not working	0.47	0.21	.091	0.82	0.34	.628	0.42	0.15	.014	1.75	0.87	.258	1.96	0.76	.081	1.12	0.51	.801
Part-time	0.70	0.28	.359	0.60	0.21	.137	0.64	0.17	.101	0.87	0.41	.758	0.94	0.34	.856	1.08	0.45	.849
Mother essential worker	0.79	0.33	.570	1.29	0.44	.454	1.68	0.50	.081	1.64	0.76	.285	0.77	0.25	.419	0.47	0.20	.073
Mother flexible schedule	1.22	0.45	.593	1.15	0.39	.687	0.92	0.24	.758	0.94	0.42	.889	1.24	0.43	.536	1.32	0.49	.463
<i>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</i>																		
Exclusively	1.55	0.67	.309	1.20	0.48	.654	1.06	0.35	.866	0.77	0.39	.608	1.13	0.47	.765	1.47	0.68	.400
Sometimes	0.67	0.31	.396	0.95	0.44	.910	1.06	0.35	.863	1.41	0.83	.556	0.90	0.40	.806	0.63	0.29	.325
<i>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</i>																		
Father earns more	0.92	0.34	.817	1.62	0.64	.218	0.52	0.14	.014	1.77	0.84	.234	3.10	1.28	.006	1.76	0.68	.146
Mother earns more	0.67	0.31	.386	1.02	0.49	.969	0.95	0.30	.861	1.51	0.88	.478	1.08	0.53	.879	0.71	0.32	.451
Traditional gender attitudes	0.74	0.15	.136	0.73	0.15	.119	0.55	0.08	.000	0.99	0.25	.970	1.34	0.28	.164	1.35	0.30	.168
Father length of parental leave	0.91	0.06	.185	1.05	0.07	.420	1.07	0.05	.187	1.16	0.10	.086	0.98	0.06	.807	0.85	0.06	.028
Mother length of parental leave	0.95	0.04	.248	0.98	0.04	.717	1.03	0.04	.462	1.04	0.06	.484	0.96	0.04	.366	0.92	0.05	.122
Household income	0.97	0.09	.762	0.97	0.09	.733	0.81	0.06	.004	1.00	0.12	.971	1.20	0.13	.089	1.20	0.12	.068
Father received unemployment benefits	0.29	0.18	.047	0.76	0.42	.611	0.87	0.33	.714	2.64	1.97	.192	0.87	0.49	.800	0.33	0.21	.081
Mother received unemployment benefits	1.56	0.96	.467	0.38	0.25	.139	1.23	0.52	.627	0.24	0.20	.089	0.31	0.21	.087	1.27	0.84	.715
Mother	0.21	0.07	.000	0.20	0.05	.000	0.05	0.01	.000	0.96	0.36	.908	3.78	1.00	.000	3.94	1.33	.000
Age	0.94	0.02	.006	1.00	0.02	.907	0.98	0.01	.232	1.06	0.03	.026	1.02	0.02	.463	0.96	0.02	.054
<i>Respondent race/ethnicity (ref = white)</i>																		
Black	1.88	0.81	.138	1.31	0.52	.493	0.80	0.32	.583	0.70	0.35	.471	1.64	0.73	.272	2.35	1.15	.079
Latino	1.50	0.55	.271	1.09	0.38	.809	0.50	0.15	.022	0.73	0.31	.455	2.20	0.83	.038	3.02	1.15	.004
Asian	0.86	0.57	.823	1.07	0.55	.902	3.06	1.00	.001	1.24	1.01	.793	0.35	0.17	.036	0.28	0.19	.066
Other race	2.06	1.39	.285	0.64	0.48	.556	1.04	0.61	.949	0.31	0.28	.195	0.62	0.47	.533	1.98	1.44	.345
Married	1.02	0.36	.964	0.98	0.36	.954	0.98	0.34	.956	0.96	0.46	.937	1.00	0.48	.997	1.04	0.45	.935
Mother education	0.95	0.11	.670	1.00	0.11	.994	1.00	0.09	.961	1.05	0.16	.730	1.00	0.13	.977	0.95	0.12	.673
Father education	1.14	0.12	.243	0.92	0.09	.399	1.19	0.10	.038	0.81	0.11	.110	0.78	0.08	.015	0.95	0.11	.696
Number of children	1.02	0.15	.899	0.70	0.10	.009	0.93	0.10	.515	0.69	0.13	.040	0.75	0.11	.049	1.09	0.17	.586
Age of youngest child	1.03	0.04	.446	0.99	0.03	.673	1.04	0.02	.094	0.96	0.04	.343	0.95	0.03	.114	0.99	0.03	.763
<i>Wave entered study (ref = March 2020)</i>																		
Nov 2020	1.74	0.53	.072	1.55	0.47	.144	1.08	0.26	.749	0.89	0.33	.757	1.44	0.45	.247	1.61	0.53	.146
Oct 2021	1.22	0.36	.500	0.61	0.20	.140	0.45	0.12	.002	0.50	0.20	.083	1.37	0.47	.351	2.73	0.90	.002

Note: Results presented as relative risk ratios.

Table A-5: Full descriptive statistics on time-varying factors associated with housework trajectories

	Nov. 2020			Oct. 2021			Oct. 2022			Oct. 2023		
	Nontrad	Trad	Became trad	Nontrad	Trad	Became trad	Nontrad	Trad	Became trad	Nontrad	Trad	Became trad
	NT		NT	NT		NT	NT		NT	NT		NT
Key Variables												
Father work status												
Not working	0.14 (0.09, 0.20)	0.12 (0.09, 0.16)	0.11 (0.05, 0.21)	0.13 (0.09, 0.20)	0.10 (0.05, 0.16)	0.11 (0.08, 0.21)	0.12 (0.07, 0.16)	0.12 (0.07, 0.21)	0.08 (0.03, 0.18)	0.09 (0.07, 0.12)	0.09 (0.06, 0.12)	0.12 (0.09, 0.19)
Part-time	0.12 (0.08, 0.18)	0.09 (0.05, 0.16)	0.03 (0.01, 0.11)	0.13 (0.08, 0.19)	0.06 (0.03, 0.12)	0.05 (0.05, 0.12)	0.05 (0.02, 0.12)	0.05 (0.02, 0.12)	0.11 (0.06, 0.18)	0.09 (0.06, 0.14)	0.06 (0.04, 0.14)	0.11 (0.07, 0.18)
Full-time	0.74 (0.67, 0.80)	0.78 (0.76, 0.86)	0.81 (0.76, 0.85)	0.74 (0.67, 0.81)	0.84 (0.76, 0.90)	0.83 (0.76, 0.84)	0.83 (0.74, 0.89)	0.83 (0.74, 0.89)	0.77 (0.70, 0.83)	0.82 (0.77, 0.86)	0.85 (0.76, 0.91)	0.77 (0.69, 0.83)
Father essential worker	0.29 (0.23, 0.35)	0.29 (0.19, 0.39)	0.38 (0.14, 0.36)	0.24 (0.18, 0.29)	0.38 (0.27, 0.48)	0.39 (0.44, 0.41)	0.26 (0.15, 0.36)	0.26 (0.15, 0.36)	0.25 (0.19, 0.31)	0.32 (0.28, 0.39)	0.33 (0.38, 0.42)	0.27 (0.15, 0.38)
Father flexible schedule	0.47 (0.35, 0.62)	0.34 (0.30, 0.57)	0.30 (0.39, 0.40)	0.51 (0.65, 0.65)	0.43 (0.64, 0.64)	0.36 (0.47, 0.47)	0.30 (0.30, 0.54)	0.30 (0.30, 0.54)	0.42 (0.66, 0.66)	0.42 (0.52, 0.52)	0.42 (0.52, 0.52)	0.30 (0.36, 0.47)
Father work from home												
Exclusively	0.41 (0.34, 0.48)	0.29 (0.24, 0.34)	0.30 (0.19, 0.45)	0.32 (0.26, 0.40)	0.32 (0.23, 0.42)	0.18 (0.14, 0.23)	0.21 (0.12, 0.34)	0.21 (0.12, 0.34)	0.18 (0.12, 0.27)	0.15 (0.11, 0.19)	0.21 (0.11, 0.35)	0.15 (0.11, 0.26)
Sometimes	0.17 (0.13, 0.23)	0.14 (0.09, 0.23)	0.11 (0.09, 0.14)	0.25 (0.19, 0.32)	0.21 (0.13, 0.32)	0.15 (0.12, 0.19)	0.24 (0.15, 0.36)	0.24 (0.15, 0.36)	0.31 (0.24, 0.38)	0.23 (0.19, 0.29)	0.32 (0.22, 0.45)	0.29 (0.20, 0.44)
Never	0.42 (0.35, 0.49)	0.44 (0.33, 0.55)	0.60 (0.34, 0.65)	0.43 (0.36, 0.50)	0.48 (0.37, 0.58)	0.67 (0.61, 0.71)	0.55 (0.43, 0.67)	0.55 (0.43, 0.67)	0.50 (0.39, 0.61)	0.62 (0.56, 0.67)	0.47 (0.35, 0.61)	0.53 (0.38, 0.65)

Table A-5: (Continued)

Key Variables <i>Mother work status</i>	Nov 2020				Oct 2021				Oct 2022				Oct 2023			
	Nontrad	Became	Trad	tr ad	Nontrad	Became	Trad	tr ad	Nontrad	Became	Trad	tr ad	Nontrad	Became	Trad	tr ad
	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT
Not working	0.27	0.39	0.42	0.35	0.19	0.32	0.41	0.32	0.24	0.34	0.36	0.22	0.21	0.24	0.31	0.29
	(0.21, 0.34)	(0.29, 0.51)	(0.37, 0.48)	(0.24, 0.47)	(0.14, 0.25)	(0.22, 0.42)	(0.35, 0.46)	(0.22, 0.43)	(0.18, 0.32)	(0.24, 0.46)	(0.31, 0.41)	(0.14, 0.32)	(0.15, 0.27)	(0.16, 0.34)	(0.27, 0.37)	(0.19, 0.40)
	0.21	0.31	0.25	0.27	0.17	0.24	0.29	0.26	0.19	0.26	0.26	0.34	0.19	0.22	0.28	0.28
Part-time	0.16	0.21	0.21	0.17	0.12	0.16	0.24	0.16	0.13	0.13	0.22	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.23	0.18
	(0.16, 0.28)	(0.21, 0.44)	(0.21, 0.30)	(0.17, 0.41)	(0.12, 0.24)	(0.16, 0.34)	(0.24, 0.33)	(0.16, 0.38)	(0.13, 0.26)	(0.13, 0.31)	(0.22, 0.31)	(0.13, 0.47)	(0.14, 0.27)	(0.14, 0.34)	(0.23, 0.41)	
	0.52	0.30	0.33	0.38	0.64	0.45	0.31	0.43	0.57	0.45	0.38	0.44	0.60	0.54	0.41	0.43
<i>Mother work from home</i>	0.45	0.21	0.28	0.26	0.57	0.34	0.26	0.31	0.49	0.34	0.33	0.32	0.52	0.42	0.36	0.31
	(0.59, 0.20)	(0.40, 0.38)	(0.38, 0.52)	(0.26, 0.52)	(0.71, 0.55)	(0.34, 0.55)	(0.26, 0.36)	(0.31, 0.55)	(0.49, 0.64)	(0.34, 0.57)	(0.33, 0.43)	(0.32, 0.57)	(0.52, 0.67)	(0.42, 0.65)	(0.36, 0.46)	(0.31, 0.56)
	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.31	0.17	0.21	0.17	0.28	0.14	0.20	0.18	0.29	0.16	0.20	0.16	0.22
Exclusively	(0.20, 0.31)	(0.15, 0.33)	(0.21, 0.45)	(0.20, 0.45)	(0.13, 0.23)	(0.14, 0.30)	(0.13, 0.20)	(0.18, 0.41)	(0.10, 0.20)	(0.13, 0.29)	(0.15, 0.22)	(0.18, 0.43)	(0.12, 0.22)	(0.12, 0.32)	(0.13, 0.20)	(0.12, 0.37)
	0.12	0.11	0.11	0.14	0.19	0.13	0.14	0.12	0.17	0.18	0.14	0.19	0.25	0.18	0.17	0.24
	(0.08, 0.16)	(0.06, 0.22)	(0.08, 0.15)	(0.07, 0.24)	(0.14, 0.25)	(0.07, 0.22)	(0.10, 0.19)	(0.05, 0.24)	(0.13, 0.23)	(0.10, 0.29)	(0.10, 0.18)	(0.11, 0.31)	(0.19, 0.32)	(0.10, 0.22)	(0.10, 0.37)	(0.15, 0.37)
Sometimes	0.64	0.66	0.63	0.55	0.64	0.66	0.70	0.60	0.68	0.62	0.68	0.51	0.59	0.62	0.67	0.54
	(0.57, 0.70)	(0.54, 0.75)	(0.58, 0.68)	(0.42, 0.68)	(0.57, 0.71)	(0.56, 0.75)	(0.65, 0.74)	(0.47, 0.72)	(0.62, 0.74)	(0.51, 0.72)	(0.63, 0.73)	(0.39, 0.66)	(0.51, 0.66)	(0.50, 0.73)	(0.61, 0.71)	(0.41, 0.66)
	0.34	0.23	0.23	0.21	0.38	0.33	0.26	0.28	0.36	0.28	0.25	0.26	0.66	0.44	0.36	0.51
Mother essential worker	(0.27, 0.41)	(0.15, 0.31)	(0.19, 0.28)	(0.10, 0.32)	(0.31, 0.46)	(0.23, 0.43)	(0.21, 0.30)	(0.16, 0.39)	(0.29, 0.43)	(0.17, 0.38)	(0.20, 0.29)	(0.14, 0.37)	(0.58, 0.73)	(0.32, 0.56)	(0.30, 0.41)	(0.38, 0.65)
	0.35	0.40	0.41	0.42	0.39	0.38	0.39	0.47	0.34	0.40	0.40	0.50	0.40	0.43	0.40	0.51
	(0.28, 0.41)	(0.29, 0.52)	(0.36, 0.46)	(0.29, 0.55)	(0.32, 0.47)	(0.28, 0.48)	(0.34, 0.44)	(0.35, 0.60)	(0.28, 0.41)	(0.29, 0.50)	(0.35, 0.46)	(0.38, 0.62)	(0.33, 0.47)	(0.32, 0.55)	(0.35, 0.45)	(0.38, 0.63)

Table A-5: (Continued)

Key Variables	Nov 2020			Oct 2021			Oct 2022			Oct 2023			
	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	Nontrad	Became trad	Became NT	
	NT	trad	NT	trad	trad	NT	trad	trad	NT	trad	trad	NT	
Relative earnings													
Father earns more	0.53 (0.46, 0.60)	0.67 (0.62, 0.74)	0.65 (0.53, 0.75)	0.74 (0.69, 0.82)	0.47 (0.40, 0.54)	0.65 (0.58, 0.72)	0.73 (0.60, 0.82)	0.63 (0.51, 0.74)	0.55 (0.48, 0.62)	0.76 (0.71, 0.80)	0.63 (0.50, 0.75)	0.52 (0.45, 0.60)	0.61 (0.48, 0.72)
Equal	0.27 (0.22, 0.34)	0.22 (0.14, 0.35)	0.26 (0.16, 0.34)	0.21 (0.12, 0.31)	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.21 (0.12, 0.31)	0.21 (0.12, 0.31)	0.22 (0.14, 0.34)	0.26 (0.20, 0.33)	0.11 (0.09, 0.15)	0.24 (0.15, 0.33)	0.25 (0.19, 0.33)	0.13 (0.10, 0.17)
Mother earns more	0.19 (0.14, 0.26)	0.14 (0.08, 0.21)	0.08 (0.04, 0.17)	0.11 (0.08, 0.16)	0.25 (0.19, 0.33)	0.14 (0.08, 0.22)	0.06 (0.03, 0.12)	0.15 (0.07, 0.23)	0.19 (0.14, 0.25)	0.13 (0.09, 0.18)	0.12 (0.06, 0.24)	0.23 (0.17, 0.29)	0.16 (0.09, 0.27)
Father paid leave	0.24 (0.18, 0.30)	0.18 (0.12, 0.26)	0.31 (0.10, 0.52)	0.18 (0.10, 0.26)	0.21 (0.08, 0.38)	0.21 (0.14, 0.31)	0.22 (0.14, 0.32)	0.23 (0.14, 0.32)	0.29 (0.25, 0.39)	0.18 (0.15, 0.22)	0.23 (0.14, 0.36)	0.29 (0.23, 0.36)	0.31 (0.21, 0.43)
Mother paid leave	0.16 (0.11, 0.21)	0.14 (0.08, 0.24)	0.13 (0.07, 0.23)	0.09 (0.07, 0.10)	0.23 (0.17, 0.29)	0.14 (0.09, 0.22)	0.13 (0.12, 0.23)	0.09 (0.07, 0.12)	0.23 (0.18, 0.30)	0.12 (0.07, 0.19)	0.23 (0.17, 0.28)	0.10 (0.07, 0.14)	0.09 (0.07, 0.16)
Gender attitudes	1.80 (1.71, 1.90)	1.83 (1.71, 1.99)	1.76 (1.65, 1.88)	1.97 (1.90, 2.05)	1.85 (1.66, 1.86)	1.85 (1.71, 1.99)	1.83 (1.69, 1.97)	1.75 (1.66, 1.83)	1.75 (1.66, 1.83)	1.82 (1.67, 1.97)	1.82 (1.67, 1.97)	1.74 (1.66, 1.83)	1.83 (1.69, 1.98)
Other Variables													
Child in School/Day care													
Father received unemployment	0.04 (0.02, 0.10)	0.01 (0.00, 0.08)	0.04 (0.02, 0.07)	0.02 (0.01, 0.06)	0.00 (0.00, 0.02)	0.02 (0.01, 0.07)	0.00 (0.00, 0.06)	0.00 (0.00, 0.06)	0.00 (0.00, 0.06)	0.00 (0.00, 0.01)	0.00 (0.00, 0.01)	0.01 (0.00, 0.05)	0.00 (0.00, 0.01)
Mother received unemployment	0.01 (0.00, 0.09)	0.01 (0.01, 0.05)	0.06 (0.02, 0.14)	0.00 (0.00, 0.08)	0.00 (0.00, 0.05)	0.01 (0.00, 0.08)	0.01 (0.00, 0.04)	0.01 (0.00, 0.04)	0.00 (0.00, 0.05)	0.00 (0.00, 0.01)	0.00 (0.00, 0.01)	0.00 (0.00, 0.05)	0.01 (0.00, 0.01)
Household income	4.93 (4.93, 5.42)	5.05 (4.71, 5.39)	4.76 (4.59, 4.94)	4.94 (4.77, 5.11)	5.33 (5.33, 5.74)	5.15 (4.79, 5.50)	4.94 (4.77, 5.11)	5.37 (5.00, 5.74)	5.51 (5.28, 5.73)	5.21 (4.86, 5.57)	5.14 (4.96, 5.32)	5.64 (5.44, 5.93)	5.58 (5.20, 5.96)

Note: 95% confidence intervals are in parentheses.

Table A-6: Full results from fixed effects regression models predicting parents' divisions of housework

	Traditional division of housework			Mothers' shares of housework		
	OR	SE	p	b	SE	p
Key Variables						
<u>Father work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	0.41	0.13	.003	-0.14	0.04	.000
Part-time	0.61	0.15	.047	-0.15	0.03	.000
Father essential worker	1.04	0.16	.780	0.00	0.01	.818
Father flexible schedule	0.99	0.16	.944	-0.01	0.02	.741
<u>Father work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	0.70	0.16	.125	-0.06	0.03	.018
Sometimes	0.78	0.15	.193	-0.06	0.02	.007
<u>Mother work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	3.24	0.92	.000	0.19	0.03	.000
Part-time	1.43	0.27	.074	0.06	0.02	.006
Mother essential worker	1.42	0.26	.049	0.03	0.02	.105
Mother flexible schedule	1.38	0.25	.076	0.02	0.02	.211
<u>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	1.17	0.27	.492	0.07	0.02	.002
Sometimes	1.25	0.27	.292	0.06	0.02	.006
<u>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</u>						
Father earns more	0.90	0.16	.565	0.01	0.02	.700
Mother earns more	0.51	0.13	.008	-0.03	0.03	.357
Traditional gender attitudes	1.12	0.19	.506	0.00	0.02	.887
Father paid leave	0.99	0.17	.961	-0.00	0.02	.992
Mother paid leave	0.66	0.13	.035	-0.02	0.02	.317
Control Variables						
Father received unemployment benefits	1.88	1.03	.252	0.03	0.05	.522
Mother received unemployment benefits	0.63	0.29	.316	-0.01	0.06	.905
Household income	1.00	0.08	.985	0.00	0.01	.712
<u>Wave</u>						
April 2020	0.17	0.04	.000	-0.19	0.02	.000
November 2020	0.56	0.11	.004	-0.07	0.02	.001
October 2021	0.46	0.10	.000	-0.08	0.02	.000
October 2022	0.48	0.10	.000	-0.10	0.02	.000
October 2023	0.53	0.12	.005	-0.09	0.02	.000
N	559			2909		

Notes: Logistic regression models are used to predict traditional division of housework, and results are presented as odds ratios. Sample sizes in this model include only parents who experienced at least one shift between a traditional division of housework and an egalitarian/nontraditional division. Linear regression models are used to predict mothers' shares of housework.

Table A-7: Full results from multinomial logistic regression models predicting child care trajectory group membership (N = 1,346)

	<i>Became traditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Became nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Nontraditional vs. traditional</i>			<i>Became nontraditional vs. became traditional</i>			<i>Became nontraditional vs. nontraditional</i>			<i>Became traditional vs. nontraditional</i>		
	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p	RRR	SE	p
<i>Father work status (ref = FT)</i>																		
Not working	5.73	4.22	.018	2.30	1.04	.065	3.18	1.26	.004	0.40	0.31	.243	0.72	0.33	.476	1.80	1.32	.424
Part-time	3.97	2.71	.044	1.09	0.54	.861	2.16	0.92	.069	0.27	0.19	.059	0.50	0.23	.138	1.84	1.11	.313
Father essential worker	1.14	0.49	.764	1.09	0.27	.720	0.88	0.23	.612	0.96	0.41	.923	1.25	0.30	.360	1.30	0.51	.508
Father flexible schedule	0.87	0.36	.738	0.88	0.20	.574	1.30	0.32	.283	1.01	0.42	.980	0.68	0.16	.105	0.67	0.26	.304
<i>Father work from home status (ref = never)</i>																		
Exclusively	1.55	0.96	.480	1.34	0.46	.393	1.25	0.39	.485	0.86	0.54	.817	1.08	0.34	.816	1.24	0.74	.713
Sometimes	2.90	1.37	.025	1.72	0.52	.072	1.74	0.55	.078	0.60	0.28	.270	0.99	0.31	.976	1.67	0.71	.234
<i>Mother work status (ref = FT)</i>																		
Not working	0.18	0.11	.004	1.20	0.44	.626	0.23	0.08	.000	6.52	3.79	.001	5.30	1.88	.000	0.81	0.44	.701
Part-time	1.13	0.56	.802	0.73	0.23	.317	0.34	0.11	.001	0.64	0.32	.378	2.10	0.66	.018	3.28	1.46	.008
Mother essential worker	0.98	0.63	.970	1.96	0.66	.047	1.95	0.62	.036	2.01	1.32	.288	1.01	0.32	.987	0.50	0.31	.262
Mother flexible schedule	0.31	0.16	.021	1.54	0.52	.205	0.72	0.20	.247	4.97	2.72	.003	2.13	0.67	.017	0.43	0.20	.076
<i>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</i>																		
Exclusively	0.57	0.38	.400	0.97	0.36	.937	1.43	0.47	.276	1.69	1.17	.448	0.68	0.26	.311	0.40	0.26	.153
Sometimes	1.41	0.90	.591	1.04	0.39	.923	1.34	0.44	.364	0.74	0.49	.647	0.77	0.30	.499	1.05	0.65	.937
<i>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</i>																		
Father earns more	0.69	0.38	.507	0.99	0.37	.982	0.52	0.16	.036	1.44	0.81	.523	1.91	0.62	.049	1.33	0.70	.592
Mother earns more	1.77	1.21	.402	1.02	0.49	.965	1.06	0.41	.885	0.58	0.41	.433	0.96	0.40	.931	1.68	1.04	.407
Traditional gender attitudes	0.99	0.28	.972	0.80	0.13	.182	0.49	0.08	.000	0.81	0.23	.445	1.64	0.28	.003	2.03	0.55	.009
Father length of parental leave	1.14	0.10	.163	1.04	0.06	.476	1.12	0.07	.051	0.92	0.08	.348	0.93	0.05	.214	1.01	0.09	.881
Mother length of parental leave	0.95	0.06	.442	1.06	0.04	.077	1.03	0.04	.399	1.12	0.07	.091	1.03	0.04	.439	0.92	0.06	.198
Household income	0.93	0.12	.578	0.83	0.06	.015	0.79	0.06	.003	0.89	0.12	.395	1.05	0.09	.579	1.18	0.15	.208
Father received unemployment benefits	3.70	2.36	.040	1.01	0.56	.990	2.56	1.14	.035	.027	1.74	.060	0.39	0.22	.094	1.45	0.87	.541
Mother received unemployment benefits	0.49	0.44	.430	0.43	0.24	.133	0.41	0.25	.150	0.86	0.02	.881	1.05	0.73	.944	1.22	1.14	.835
Mother	0.09	0.05	.000	0.34	0.09	.000	0.04	0.01	.000	3.63	1.74	.007	8.14	1.91	.000	2.24	1.14	.082
Age	0.96	0.02	.074	0.97	0.02	.085	0.97	0.02	.120	1.01	0.02	.649	1.00	0.02	.849	0.99	0.02	.496
<i>Respondent race/ethnicity (ref = white)</i>																		
Black	1.67	1.03	.405	1.85	0.63	.070	1.07	0.43	.866	1.11	0.68	.870	1.73	0.69	.168	1.56	0.91	.441
Latino	0.66	0.43	.521	1.72	0.61	.127	1.30	0.45	.442	2.62	1.72	.141	1.32	0.40	.360	0.50	0.32	.282
Asian	0.90	0.59	.869	1.08	0.43	.855	0.76	0.31	.499	1.20	0.75	.773	1.42	0.54	.354	1.18	0.73	.783
Other race	1.88	1.90	.531	1.75	1.14	.394	3.80	2.83	.073	0.93	0.88	.938	0.46	0.28	.197	0.49	0.45	.440
Married	1.69	0.92	.334	2.01	0.69	.040	1.08	0.33	.811	1.19	0.69	.766	1.91	0.68	.079	1.57	0.85	.400
Mother education	0.90	0.17	.578	0.96	0.09	.675	0.76	0.08	.008	1.07	0.20	.725	1.87	0.12	.017	1.18	0.22	.372
Father education	0.93	0.19	.712	1.07	0.09	.435	1.29	0.12	.004	1.15	0.23	.484	1.26	0.07	.031	0.72	0.15	.103
Number of children	1.08	0.17	.635	1.11	0.13	.350	1.14	0.14	.287	1.03	0.16	.841	0.83	0.12	.873	0.95	0.13	.718
Age of youngest child	1.00	0.05	.977	1.00	0.03	.902	1.11	0.03	.001	0.99	0.05	.916	0.90	0.03	.000	0.90	0.04	.028
<i>Wave entered study (ref = March 2020)</i>																		
Nov 2020	0.36	0.16	.020	0.72	0.20	.229	0.45	0.12	.004	2.01	0.88	.111	1.60	0.44	.089	0.80	0.32	.576
Oct 2021	-	-	.000	0.63	0.17	.077	0.28	0.08	.000	-	-	-	2.22	0.59	.003	-	-	-

Note: Results presented as relative risk ratios.

Table A-8: Full descriptive statistics on time-varying factors associated with child care trajectories

Key Variables	Nov 2020			Oct 2021			Oct 2022			Oct 2023					
	Became	Became	Trad	Became	Became	Trad	Became	Became	Trad	Became	Became	Trad	Nontrad		
	trad	NT		trad	NT		trad	NT		trad	NT				
<u>Father work status</u>															
Not working	0.12 (0.05, 0.25)	0.10 (0.06, 0.16)	0.09 (0.06, 0.14)	0.08 (0.02, 0.22)	0.09 (0.05, 0.16)	0.10 (0.07, 0.15)	0.12 (0.09, 0.17)	0.09 (0.05, 0.17)	0.08 (0.05, 0.13)	0.09 (0.06, 0.13)	0.09 (0.06, 0.13)	0.03 (0.00, 0.23)	0.09 (0.05, 0.16)	0.07 (0.04, 0.11)	
Part-time	0.20 (0.09, 0.38)	0.10 (0.05, 0.18)	0.03 (0.01, 0.06)	0.05 (0.01, 0.09)	0.07 (0.04, 0.10)	0.07 (0.04, 0.10)	0.09 (0.06, 0.12)	0.20 (0.06, 0.34)	0.04 (0.02, 0.06)	0.06 (0.03, 0.09)	0.10 (0.07, 0.13)	0.11 (0.03, 0.19)	0.03 (0.01, 0.05)	0.04 (0.02, 0.06)	
Full-time	0.68 (0.51, 0.81)	0.80 (0.72, 0.87)	0.88 (0.83, 0.92)	0.78 (0.72, 0.83)	0.84 (0.76, 0.89)	0.83 (0.77, 0.87)	0.78 (0.73, 0.83)	0.75 (0.71, 0.79)	0.88 (0.82, 0.91)	0.86 (0.80, 0.92)	0.81 (0.75, 0.86)	0.85 (0.64, 0.95)	0.88 (0.80, 0.92)	0.90 (0.85, 0.93)	0.84 (0.79, 0.88)
Father essential worker	0.32 (0.18, 0.46)	0.39 (0.31, 0.48)	0.41 (0.34, 0.48)	0.31 (0.12, 0.33)	0.39 (0.31, 0.46)	0.41 (0.36, 0.46)	0.28 (0.23, 0.33)	0.26 (0.21, 0.29)	0.36 (0.29, 0.44)	0.36 (0.28, 0.43)	0.25 (0.20, 0.30)	0.52 (0.31, 0.72)	0.63 (0.55, 0.72)	0.63 (0.56, 0.71)	0.33 (0.28, 0.39)
Father flexible schedule	0.43 (0.27, 0.58)	0.39 (0.30, 0.48)	0.29 (0.23, 0.35)	0.54 (0.34, 0.62)	0.39 (0.31, 0.46)	0.43 (0.36, 0.51)	0.56 (0.50, 0.62)	0.73 (0.68, 0.74)	0.46 (0.41, 0.48)	0.45 (0.37, 0.53)	0.55 (0.49, 0.62)	0.39 (0.18, 0.60)	0.33 (0.25, 0.41)	0.41 (0.34, 0.49)	0.52 (0.45, 0.58)
<u>Father work from home</u>															
Exclusively	0.21 (0.12, 0.35)	0.30 (0.23, 0.39)	0.27 (0.21, 0.34)	0.40 (0.34, 0.46)	0.09 (0.03, 0.23)	0.22 (0.16, 0.30)	0.28 (0.22, 0.34)	0.32 (0.14, 0.57)	0.18 (0.12, 0.24)	0.12 (0.08, 0.19)	0.19 (0.15, 0.25)	0.12 (0.05, 0.28)	0.15 (0.10, 0.22)	0.11 (0.07, 0.16)	0.20 (0.15, 0.26)
Sometimes	0.21 (0.10, 0.39)	0.17 (0.11, 0.25)	0.12 (0.08, 0.17)	0.16 (0.13, 0.21)	0.16 (0.11, 0.21)	0.19 (0.13, 0.26)	0.24 (0.19, 0.30)	0.30 (0.23, 0.37)	0.30 (0.27, 0.36)	0.19 (0.14, 0.24)	0.28 (0.21, 0.36)	0.20 (0.15, 0.25)	0.21 (0.15, 0.28)	0.26 (0.19, 0.34)	0.33 (0.28, 0.39)
Never	0.57 (0.41, 0.72)	0.53 (0.44, 0.62)	0.61 (0.54, 0.68)	0.44 (0.38, 0.50)	0.63 (0.43, 0.80)	0.64 (0.57, 0.71)	0.48 (0.42, 0.54)	0.39 (0.31, 0.46)	0.63 (0.55, 0.70)	0.60 (0.52, 0.68)	0.49 (0.43, 0.56)	0.67 (0.46, 0.84)	0.64 (0.55, 0.71)	0.63 (0.55, 0.71)	0.48 (0.41, 0.54)

Table A-8: (Continued)

Key Variables	Nov 2020			Oct 2021			Oct 2022			Oct 2023						
	Became trad	Trad	Nontrad	Became trad	Trad	Nontrad	Became trad	Trad	Nontrad	Became trad	Trad	Nontrad				
	(0.22, 0.49)	(0.36, 0.53)	(0.41, 0.55)	(0.19, 0.29)	(0.26, 0.64)	(0.32, 0.48)	(0.39, 0.44)	(0.44, 0.52)	(0.15, 0.25)	(0.23, 0.62)	(0.29, 0.44)	(0.36, 0.43)	(0.18, 0.28)	(0.21, 0.30)	(0.26, 0.40)	(0.16, 0.27)
<i>Mother work status</i>																
Not working	0.34	0.44	0.48	0.24	0.44	0.39	0.44	0.19	0.41	0.36	0.35	0.23	0.48	0.28	0.33	0.21
Part-time	(0.22, 0.28)	(0.36, 0.49)	(0.41, 0.55)	(0.19, 0.29)	(0.26, 0.64)	(0.32, 0.48)	(0.39, 0.44)	(0.15, 0.25)	(0.23, 0.62)	(0.29, 0.44)	(0.36, 0.43)	(0.18, 0.28)	(0.29, 0.68)	(0.21, 0.30)	(0.26, 0.40)	(0.16, 0.27)
Full-time	0.38	0.31	0.25	0.53	0.26	0.36	0.22	0.62	0.40	0.36	0.32	0.57	0.38	0.45	0.37	0.59
	(0.24, 0.55)	(0.23, 0.40)	(0.19, 0.32)	(0.47, 0.59)	(0.11, 0.50)	(0.29, 0.45)	(0.17, 0.28)	(0.56, 0.67)	(0.20, 0.64)	(0.29, 0.44)	(0.25, 0.39)	(0.51, 0.63)	(0.20, 0.60)	(0.36, 0.53)	(0.31, 0.45)	(0.53, 0.65)
<i>Mother work from home</i>																
Exclusively	0.22	0.22	0.27	0.30	0.23	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.08	0.20	0.24	0.16	0.10	0.15	0.23	0.16
Sometimes	(0.12, 0.38)	(0.16, 0.30)	(0.22, 0.34)	(0.24, 0.35)	(0.10, 0.45)	(0.13, 0.25)	(0.14, 0.24)	(0.15, 0.25)	(0.03, 0.19)	(0.14, 0.27)	(0.19, 0.30)	(0.12, 0.21)	(0.04, 0.24)	(0.10, 0.23)	(0.17, 0.30)	(0.12, 0.21)
Never	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.12	0.14	0.14	0.15	0.16	0.14	0.14	0.16	0.19	0.17	0.18	0.21	0.22
	(0.07, 0.33)	(0.10, 0.25)	(0.05, 0.14)	(0.09, 0.16)	(0.04, 0.37)	(0.09, 0.22)	(0.10, 0.22)	(0.12, 0.21)	(0.04, 0.41)	(0.09, 0.20)	(0.11, 0.23)	(0.15, 0.24)	(0.06, 0.41)	(0.12, 0.24)	(0.15, 0.28)	(0.17, 0.28)
Mother essential worker	0.62	0.61	0.65	0.58	0.63	0.68	0.67	0.65	0.78	0.67	0.60	0.65	0.73	0.67	0.56	0.62
	(0.45, 0.76)	(0.52, 0.70)	(0.57, 0.71)	(0.52, 0.64)	(0.42, 0.80)	(0.60, 0.75)	(0.60, 0.73)	(0.59, 0.70)	(0.55, 0.91)	(0.59, 0.74)	(0.53, 0.67)	(0.59, 0.71)	(0.52, 0.87)	(0.48, 0.74)	(0.55, 0.63)	(0.68, 0.68)
Mother flexible schedule	0.26	0.25	0.17	0.32	0.18	0.32	0.21	0.37	0.33	0.27	0.24	0.32	0.33	0.34	0.33	0.65
	(0.12, 0.17)	(0.32, 0.32)	(0.12, 0.23)	(0.26, 0.38)	(0.01, 0.36)	(0.24, 0.39)	(0.15, 0.27)	(0.31, 0.43)	(0.09, 0.56)	(0.20, 0.34)	(0.18, 0.31)	(0.27, 0.38)	(0.11, 0.59)	(0.26, 0.42)	(0.26, 0.40)	(0.59, 0.71)
	0.42	0.37	0.38	0.44	0.40	0.37	0.41	0.42	0.22	0.39	0.48	0.38	0.20	0.44	0.48	0.39
	(0.26, 0.57)	(0.28, 0.46)	(0.31, 0.45)	(0.38, 0.50)	(0.19, 0.60)	(0.29, 0.45)	(0.34, 0.48)	(0.36, 0.48)	(0.04, 0.40)	(0.31, 0.47)	(0.41, 0.56)	(0.32, 0.44)	(0.04, 0.35)	(0.35, 0.52)	(0.40, 0.55)	(0.33, 0.45)

Table A-8: (Continued)

Key Variables	Nov 2020			Oct 2021			Oct 2022			Oct 2023						
	Became	Traded	Nontraded	Became	Traded	Nontraded	Became	Traded	Nontraded	Became	Traded	Nontraded				
	trad	NT		trad	NT		trad	NT		trad	NT					
<u>Relative earnings</u>																
Father earns more	0.52	0.68	0.76	0.53	0.66	0.73	0.81	0.52	0.63	0.74	0.81	0.54	0.82	0.69	0.80	0.55
	(0.37, 0.67)	(0.58, 0.76)	(0.69, 0.82)	(0.47, 0.83)	(0.43, 0.80)	(0.65, 0.86)	(0.75, 0.86)	(0.46, 0.86)	(0.38, 0.83)	(0.67, 0.81)	(0.75, 0.86)	(0.48, 0.61)	(0.57, 0.94)	(0.60, 0.76)	(0.74, 0.85)	(0.49, 0.82)
Equal	0.23	0.21	0.15	0.27	0.30	0.15	0.13	0.26	0.07	0.19	0.11	0.24	0.11	0.20	0.12	0.24
	(0.12, 0.41)	(0.14, 0.30)	(0.10, 0.21)	(0.22, 0.32)	(0.14, 0.23)	(0.10, 0.20)	(0.09, 0.19)	(0.21, 0.32)	(0.03, 0.03)	(0.14, 0.26)	(0.08, 0.19)	(0.02, 0.29)	(0.02, 0.44)	(0.15, 0.28)	(0.08, 0.18)	(0.19, 0.30)
Mother earns more	0.25	0.12	0.09	0.20	0.04	0.12	0.06	0.22	0.29	0.06	0.07	0.22	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.21
	(0.13, 0.42)	(0.07, 0.19)	(0.06, 0.15)	(0.25, 0.16)	(0.01, 0.19)	(0.07, 0.11)	(0.04, 0.09)	(0.18, 0.28)	(0.11, 0.57)	(0.03, 0.12)	(0.04, 0.28)	(0.17, 0.28)	(0.03, 0.19)	(0.06, 0.20)	(0.05, 0.12)	(0.16, 0.27)
Father paid leave	0.17	0.22	0.10	0.19	0.23	0.19	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.19	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.27
	(0.08, 0.31)	(0.15, 0.30)	(0.07, 0.15)	(0.24, 0.43)	(0.10, 0.30)	(0.17, 0.26)	(0.13, 0.26)	(0.19, 0.45)	(0.11, 0.45)	(0.16, 0.30)	(0.14, 0.26)	(0.20, 0.30)	(0.11, 0.45)	(0.17, 0.32)	(0.18, 0.31)	(0.22, 0.33)
Mother paid leave	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.15	0.07	0.11	0.08	0.18	0.03	0.11	0.07	0.19	0.12	0.09	0.08	0.21
	(0.06, 0.28)	(0.05, 0.17)	(0.04, 0.10)	(0.11, 0.31)	(0.01, 0.17)	(0.07, 0.31)	(0.06, 0.12)	(0.14, 0.23)	(0.01, 0.14)	(0.07, 0.18)	(0.05, 0.11)	(0.15, 0.25)	(0.04, 0.32)	(0.06, 0.16)	(0.04, 0.13)	(0.16, 0.26)
Gender attitudes	2.05	1.99	1.84	1.76	2.15	1.87	1.99	1.76	2.12	1.83	2.01	1.77	2.01	1.90	1.97	1.77
	(1.86, 2.24)	(1.86, 2.12)	(1.75, 1.94)	(1.68, 1.83)	(1.85, 2.45)	(1.75, 1.99)	(1.89, 2.10)	(1.68, 1.83)	(1.90, 2.34)	(1.73, 1.93)	(1.88, 2.15)	(1.69, 1.84)	(1.73, 2.29)	(1.79, 2.01)	(1.84, 2.10)	(1.70, 1.85)
<u>Control Variables</u>																
Father received unemployment	0.09	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00
	(0.03, 0.25)	(0.00, 0.06)	(0.01, 0.04)	(0.02, 0.09)	(0.00, 0.04)	(0.01, 0.09)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.06)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.07)	(0.00, 0.07)	(0.00, 0.01)	(0.00, 0.01)
Mother received unemployment	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.00
	(0.01, 0.10)	(0.01, 0.08)	(0.03, 0.12)	(0.01, 0.04)	(0.00, 0.06)	(0.00, 0.06)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.01)	(0.00, 0.01)	(0.00, 0.06)	(0.00, 0.03)	(0.00, 0.25)	(0.00, 0.58)	(0.01, 0.04)	(0.00, 0.02)	(0.00, 0.02)
Household income	4.94	4.61	4.73	5.24	4.94	4.82	4.86	5.45	5.35	5.04	5.10	5.50	5.38	5.02	4.25	5.57
	(4.44, 5.44)	(4.36, 4.87)	(4.50, 4.95)	(5.04, 5.44)	(4.25, 5.64)	(4.59, 5.05)	(4.61, 5.12)	(5.26, 5.64)	(4.69, 6.00)	(4.79, 5.29)	(4.84, 5.36)	(5.30, 5.70)	(4.82, 5.93)	(4.76, 5.28)	(5.00, 5.50)	(5.39, 5.76)

Note: 95% confidence intervals are in parentheses.

Table A-9: Full results from fixed effects regression models predicting parents' divisions of child care

	Traditional division of child care			Mothers' shares of child care		
	OR	SE	p	b	SE	p
Key Variables						
<u>Father work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	0.40	0.11	.001	-0.16	0.04	.000
Part-time	0.67	0.17	.112	-0.09	0.03	.002
Father essential worker	1.12	0.16	.429	0.01	0.01	.512
Father flexible schedule	0.96	0.14	.810	-0.01	0.02	.388
<u>Father work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	0.39	0.09	.000	-0.10	0.02	.000
Sometimes	0.57	0.11	.003	-0.07	0.02	.003
<u>Mother work status (ref = FT)</u>						
Not working	4.23	1.18	.000	0.21	0.03	.000
Part-time	1.72	0.37	.010	0.08	0.02	.001
Mother essential worker	1.06	0.19	.745	0.02	0.02	.234
Mother flexible schedule	1.26	0.23	.194	0.04	0.02	.024
<u>Mother work from home status (ref = never)</u>						
Exclusively	2.39	0.56	.000	0.10	0.02	.000
Sometimes	1.53	0.35	.061	0.03	0.02	.116
<u>Relative earnings (ref = equal)</u>						
Father earns more	0.77	0.14	.156	-0.01	0.02	.535
Mother earns more	0.90	0.24	.694	-0.01	0.03	.793
Traditional gender attitudes	1.44	0.23	.022	0.08	0.02	.000
Father paid leave	1.27	0.22	.175	0.01	0.02	.478
Mother paid leave	0.89	0.19	.596	0.00	0.02	.959
Control Variables						
Father received unemployment	0.61	0.29	.300	-0.05	0.06	.422
Mother received unemployment	0.52	0.25	.174	-0.02	0.06	.753
Household income	1.10	0.08	.176	0.01	0.01	.229
<u>Wave</u>						
April 2020	0.47	0.09	.000	-0.11	0.02	.000
November 2020	0.68	0.12	.030	-0.05	0.02	.023
October 2021	0.55	0.10	.001	-0.06	0.02	.007
October 2022	0.50	0.09	.000	0.07	0.02	.002
October 2023	0.53	0.11	.002	-0.05	0.02	.059
N	626			2401		

Notes: Logistic regression models are used to predict traditional divisions of child care, and results are presented as odds ratios. Sample sizes in this model include only parents who experienced at least one shift between a traditional division of child care and an egalitarian/nontraditional division. Linear regression models are used to predict mothers' shares of child care.

Figure A-1: Trajectories of traditional division of housework among parents who participated at wave 1 (N = 817)

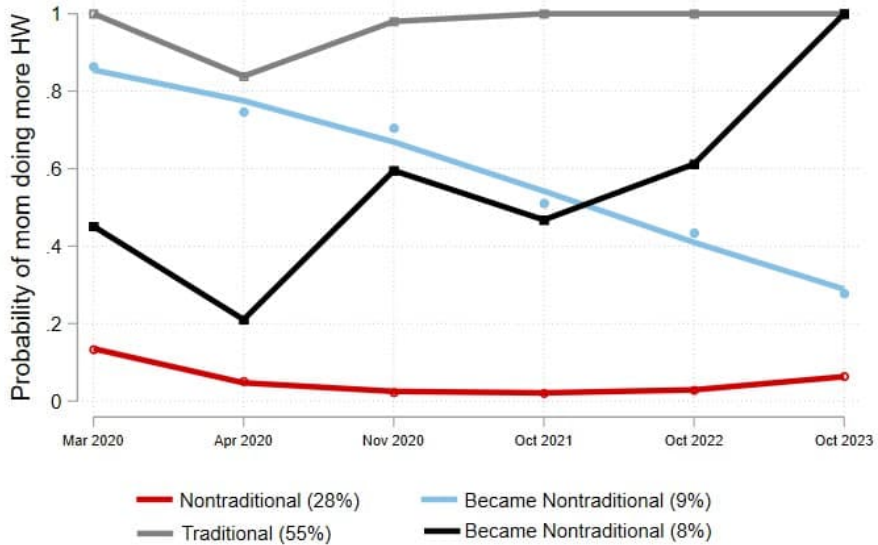


Figure A-2: Trajectories of traditional division of child care among parents who participated at wave 1 (N = 745)

