

https://dspace.org/

The factors associated with the extra time spent on childcare during the covid-19 pandemic

Matlhaku, Thebe

2022
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/34536

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



THE FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EXTRA TIME SPENT ON CHILDCARE DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

A Research Report submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree of
Master of Commerce (Applied Development Economics) in
the School of Economics and Finance,
University of the Witwatersrand

by

Thebe Matlhaku
Student No: 2370826

Supervised by Prof. Dorrit Posel

Word Count: 10042

28 February 2022

Abstract

This research report analyses the extra childcare undertaken at the time of the hard COVID-19 lockdown in South Africa. It explores whether the suspension of domestic work services in South Africa was associated with extra time spent on childcare by men and women who confirmed living with children in Wave 1 of the NIDS CRAM. The paper also evaluates whether there are distinguishing individual and household characteristics (excluding domestic work) that are associated with increased time spent on children. The aftermath of lockdown restrictions in an attempt to promote social distancing saw the freezing of domestic work services, and the shutdown of schools and early childhood centres (ECD's). This period was also associated with additional time spent on children by both men and women. However, due to pre-existing inequalities among men and women, women have always spent more time on unpaid work and childcare in the home. The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated these inequalities seeing women spend more time on children relative to men. Whilst men have increased their relative hours spent on childcare, absolutely, women spent more time on childcare. This study considers whether these gender differences persist after taking into account gender differences in individual characteristics (including labour market status) and household characteristics (including the number of young children and the presence of pensioners in the household).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to first thank God for the wisdom and strength throughout the duration of my studies. I wish to show appreciation to my parents and sibling for their prayers and support on this journey. I want to thank my employer for funding my studies and my manager and work colleagues for their encouragement over the last two years. Most importantly, this research report could not be compiled without the genius and consistent help from my supervisor, Prof. Dorrit Posel.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction……...2

Section 1: Literature Review……...……4

1.1 Women's labour supply……4

1.2 The gendered effects of childcare in South Africa during the hard lockdown…….5

1.3 The gendered effects of childcare in the rest of the world during the hard lockdown…..6

1.4 Suspension of domestic work services and childcare during the hard lockdown…….....7

1.5 Education of adults and time spent on children during the hard lockdown…….....8

1.6 Employment status and time spent on children during the hard lockdown…….....9

1.7 The role of grandparents in the provision of childcare pre and post the hard lockdown……...……..9

Section 2: Research Question, Data, Variables and Method of Estimation…..…….11

2.1 Research question……....11

2.2 Sub-questions……...11

2.3 Data……..11

Section 3: Descriptive Statistics……..15

Section 4: Regression Results…….…….19

Conclusion……23

Introduction

Since the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID–19 a pandemic on the 11th of March 2020, governments around the world applied lockdown restrictions preventing mobility of their citizens and promoting social distancing **(Sevilla & Smith, 2020).** On the 27th of March 2020, the South African state applied lockdown Level 5 within the period 27 March – 30 April 2020. According to the **Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002,** lockdown level 5 is characterised as a period where every South African citizen was confined to their home, "unless for the purpose of performing an essential service, obtaining an essential good or service, collecting a social grant, pension or seeking emergency, life–saving or chronical medication". Whilst this decision by the state was aimed at preserving lives, the impact on employment was disastrous. For instance, in the informal sector, where over 1 million domestic workers are employed, **Statistics South Africa (2020)** found that domestic work fell by 25% in quarter 2 of 2020. The net result was a 250 000 loss of jobs in the sector compared to the same quarter in 2019.

According to **Andrew et al (2020),** lack of access to domestic work and childcare services likely had an adverse impact on the hours spent on childcare of parents who live with children. For instance, prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, in England, adults spent 5.5 hours on average on childcare which is 3.5 hours less than the average 9 hours spent on childcare during the pandemic. When compared to fathers, mothers spent more time on childcare. **Andrew et al (2020)** found that during the hard lockdown restrictions in England in the month of April 2020, mothers spent 2 hours additional time on childcare relative to fathers. However, compared to a similar study conducted in 2014/15, it was found that whilst the relative hours spent on childcare by fathers are less than that of mothers, the absolute numbers have increased over time. For instance, in 2014/2015 fathers were only providing childcare during 4 hours of the day. During the pandemic, this has increased to fathers offering childcare during 8 hours of the day. Interestingly, the percentage is 15% higher for fathers who had lost jobs. However, even with the increase by fathers, mothers spent more time on childcare.

During the hard lockdown restrictions in South Africa, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that adults have had to bear the brunt of additional childcare, but the effect was also gendered. Their study found that during the hard lockdown (April 2020), 73% of women and 66% of men, who confirmed that they live with a child between the age 0 – 17, reported additional hours spent

on childcare. According to **Casale and Shepherd (2020),** based on the evidence of Wave 2 of the NIDS-CRAM , women reported an average of 10.2 hours a day spent on children, whilst men confirmed roughly 7.3 hours a day, on average, spent on children. Interestingly, with easing of restrictions from lockdown level 5 in April, to lockdown level 3 in June 2020, allowing domestic workers to return to work, women reported 9.7 hours on average, spent on childcare, whilst men reported 6.4 hours on average, spent on childcare. This translates to 0.5 hours reduction on average for women and 0.9 hours reduction on average for men on time spent on childcare. However, one thing that remains constant is that women allocated more time to childcare activities relative to men.

The objective of this research report is to further explore the increase in time spent on children during the hard lockdown. The initial focus was to assess whether the inability to employ domestic workers significantly added to time spent on childcare. However, as explained later in the report, the available data on the employment of domestic workers in households during and after the hard lockdown may not be reliable. The study was therefore broadened to consider what other individual and household-level characteristics are correlated with extra childcare work during the hard lockdown, and whether women remained more likely than men to spend more time on childcare even after controlling for differences in individual and household characteristics.

Section 1 provides a brief review of the studies on the gender division of labour and the gendered effects of childcare in South Africa and the world. In addition, section 1 also explores the literature on individual (including education and labour market status) and household (including number of children and existence of a pensioner in the household) characteristics and their association with time spent on childcare. Section 2 outlines the research question and provides a description of the data, variables, and method of estimation. Section 3 lays out the descriptive statistics and section 4 reports the findings from the econometric estimations. The final section is a discussion and conclusion.

1. Literature Review

1.1 Women's labour supply

According to **Casale and Posel (2020),** women's labour force participation rates have outpaced those of men. Using estimates from a Population census it was found that female labour supply was 23% in 1960; with a rise to 36% in 1985; and a subsequent increase to 41% in 1991 **(Standing et al, 1996: 60).** In South Africa, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that since the dawn of democracy, women's labour supply has followed an upward trajectory. Women's labour supply has increased from 40% in 1994 to 54% in 2019, whilst men's labour force participation rates increased from 60% in 1994 to 67% in 2019. On the global scale, females' share of the labour market climbed from 42% in 1994 to 46% in 2019 **(Casale et al, 2020).** However, in the majority of the countries, men are more likely to be employed compared to women. **Mosomi (2019a)** found that the rapid increase in the female labour supply is reflective of the developments in African women's participation in the labour market. To explain, whilst African women's labour supply went up from 36% to 53% in the period 1994 – 2019, the rise was a lot smaller for white women, ranging from 55% to 59%.

Casale and Posel (2020) maintain that despite an increase in female labour supply, women carry the load in respect of housework and childcare. An analysis of data collected in the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) between 2008 and 2017 illustrates that almost 100% of all African adults who reported being full-time homemakers are women **(Posel & Bruce-Brand, 2021).** The majority of the women live with their children and are more likely to reside in rural areas and homes with low incomes where the need for domestic work is more labour intensive **(Rubiano-Matulevich & Viollaz, 2019).** As female labour supply rises, the share of working age women between 15 – 65 years who confirm not being employed as a result of being housewives has declined from 16% in 1995 to below 7% in 2018. However, even amongst women who are not classified as housewives, women perform more childcare activities compared to men.

Casale and Posel (2020) found that the COVID-19 pandemic has deepened historical gender inequalities among men and women. With the use of the NIDS CRAM survey, it was found that out of a combined 3 million men and women who lost their jobs in the period February 2020 – April 2020, 66% were women. Most of these women were African, with lesser

education and limited skills. When considering individuals that were still in employment, women experienced a bigger decrease in work hours compared to men. This is due to the overconcentration of women in the hardest hit industries such as retail, hospitality, and personal care **(Alon et al, 2020).** The ability for women to offer their services in the job market has been adversely impacted by the amount of childcare required during the pandemic **(Casale and Posel, 2020).** Historically, unpaid work has not been included in the evaluation of economic output. However, the significance and relevance of unpaid work in the home and childcare was amplified during the COVID-19 pandemic. Given the closure of early childhood centres and suspension of domestic work services, the likelihood is that adults would have been expected to spend more time on children.

1.2 The gendered effects of childcare in South Africa during the hard lockdown

With the use of data from Wave 1 of the National Income Dynamic Study – Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey (NIDS - CRAM) administered between 7 May and 27 June 2020, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that the hard lockdown in response to the pandemic in South Africa had a larger impact on the time allocations of women relative to men. Women were more likely than men to lose employment, and they spent more time on children than men. This was evidenced also in other countries. In their study, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that women spent more hours on childcare than men. At the time of the April lockdown, 73% of women relative to 66% of men reported spending time on childcare. In terms of extra time spent on children, both men and women identified that they had spent an average of 4 extra hours a day on childcare during the pandemic compared to life before the pandemic. Considering adults who were living with children who were enrolled in schools prior to lockdown, it was observed that 74% of women and 67% of men living with children in Grade R – 12 prior to lockdown reported spending more time on children during the pandemic relative to 69% of women and 62% of men living with children who were not enrolled in school prior to lockdown. What remains consistent is that women allocated more time towards childcare compared to men.

1.3 The gendered effects of childcare in the rest of the world during the hard lockdown

Abroad, a study conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) on the impact of lockdown restrictions on parents' time spent on childcare, found that due to school shutdowns and postponement of domestic services, parents spent more time on childcare **(Sevilla and Smith, 2020).** Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, on average, women spent 126 minutes per weekday and 113 minutes per weekend day on children, whilst men spent 46 minutes on average per weekday and 72 minutes on average per weekend day on childcare. Prior to lockdown, couples with minors (12 years and younger), reported an average 20 hours a week spent on childcare. Post lockdown it was found that couples spent on average, an additional 50 hours on childcare per week **(Sevilla and Smith, 2020).** Given the "self–reporting" nature of these studies, there may be over-estimates of time spent on childcare. However, prior surveys have illustrated that estimates on household work in respect of stylized questions (like the number of hours you spend on housework a week) are closely related with actual housework evaluations derived from diaries **(Hill, 1985).**

In Italy, arguably one of the countries that was most affected by large numbers of COVID-19 cases during the initial wave, a study conducted during the hard lockdown on a sample of Italian women found that women spent more time than men on childcare **(Del Boca et al, 2020).** When lockdown restrictions were imposed, 68% of women confirmed spending additional time on children relative to 51% of men. For instance, when both parents were confined to their homes, 77% of women spent more time on children compared to 60% of men. When considering primary school children and high school children, **Del Boca et al (2020)** found that parents spent additional hours on childcare on primary school children compared to high school children. This is attributable to the amount of attention required by younger children.

In a 2020 study conducted in Canada and Australia, based upon weekly surveys that consist of 650 000 parents in Canada and 600 000 parents in Australia, **Johnston, Mohamed & van der Linden (2020),** found that lockdown restrictions increase the inequality in time spent on children between men and women living with children under the age of 15. On the one hand, prior to the lockdown restrictions in Canada, women spent 68 hours on average per week on childcare. During the pandemic, this figure increased to 95 hours on average per week. On the other hand, Canadian men spent 33 hours on average per week on children prior to the lockdown with an increase to 46 hours on average per week during the lockdown. Whilst both

men and women have realised an equivalent increase in time spent on childcare, in relative terms mothers allocate 2.5 times more hours on childcare compared to fathers **(Johnston et al, 2020).**

In Australia, prior to the pandemic, Australian women reported spending 62 hours on average a week on children. During the pandemic the figure increased to 80 hours on average a week. In comparison with Australian men, time spent on childcare rose from 26 hours on average per week to 37 hours on average a week **(Johnston et al, 2020).** This results in a 29% rise in time spent on children for women relative to a 42% rise in time spent on childcare for men. Similar to the study in Canada, in relative terms, Australian men have realised a larger increase in time spent on children. However, in absolute terms, women spent twice as many hours on childcare compared to men. A similar finding is prevalent in Hungary where relatively, men experience a larger increase in time spent on childcare but absolutely, women spend significantly more hours on children compared to men **(Fodor, Gregor, Koltai & Eszter, 2020).**

1.4 Suspension of domestic work services and childcare during the hard lockdown

Alon et al (2020) explain that women work in the highly affected retail, personal care, hospitality, and domestic work sectors. Due to the COVID-19 related lockdown, domestic workers and carers were prevented from work in private homes. The outcome was a reduction in work hours which led to a decrease in income for affected parties. According to **Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance (2020),** based on a study conducted on 602 domestic workers in South Africa during the hard lockdown, it was found that at the end of April 2020, the majority of domestic workers did not receive their wages which led to hunger and evictions. Out of the 602 domestic workers, 37% confirmed receiving their full salaries during the hard lockdown. Roughly 10% of the respondents were on paid leave, 27% were on unpaid leave and 27% were on leave uncertain of their next pay.

According to **Gaitskell, Kimble, Maconahcie and Unterhalter (2010),** domestic work is a major source of income for African women in South Africa. **Parry and Gordon (2021)** argue that there is an over-concentration of African women in domestic work due to the large number of women in low skill paying jobs. According to Statistics South Africa's Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS), quarter 2 results illustrate that prior to the hard lockdown (January – March 2020), there were 1 040 000 domestic workers employed in South Africa. Post the hard

lockdown (April – June 2020), the number of employed domestic workers reduced to 745 000 **(Statistics South Africa, 2020).**

1.6 Education of adults and time spent on childcare during the hard lockdown

In a study conducted on a sample of Italian women during the hard lockdown, **Del Boca et al (2020)** found that an adult's education has an effect on time spent on children. It was found that adults that are more educated spent more time on childcare compared to parents with lesser levels of education. Home schooling was included in the definition of childcare, and it was found that families in which the maternal parent is in the possession of a university qualification were more likely to spend extra time on children. In a 2020 analysis, **Cheng, Mendolia, Paloyo, Savage & Tani (2020),** using the United Kingdom Household Longitudinal Study (UKHLS) conducted during the hard lockdown, found that parents with a tertiary degree or higher had a larger tendency towards childcare and home-schooling than parents with no tertiary degree. Parents with higher levels of education have the means to work remotely in comparison with parents with lower levels of education **(Gould & Shierholz, 2020).** In addition, highly educated parents are more likely to have a better appreciation of the returns to education and the ability to assist their children with home schooling than parents with less education. In the South African context, **Casale and Posel (2020),** found that parents spent considerable amounts of time on childcare despite having high levels of education. **Carlson, Petts & Pepin (2020),** found similar results in their study that observed that educated parents did not allocate less time towards children compared to parents with lower levels of education.

According to a 2020 study conducted in Germany using a subsample of the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) evaluated within the period 1 April – 4 July 2020, **Kreyenfeld & Zinn (2021)** found that high levels of education did not translate to an increase in time spent on children amongst educated fathers. In the survey, highly educated fathers were less likely to report increasing time spent on childcare as their time spent on children was already high before the COVID–19 pandemic. In fact, highly educated dads in Germany have often been referred to as the leaders of involved fatherhood **(Geisler & Kreyenfeld, 2019).** When compared to fathers with lower levels of education, it was found that fathers with low levels of education increased their hours spent on childcare. The reason for the increase is mainly due to job losses and a reduction in work hours. This finding is similar to an earlier finding that fathers increase time spent on childcare when they have "free" time **(Andrew et al, 2020).**

1.6 Employment status and time spent on childcare during the hard lockdown

According to **Sevilla and Smith (2020),** the employment status of fathers during the lockdown restrictions in April 2020 had a larger impact on time spent on childcare than that of mothers. In the UK, it was found that extra childcare given by mothers is less elastic to their individual employment than it is for fathers, which suggests that women spent more time on childcare despite also holding full-time or part-time jobs. **Cheng et al (2020)** found that 33% of working mothers spent more than 20 hours per week on average on childcare compared to less than 25% of working fathers. Though, **Sevilla and Smith (2020)** argue that when men are furloughed, time spent on childcare by men is equivalent to time spent on children by women which infers those men spend more time on children when they have more time at their disposal. Interestingly, in South Africa, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that there is no relationship between the employment status of parents and time spent on childcare, although they did not explore this relationship in a multivariate context. This finding was also seen in the German study where **Kreyenfeld and Zinn (2021)** found that being employed has no bearing on time spent on children by both highly educated fathers and fathers with less education.

1.7 The role of grandparents in the provision of childcare pre and post the hard lockdown

According to **Gromada, Richardson and Rees (2020),** grandparents or the elderly have an important role in the provision of childcare. Across many countries in the world, grandparents spend considerable amounts of their time on childcare. A lot of children live in intergenerational families with at least one elderly person or have their grandparents as caregivers in instances where their parents have passed on or migrated for employment purposes. **Cantillon, Moore & Teasdale (2021)** found that grandparents reduce the burden of childcare on parents who confirmed living with children at inception of the COVID–19 lockdown restrictions. In a UK study, **Cantillon et al (2021)** found that even though the government forced grandparents be separated from children purely on the basis of health risks, childcare provision by the elderly enabled parents who were classified as essential workers to commute to work which ultimately had a positive impact on the UK economy.

In a survey conducted in the UK titled "Pregnant then Screwed" of 20 000 working females in July 2020, it was reported that almost two thirds of these women confirmed struggling with childcare provision (**Cantillon et al., 2021**). Even though the UK state permitted essential

workers to commute to work and schools be open for vulnerable children, it was found that 67% of essential workers had to reduce their work hours to focus on childcare. **Pascal et al (2020)** argued that possible reasons for this was the temporary halt on domestic work services and employees' reliance on informal childcare agreements such as childcare provision by grandparents. In the year 2017 – 2018, the **Trade Union Congress (2020)** found that 20% of UK parents struggled with childcare expenses. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, 5 million of the 14 million UK grandparents were found to have provided some form of childcare. The provision of childcare not only reduces childcare expenses in respect of parents, but it is also worth 3.9 billion sterling pounds.

In South Africa, where social distancing is less feasible due to lack of resources and with a vast number of families living with the elderly, it was found that caregiving by pensioners enabled parents to carry out paid work. According to **Cantillon et al (2021),** elderly people play a critical role in the provision of childcare in South Africa. **Statistics South Africa (2017)** reports that more than two-thirds of black African elderly and roughly half of the coloured elderly live in intergenerational families. On average two-thirds of children live in extended families **(Hall and Mokomane, 2018).** Within these multigenerational families, 21% of the children live not with their parents and more or less all of the 4.1 million children who live in single parent households live with kin, whilst 2.7 million live with the elderly **(Hall and Mokomane, 2018).** Given the large number of children living with the elderly, the likelihood is that adults will not be required to allocate more time on children as this service is outsourced to the elderly. The impact of the hard lockdown needs to be contextualised in terms of formal childcare and limited assistance given by the South African government. In the early 2000s subsidies were offered by the state to ECD's. However, for children between the ages 1 and 5, childcare remains the priority of domestic workers and family members, with the elderly frequently assuming responsibility of childcare needs of their grandkids **(Sagner and Mtati, 1999).**

The literature on this area of study and considered in this paper has its focus on the effect of the hard lockdown on men and women's job prospects and how the hard lockdown impacted men and women overall. The South African studies considered in the literature review of this paper did not evaluate time spent on childcare in a multivariate context and whilst having had a domestic worker in the household. As mentioned, domestic workers play an important role in South African households and may potentially reduce the burden of childcare on adults. This

paper contributes to the existing knowledge in that it considers time spent on childcare by parents who confirmed both having a domestic worker and not having a domestic worker during the hard lockdown. The paper also contributes to the literature in that it evaluates the individual and household characteristics that have an impact on increased time spent on children, and whether controlling for these characteristics explains why women were more likely to spend extra time on childcare.

2. Research Question, Data, Variables and Method of Estimation

2.1 Research question:

The main research question which this report addresses is:

Was the suspension of employment of domestic workers during the hard lockdown in South Africa (April 2020) a significant factor in the extra childcare undertaken by women and men?

2.2 Sub – questions:

The research also explores two sub-questions:
First, are there distinguishing individual and household characteristics (other than the suspension of domestic employment) that are associated with extra time spent on childcare during the hard lockdown in South Africa?

Second, do gender differences in time spent on childcare persist even after taking into account differences in the individual and household characteristics of women and men?

2.3 Data:

To analyse the association between the hard lockdown and extra childcare this report uses Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the NIDS – CRAM survey. The NIDS - CRAM is a rapid evaluation telephonic survey intended to analyse the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the socio – economic status of South Africans over the lockdown period. Wave 1 of the survey is made up of data from a sample of 7073 adults aged 18 years and older. Interviews were conducted between 7 May and 27 June 2020. In the subsequent wave, 5 576 participants of the initial

sample were subsequently interviewed within the period 13 July and 13 August 2020. Computer Assisted Telephonic Interviewing (CATI) was used, sessions lasted about 20 minutes long, and the questionnaire had 10 translations of the South African language excluding Ndebele in Wave 1 and was translated into all languages in Wave 2 **(Casale and Shepherd, 2021).**

In Wave 1, this paper uses question Db3 to evaluate the extra hours spent on children by adults living with children. Question Db3 asks "In April, did you personally spend more time than usual looking after children?" To assess the socioeconomic status of the individuals - whether families ran out of money to buy food in the hard lockdown, question Da10.10 asks, "In the month of April, did your household run out of money to buy food?" To measure the structure of the households in which respondents live, question B9 asks, "What type of dwelling or house do you live in?" The three types of households in the questionnaire include a formal house or a flat, a traditional house like a mud hut or an informal house like a shack. To control for whether adults had more, less or the same number of children at the time of the lockdown relative to prior to the lockdown, the analysis uses question B14, which asks "Are there currently more, less or the same number of children living in your household compared to before the lockdown started on 27th March?" To capture information on the presence of at least one pensioner in the household, question B11 asks "How many people 60 years or older live in the household?"

In Wave 2 this paper uses questions Db1 and Db2 to measure whether households confirmed having a domestic worker in the months of February and April 2020. Question Db1 asks "Did you have a domestic worker or childminder working in your house in February?" and question Db2 asks "Did you have a domestic worker or childminder working in your house in April?" Important to note is that this study uses both Waves 1 and 2 as the information on the employment of domestic workers in April 2020 was only collected retrospectively in Wave 2.

In comparison with other similar surveys that were conducted in South Africa at the initial phase of the crisis, the NIDS-CRAM study intended to acquire information on a diverse sample of respondents throughout multiple phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. The NIDS-CRAM was possible through the use of an already existing database of people from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), a longitudinal survey last administered in 2017.

In terms of the sample, this paper uses only adults who lived in households with children in Wave 1 of the NIDS – CRAM. This sample is captured by question B12 in Wave 1 of the NIDS – CRAM that asks, "How many children younger than 18 live in the household (don't forget babies)?"

The paper uses a combination of both descriptive statistics and econometric methods. Some of the descriptive statistics generated include the percentage of adults split by gender who reported having spent additional time on childcare, and the characteristics of adults, according to whether or not they confirmed spending more time on children in April 2020. The characteristics considered include the adult's level of education, race, employment status and household composition. The analysis also compares descriptively whether additional childcare is (negatively) associated with the employment of a domestic worker. Taking into account a sample of adults who employed domestic workers in February, the paper compares childcare depending on whether or not a domestic worker / childminder was also working in the house in April.

The estimation equation, to assess the relationship between extra childcare hours and the suspension of employment of domestic workers and individual and household characteristics, is outlined below:

$$\Pr(Childcare) = B_0 + B_1\,(Domestic\ worker)_f + B_2\,(Domestic\ worker)_a + B_3\,(Age) + B_4\,(Gender) + B_5\,(African) + B_6\,(Employed\ in\ April) + B_7\,(Education) + B_8\,(Formalhouse) + B_9\,(Informalhouse) + B_{10}\,(Morechild) + B_{11}(Lesschild) + B_{12}(Nelderly) + B_{13}(Moneyranout) + B_{14}\,(Nchild) + B_{15}\,(Nychild) + \varepsilon$$

where $\Pr(Childcare)$ is the dependent dummy variable that equals 1 if the adult spent more time on childcare in the month of April 2020, and 0 if more time was not spent on childcare. $B_1\,(Domestic\ worker)_f$ is an independent binary variable that equals 1 if a domestic worker was employed in February 2020 and 0 if no domestic worker was employed. $B_2\,(Domestic\ worker)_a$ is an independent binary variable that equals 1 if a domestic worker was employed in April 2020 and 0 if no domestic worker was employed. $B_3\,(Age)$ is one of the covariates that captures the age of the individuals that confirmed living with children in

Wave 1 of the NIDS CRAM survey. B_4 $(Gender)$ is a covariate that captures the gender of the adults who confirmed living with children in Wave 1 of the NIDS CRAM survey. Specifically, the dummy variable equals 1 if the adult is female and 0 if the adult is male. B_5 $(African)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if an individual is an African female and 0 otherwise. B_6 $(Employed\ in\ April)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if an adult had a job in April 2020 and 0 if the adult did not have a job. B_7 $(Education)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if an adult has matric or higher and 0 otherwise. B_8 $(FormalHouse)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if the family lives in a formal house and 0 otherwise. B_9 $(InformalHouse)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if the family lives in an informal house and 0 otherwise. (The omitted category for household type is therefore whether adults live in a Traditional House) B_{10} $(Morechild)$ is a covariate that looks at the changes in the number of children since before the lockdown and therefore equals 1 if the adult lives with one or more children in April 2020 compared to prior to the hard lockdown. $B_{11}(Lesschild)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if an adult has had fewer children in April 2020 relative to prior to the hard lockdown. (The omitted category in the estimation is therefore the same number of children in April 2020 relative to prior to the hard lockdown). $B_{12}(Nelderly)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if there is at least one pensioner living in the household and 0 if there is no pensioner in the household. $B_{13}(Moneyranout)$ is a covariate that equals 1 if the adult lived in a household that ran out of money to buy food in April 2020 and 0 otherwise. B_{14} $(Nchild)$ is a covariate that captures the average number of children living in a household. B_{15} $(Nychild)$ is a predictor variable that captures the average number of young (younger than 7 years of age) children in the household. ε is an error term that captures all the other variables that have an impact on the dependent variable.

Regression I analyses the relationship between the female variable and time spent on childcare whilst excluding all individual and household characteristics. Regression II includes all the individual and household characteristics in addition to the female variable to see whether including the characteristics reduces the significant positive association of being female with extra time spent on children.

The study uses a logistic regression model to estimate the correlates of spending more time on childcare in a multivariate context, where the main explanatory variables of interest include the employment of domestic workers. Given that the dependent variable is binary, the logistic regression is a fitting model to capture the probability that extra time was spent on childcare

during the hard lockdown. The logistic regression not only provides a measure of how relevant a predictor is, but also its direction of association (positive or negative). One of the disadvantages of the logistic regression is that it requires little or no multicollinearity between independent variables. A series of diagnostic tests were performed to ensure fitness of the model and to test for signs of multicollinearity.

3. Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics for the sample of adults who lived with children during Wave 1 are reported in Table 1. The table includes both the unweighted statistics, and statistics that are weighted using the population weights provided with the data. The weights consider different response rates, and they control for clustering in the survey design. Small sample sizes and controls for clustering increase the size of the standard errors. As a result, even though some differences between the two groups of adults (those who did, and did not, spend more time on childcare) seem descriptively large, very few are statistically significant.

The unweighted statistics show that among adults (aged 17 years and older) who confirmed living with children in Wave 1 of the NIDS CRAM survey, approximately 73% reported spending more time on childcare, while only 27% reported that they did not spend more time on childcare. In terms of the weighted statistics, approximately 70% reported spending more time on childcare while only 30% stated that they did not spend more time on children. This data coincides with level 5 restrictions in place in April 2020 that resulted in abrupt school closures and the migration of most learners from contact learning to home schooling. Importantly, the remainder of the statistics reported in this section are in respect of the weighted statistics.

When comparing time spent on children by gender, of all the individuals who confirmed spending more time on childcare, 60.9% were female; while 50.5% of those who did not spend more time on childcare were female. The finding correlates with earlier research that illustrates that in South Africa, childcare is mainly offered by women **(Hatch and Posel, 2018).** The difference in the provision of extra time on childcare is statistically significant at the 95% confidence level.

Table 1. Characteristics of adults and households according to time spent on childcare, April 2020

	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Spent more time on childcare	**Did not spend more time on childcare**	**Spent more time on childcare**	**Did not spend more time on childcare**
Number of adults	2994 (0.4)	1112 (0.4)	12 900 000 (753092.4)	5 521 986* (357310.6)
% of adults	72.9 (0.4)	27.1 (0.4)	69.9 (1.1)	29.8* (1.1)
Average age	40.3 (14.3)	38.2 (16.0)	40.3 (0.2)	38.2 (0.4)
Matric or higher %	93.1 (0.2)	93.3 (0.2)	93.3 (0.8)	93.3 (1.2)
Female %	68.6 (0.4)	55.9 (0.4)	60.9 (1.4)	50.5* (2.4)
African %	88.5 (0.3)	90.0 (0.2)	82.4 (3.0)	84.7 (2.5)
Employed in April 2020 %	16.9 (0.3)	22.1 (0.4)	21.6 (1.5)	27.5 (2.3)
Formal dwelling %	76.1 (0.4)	80.5 (0.3)	78.0 (1.5)	80.4 (2.0)
Informal dwelling %	8.2 (0.2)	7.9 (0.2)	10.3 (1.2)	8.7 (1.5)
Number of children	2.8 (1.8)	2.5 (1.8)	2.8 (0.03)	2.5 (0.06)
Number of young children	1.2 (1.1)	1.0 (1.1)	1.2 (0.02)	1.0 (0.03)
Change in number of children (April compared to before the lockdown) %:				
More	8.3 (0.2)	8.1 (0.2)	6.6 (0.7)	7.1 (1.3)
Less	8.3 (0.2)	8.1 (0.2)	6.8 (0.6)	6.4 (1.1)
Living with at least one pensioner in the household, and socioeconomic status %:				
At least one pensioner	40.8 (0.7)	44.1 (0.8)	36.2 (2.6)	36.8 (5.3)
Ran out of money for food	58.2 (0.4)	39.9 (0.4)	53.6 (1.6)	39.7* (2.4)
Employment of a domestic worker (d.w.) %:				
Employed a d.w. in February	4.4 (0.2)	5.4 (0.2)	7.5 (1.1)	7.1 (1.7)
Employed a d.w. in April	2.3 (0.1)	3.5 (0.1)	3.2 (0.6)	3.4 (0.8)

Source: NIDS-CRAM, waves 1 and 2

Notes: Standard deviations in parentheses for unweighted statistics; standard errors in parentheses for weighted statistics. Adults are aged 17 - 100 Young children are aged 0 – 10

*Differences in the two groups of adults in respect of time spent on childcare or not are significant at the 95% confidence interval.

Among adults who spent more time on children, 53.6% lived in houses that ran out of money to buy food in April 2020. In comparison, among adults who did not spend more time on children, 39.7% ran out of money to buy food in April 2020. This variable is statistically different between the two groups of adults at the 95% confidence level. This could be attributable to the fact that as schools closed, feeding schemes closed. In South Africa, more than nine million children from impoverished schools receive at least one meal from feeding schemes **(Department of Basic Education, 2021).** Therefore, as children were restricted to their homes with no access to feeding schemes, adults may have been required to spend more money on food and thus running out of money.

When considering the other predictors in the table, what is found is that differences between the two groups of adults are small and not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level in respect of the following variables: average age; whether an adult has completed matric or higher; race and the type of dwelling (formal and informal). A relatively large difference is observed in respect of the variable that captures whether adults were employed in April 2020, although the difference is not statistically significant at the 95% confidence level. Approximately 22% of adults who spent more time on children were employed in April compared to almost 28% who did not spend more time on childcare. As noted earlier, large differences in variables can still be statistically insignificant because of small sample sizes and the control for clustering in the survey design.

On average, adults who spent more time on childcare lived with 2.8 children; in contrast, adults who did not spend more time on childcare lived with an average of 2.5 children. The difference is relatively more pronounced in terms of co-residence with young children (aged 0 – 10): adults who spent more time on childcare lived with an average of 1.2 young children compared to an average of 1 young child for adults who did not spend more time on children. The differences, even though statistically insignificant, suggest that living with more children, and young children in particular, is linked to more time spent on childcare.

Considering changes in child composition, it was found that among adults who spent more time on childcare, 6.6% lived with more children during April and 6.8% lived with fewer children (compared to prior to lockdown). Statistics are similar among adults who did not spend more time on children: 7.1% lived with more children and 6.4% had less children in the household. The differences between the two categories of adults are minimal and not statistically

significant at the 95% confidence level. As a result, this suggests that extra time spent on childcare was not associated with an increase in the number of children living in the home.

Turning to the main covariate of interest, among adults who spent more time on children, 7.5% reported that they had employed a domestic worker in February 2020. Among adults who did not spend more time on children, 7.1% had employed a domestic worker. In April 2020 and among adults who spent more time on childcare, the percentage of adults who had employed a domestic worker in February fell from 7.5% to 3.2% in April 2020. Considering adults who did not spend more time on childcare, the percentage of adults who had a domestic worker in February fell from 7.1% to 3.4% in April 2020. Importantly, all adults who reported employing a domestic worker in April also reported employing a domestic worker in February.

There is concern regarding the percentage of adults who reported employing a domestic worker in February 2020 and April 2020 as a large majority of adults in Wave 2 of the NIDS-CRAM survey had missing information for these questions. The missing values were coded to 0 to preserve the sample size. To assess the possible undercounting of domestic work, data were collected from South Africa's Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) and General Household Survey. According to **Statistics South Africa (2019),** South Africa had approximately 17.16 million households in 2019. According to 2019's quarter 4 of the QLFS, it was found that between the period October 2019 – December 2019, 1 013 000 domestic workers were employed in South Africa. Therefore, the share of households that are expected to report employing a domestic worker in South Africa is calculated as the number of domestic workers employed in South Africa at the end of 2019 divided by the number of reported South African households in 2019 - which equates to 5.9%. This results in a 1.2 percentage point difference between the 7.1% of households that reported employing a domestic worker in February 2020 in the NIDS CRAM. This suggests that even though the sample in the NIDS CRAM had a lot of missing data in respect of employment of domestic workers in both February 2020 and April 2020, the negligible difference of 1.2 percentage points infers that the data on the employment of domestic workers in the NIDS CRAM is more or less in line with the share of households expected to report having a domestic worker in South African homes and thus shows no evidence that domestic work was undercounted in the NIDS CRAM.

4. Regression results

Table 2 presents the average marginal effects from the logit regressions that estimate the relationship between the individual and household characteristics in a multivariate context, and extra time spent on children by adults who confirmed living with children in Wave 1 of the NIDS CRAM survey. Regression I estimates the relationship between gender and more time spent on childcare without the inclusion of any of the other covariates. The estimation shows that women were nine percentage points more likely than men to spend additional time on children. This finding is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence level and correlates with the result in the descriptive statistics that reports that amongst men and women who spent more time on children, the majority were women.

Regression II includes the household and individual characteristics in addition to the gender variable to test whether the probability that women spent more time on children is reduced once the nature of household composition is considered (such as the number of co-resident children), and differences in the likelihood of being in paid employment (and a range of other characteristics). In South Africa, **Casale and Posel (2020)** found that women were more likely than men to spend more time on children during the hard lockdown. However, they did not report the results from a multivariate estimation. Regression II shows that women were seven percentage points more likely than men to spend additional time on childcare after controlling for differences in the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of women and men. The variable is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence level and consistent with the finding in the descriptive statistics. The likelihood of women spending more time on children is reduced when individual and household characteristics are included in the regression. However, the change is small, and the variable remains strongly significant.

In terms of age, it was found that the likelihood that adults spent more time on childcare increases significantly by two percentage points as adults age by a year. Importantly, the likelihood of spending time on childcare is non-linear in age as it rises with age and subsequently declines. This likely reflects the reproductive cycle – as adults get older, they are more likely to have children to care for but then when children are at a certain age and can fend for themselves, less time on childcare is required.

Table 2. Logit Regressions on time spent on childcare by parents who confirmed living with children in Wave 1; marginal effects displayed.

Dependent variable = 1 if adults spent more time on childcare. 0 = parents did not spend more time on childcare.

	Regression I	**Regression II**
Female	0.088***	0.074***
	(0.023)	(0.024)
Age		0.018***
		(0.003)
Age2		-0.0001***
		(0.00004)
African		- 0.061
		(0.035)
Employed in April		-0.088***
		(0.031)
Education		0.005
		(0.052)
Formal House		-0.051
		(0.039)
Informal House		-0.042
		(0.058)
Less children		0.016
`		(0.041)
More children		-0.001
		(0.051)
At least one pensioner		-0.043***
		(0.014)
Ran out of money to buy food		0.097***
		(0.024)
Employed a domestic worker in February		0.034
		(0.094)
Employed a domestic worker in April		-0.014
		(0.118)
Number of children		0.014
		(0.007)
Number of young children		-0.00007
		(0.014)

Notes: Standard errors are in parenthesis. The same consist of parents who confirmed living with children in Wave1. The data are weighted. ***p <0.01

Source: National Income Dynamics Study, 2020

In terms of employment status, it was found that adults who were employed in April 2020 were nine percentage points less likely to spend more time on children. This variable is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence level and coincides with the finding in the descriptive statistics that found that adults are more likely to spend less time on children when they are employed. **Sevilla and Smith (2020)** found that men in particular, were less likely to spend more time on children when they were employed during the hard lockdown. Put differently, it is only when men were furloughed that they increased their time spent on children. However, the inclusion of an interaction variable (employed and female) was not significant in the regression for South Africa.

Considering adults who lived with at least one pensioner during the hard lockdown, it was found that the probability that these adults spend more time on childcare falls by four percent. This variable is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence level and does not correlate with the finding in the descriptive statistics that found no association of living with a pensioner and additional time spent on childcare. Whilst there is not a lot of literature that studies the interaction between having an elderly person in the home and time spent on childcare during the lockdowns, **Cantillon et al (2021)** found that during the hard lockdown in the United Kingdom, childcare provision by the elderly reduced the burden of childcare on adults, allowing employed adults to commute to work. In South Africa, where individuals live in multigenerational families, **Cantillon et al (2021)** found that given the large concentration of children living with the elderly, childcare provision by grandparents enabled adults to carry out paid work.

Considering the socio-economic status of the adults, it was found that the probability that these adults spent more time on childcare increased by 10 percentage points if adults lived in households that ran out of money to buy food in April 2020. The variable is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence level and in line with the finding in the descriptive statistics that illustrate the extra financial burden of having children at home. Whilst there is not a lot of studies that evaluate the relationship between running out of money to buy food in April 2020 and time spent on children, in South Africa, the **Department of Basic Education (2021),** maintains that given the more than nine million students receiving at least one meal through feeding schemes, the closure of schools and confinement of children and adults at home may have required additional money to supplement food costs and thus lead to adults running out of money to buy food.

In terms of the main covariate of interest, the employment of a domestic worker in February and April 2020, it was found that adults who employed a domestic worker in February 2020 were three percentage points more likely to spend more time on children. In April, it was found that adults were one percentage point less likely to spend more time on children. Importantly, these results are not statistically significant and mirror the results found in the descriptive statistics which suggest that having employed a domestic worker or not has no impact on time spent on childcare. As noted when discussing the descriptive statistics, both variables had a lot of missing data which meant that the vast majority of data points were coded to zero, possibly affecting the results.

The results from the regression are consistent with the literature on who the primary childcare givers are in the world. **Gromada, Richardson and Rees (2020),** in their study of 66 low-income countries using data from 2014, found that children receive childcare mainly from parents, and particularly mothers, and grandparents. **Hatch and Posel (2018)** found similar results in South Africa, that women are the primary caregivers to children. They also found that mothers and not domestic workers are the primary caregivers to children. This may help to account for why the suspension of domestic workers was not related to extra time spent on childcare.

The regression identifies no statistically significant relationship between the average number of children and time spent on childcare. This variable correlates with the finding in the descriptive statistics. However, there is no further explanatory power in distinguishing young children from all children. As mentioned in the descriptive statistics, it is surprising that this variable is statistically insignificant as **Del Boca et al (2020)** suggests that parents spend more time on younger children relative to older children due to the attention required by younger children.

Conclusion

According to the analysis undertaken in this study, the suspension of employment of domestic workers in the hard lockdown in South Africa (April 2020) was not a significant factor in the extra childcare undertaken by women and men. However, as previously mentioned, the data on the employment of domestic workers had a lot of missing data points which were coded to zero to preserve the sample. The poor response rate on the employment of domestic workers raises questions about the robustness of the finding (although there is no evidence to suggest that the employment of domestic workers is undercounted in NIDS-CRAM).

When individual and household characteristics (other than the suspension of domestic employment) were evaluated, it was found that gender (female), age, whether an adult was employed in April 2020, whether an adult ran out of money to buy food in April 2020 were associated with increased time spent on childcare during the hard lockdown in South Africa. It was found that living with a pensioner was associated with a decrease in the likelihood of adults spending more time on childcare. In terms of gender, it was found that gender differences in time spent on childcare persist even after taking into account differences in individual and household characteristics of men and women. Whilst the probability of women spending additional time on children fell when individual and household characteristics were included, the change was small, and the variable remained strongly significant.

The study was not without any limitations. Firstly, the sample size on the employment of domestic workers was small and had a lot of missing values which rendered it difficult to assess the relationship between the employment of domestic workers and extra time spent on childcare during the hard lockdown in South Africa. Secondly, it was found that all adults who reported employing a domestic worker in April also reported the employment a domestic worker in February. Therefore, it was not possible to include an interaction term in the specification to capture the effect of the transition from employing a domestic worker in February to being unable to employ a domestic worker, on time spent on childcare activities in April. An additional limitation to this study is that the sample size in respect of the NIDS-CRAM is small and the standard errors are large, and many of the covariates were not statistically significant. Despite these limitations, one thing that remains consistent is that women were more likely than men to spend more time on childcare during the hard lockdown and that this finding is robust in a multivariate context.

References

Alon, T., Doepke, M., Olmstead-Rumsey, J. and Tertilt, M., 2020. *The impact of COVID-19 on gender equality* (No. w26947). National Bureau of economic research.

Andrew, A., Cattan, S., Costa Dias, M., Farquharson, C., Kraftman, L., Krutikova, S., Phimister, A. and Sevilla, A., 2020. How are mothers and father balancing work and family under lockdown?.

Cantillon, S., Moore, E. and Teasdale, N., 2021. COVID-19 and the Pivotal role of Grandparents: Childcare and income Support in the UK and South Africa. *Feminist Economics*, *27*(1-2), pp.188-202.

Carlson, D.L., Petts, R. and Pepin, J., 2020. Changes in parents' domestic labor during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Casale, D. and Posel, D., 2020. Gender and the early effects of the Covid-19 crisis in the paid and unpaid economies in.

Casale, D., Posel, D. and Mosomi, J., 2020. Gender and Work in South Africa. In *The Oxford Handbook of the South African Economy*.

Casale, D. and Shepherd, D., 2020. *The gendered effects of the ongoing lockdown and school closures in South Africa: Evidence from NIDS-CRAM waves 1 and 2*. Department of Economics, University of Stellenbosch.

Casale, D. and Shepherd, D., 2021. The gendered effects of the Covid-19 crisis and ongoing lockdown in South Africa: Evidence from NIDS-CRAM Waves 1-3. *National Income Dynamics Study Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey (NIDS-CRAM) Working Paper*.

Congress, T.U., 2020. Forced Out: The Cost of Getting Childcare Wrong. *Report. https://www. tuc org. uk/research-analysis/reports/forced-out-cost-getting-childcare-wrong*.

Del Boca, D., Oggero, N., Profeta, P. and Rossi, M., 2020. Women's and men's work, housework, and childcare, before and during COVID-19. *Review of Economics of the Household*, *18*(4), pp.1001-1017.

Department of Basic Education. 2021. National School Nutrition Programme.

Disaster Management Act 57 of 2002, Vol 657 Government Gazette at 43148 (2020).

Fodor, É., Gregor, A., Koltai, J. and Kováts, E., 2021. The impact of COVID-19 on the gender division of childcare work in Hungary. *European Societies*, *23*(sup1), pp.S95-S110.

Gaitskell, D., Kimble, J., Maconachie, M. and Unterhalter, E., 2010. Domestic Workers in South Africa: Class, Race, and Gender. In *African Women* (pp. 35-51). Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Geisler, E. and Kreyenfeld, M., 2019. Policy reform and fathers' use of parental leave in Germany: The role of education and workplace characteristics. *Journal of European Social Policy*, *29*(2), pp.273-291

Gould, E. and Shierholz, H., 2020. Not everybody can work from home: Black and Hispanic workers are much less likely to be able to telework. *Economic Policy Institute*, *19*.

Gromada, A., Richardson, D. and Rees, G., 2020. Childcare in a global crisis: The impact of COVID-19 on work and family life.

Hall, K. and Mokomane, Z., 2018. The shape of children's families and households: A demographic overview. *Children, families and the state*, p.32.

Hatch, M. and Posel, D., 2018. Who cares for children? A quantitative study of childcare in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *35*(2), pp.267-282.

Hill, M. 1985. Patterns of Time Use, in T. Juster and J. Stafford (eds), *Time, Goods, and Well-being*, Ann Arbor, MI, Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan

Izwi Domestic Workers Alliance. 2019. *Domestic workers pay a heavy price for employers' noncompliance with labour law.*

Johnston, R.M., Mohammed, A. and Van Der Linden, C., 2020. Evidence of exacerbated gender inequality in childcare obligations in Canada and Australia during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Politics & Gender*, *16*(4), pp.1131-1141.

Kreyenfeld, M. and Zinn, S., 2021. Coronavirus and care. *Demographic Research*, *44*, pp.99-124.

Mosomi, J., 2019. *Distributional changes in the gender wage gap in the post-apartheid South African labour market* (No. 2019/17). WIDER Working Paper.

Parry, B.R. and Gordon, E., 2021. The shadow pandemic: Inequitable gendered impacts of COVID-19 in South Africa. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *28*(2), pp.795-806.

Pascal, C., Bertram, T., Cullinane, C. and Holt-White, E., 2020. Research brief: July 2020: COVID-19 and social mobility impact brief# 4: Early years.

Posel, D. and Bruce-Brand, J., 2021. 'Only a Housewife? 'Subjective Well-Being and Homemaking in South Africa. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *22*(1).

Rubiano Matulevich, E.C. and Viollaz, M., 2019. Gender differences in time use: Allocating time between the market and the household. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (8981).

Sagner, A. and Mtati, R.Z., 1999. Politics of pension sharing in urban South Africa. *Ageing & Society*, *19*(4), pp.393-416.

Screwed, P.T., 2020. Childcare, Covid and career: The true scale of the crisis facing working mums.

Sevilla, A. and Smith, S., 2020. Baby steps: the gender division of childcare during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, *36*(Supplement_1), pp.S169-S186.

Standing, G., Sender, J. and Weeks, J., 1996. *Restructuring the labour market: the South African challenge*. International Labour Organization.

Statistics South Africa. 2017. Vulnerable Groups Series II: Social Profile of Older Persons: 2011– 2015. Report No. 03–19–03. Pretoria, South Africa: Statistics South Africa.

Statistics South Africa. 2019. *Quarterly Labour Force Survey,* First Quarter 2019. Statistical Release P0211.

Statistics South Africa. 2019. *General Household Survey.* Statistical Release PO318.

Statistics South Africa. 2020. *Quarterly Labour Force Survey,* Third Quarter 2020. Statistical Release P0211.

Tani, M., Cheng, Z., Mendolia, S., Paloyo, A. and Savage, D., 2020. Working Parents, Financial Insecurity, and Child-Care: Mental Health in the Time of COVID-19.