

AEA-ASSA 2022 Conference, on-line, 7-9 January 2022

Panel on Families in the Pandemic: Work, Household Responsibilities and Care

**IMPACT OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON GENDER
GAPS IN PAID AND UNPAID WORK TIME:
FINDINGS FROM A FIELD SURVEY IN TURKEY**

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RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTRIBUTION

1. What are the **changes induced** by the COVID-19 lockdown in **gender gaps in time-use** in Turkey?
 - the **magnitude** of the changes in women's and men's **paid, unpaid** and **total work time**.
2. How do these changes vary depending on
 - changes in the labor market status and employment conditions (**work from home versus continuing to work at the workplace**),
 - demographic and household characteristics

One of the first (and few) field surveys on gender&time-use conducted under lockdown conditions;

- based on a unique dataset from a private survey conducted under pandemic lockdown conditions in Turkey in May 2020
- took advantage of an already available survey by the same company conducted in April 2018 with TUS module and stand as a benchmark

PRIOR LITERATURE ON GENDERED CHANGES IN TIME-USE UNDER ECONOMIC AND HEALTH SHOCKS

Economic Shocks:

U↑ ---> affects paid work time

Public spending & access to public services ↓---> affect unpaid work time

Net effect depends on the directions and relative magnitudes of various substitution effects (men's vs. women's paid vs. unpaid work);

- **Turkey:** *The preexisting gender gap in unpaid work before 2008-09 crisis was reinforced, but women's paid work time also increased the added-worker response by women, and women's total workload increased relative to men (Bahçe-Kaya&Memiş, 2013)*

Health Shocks:

A more predictable homogenous impact on gendered time-use patterns, by exerting **new demand on women's unpaid work** for healthcare; women substitute unpaid work time for paid work time

- **Sub-Saharan Africa& South America under HIV/Ebola/Zika:** *Makina (2009); Smith (2019); Davies&Bennett (2016)*

PRIOR LITERATURE ON GENDERED CHANGES IN TIME-USE UNDER COVID-19

Covid-19: Both a health and economic crisis; *lockdown/stay-at-home measures*; *discontinuation of services for all (independent of purchasing power)*

Qualitative assessments of the gendered economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic focus on two distinct areas:

- HH production and **unpaid work** vs. market production, **employment/paid work** (UNICEF, ILO, and UN Women 2020; UN Women 2020).

Country-level quantitative estimates:

Jordan (March-April 2020): Regression estimates with pre-pandemic time-use data find approximately a one-third increase in the unpaid workload (Ilkkaracan and Bayar 2020)

UK (April-May 2020): The **first field survey** on changes in gendered **time-use patterns** of parents with small children conducted in April and May 2020 during pandemic lockdown measures in the UK (Andrew et. al., 2020)

India (May-June 2020): Time-use survey in India (Deshpande, 2020)

UK and India studies find a substantial increase in men's unpaid work during the pandemic, despite women shouldering the bulk of the increase in demand for care

THE TURKISH CONTEXT

Turkey

- already has the second widest gender gap in unpaid work time in the OECD (OECD; after Japan),
 - women on average **perform 4.5 times** more unpaid work than men.
 - the **lowest** women's employment rate at **32.2 percent** versus an OECD average of 61.3 percent of the population of working-age women in 2019 (OECD 2020a, 2020b).
 - wide disparities **among women** by education level (university-educated women's employment rate at more than double of women with less than high school education), and a difference of unpaid work time by more than an hour a day (TurkStat, 2020a, 2020b).

Policy debates since 2000's: The need for work–life balance policies and access to social care services as an essential intervention for eliminating the gender economic gaps (KEIG 2013; Ilkkaracan et al. 2020).

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

KONDA Life Styles Survey (conducted monthly since 2010):

- A survey on political preferences & voting behaviour, life-styles, positioning on topical issues of the month on the public agenda
 - LSS **May 2018** survey included for the first time ***a time-use question based on the recall method***, where the respondents were asked to reveal their ***activities over 24 hours on a typical weekday in the previous week***
 - 13 different activity categories

In March and April 2020, the rotational questions were on the COVID-19 pandemic.

The sample includes 2,407 individuals in May 2020 and 5,793 individuals in April 2018 (15+ years of age) throughout Turkey

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS INCLUDED ON PAID AND UNPAID WORK

- Whether there has been a change in the respondent's paid work status under the pandemic (laid-off, workplace closed down, quit job for taking care of children/ill/house; switched to work from home or continue to work at the workplace as before, etc.)
- Pre- and under pandemic work hrs at the respondent's job
- Whether there has been a change in the unpaid work hrs (compare to April 2018 LSS)
- Sources of the change in the unpaid work hrs (school closures, limited access to domestic workers, limited access to market provided service such as on-line food orders, , increased workload due to elderly care, or due to ill care as services have been discontinued for most, etc.)
- Whether there has been a change in the unpaid work hrs of one's partner (asked to married respondents only)
- How does the person feel about the total workload considering both paid and unpaid work (too much to deal with vs. able to handle)?
- The survey entails the other regular questions KONDA uses on social and lifestyle attitudes and voting preferences; total of 42 questions.)

EMPIRICAL SPECIFICATION

Tobit estimation of unpaid work time to analyze changes in time use patterns; Tobit is used given the left-truncated limitation in time use data:

$$y_i^* = b'x_i + ei$$

Where y_i^* is the latent variable representing time allocated to unpaid work time by individual i .

The observed time allocation y_i variables are related to the corresponding latent time allocation variables by

$$Y_i = y_i^* \text{ if } y_i^* > 0$$

$$Y_i = 0 \text{ otherwise}$$

- Pooled estimation of 2018 & 2020 adjusting by sample weights;
- Year dummy for 2020 + interaction variables
- Cross-section for 2020 including Covid-19 variables (transition to work from home vs. continuing to work at workplace), change in spouse's unpaid work hours

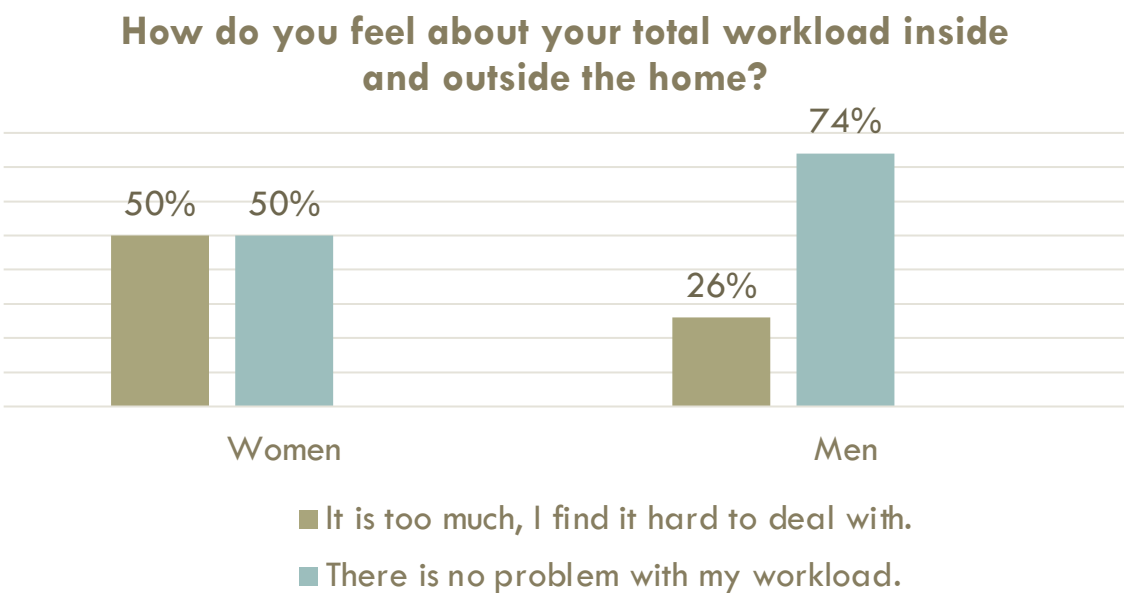
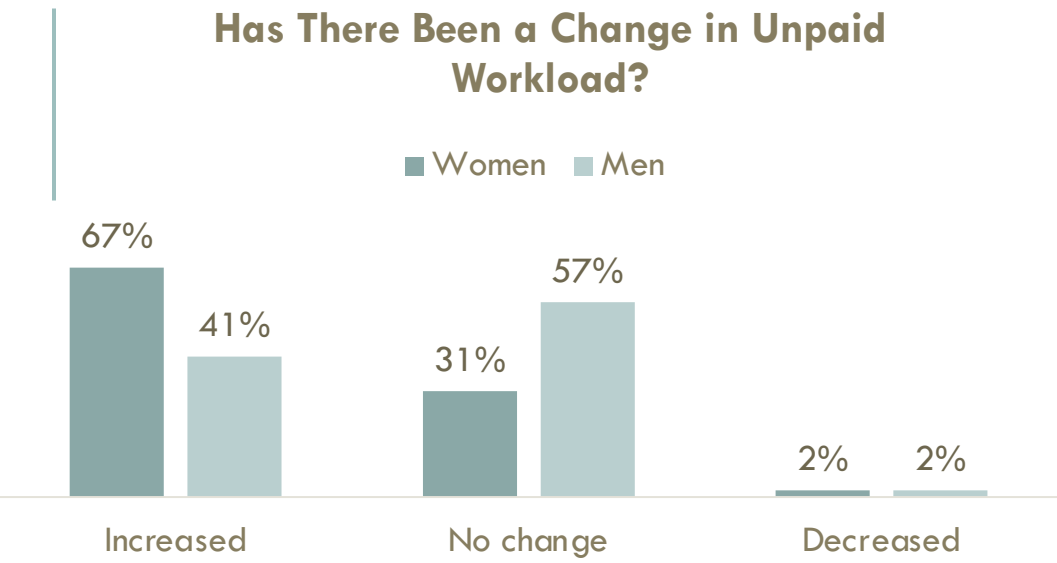
REASONS FOR EMPLOYMENT DISRUPTION

		2020		
Sample	Obs. #	Women	Men	All
Reasons for employment disruption	All	1,221	1,186	2,407
	Employed	11%	20%	16%
	I got laid off	31%	18%	25%
	I left for leave without pay	26%	21%	23%
	I left for leave with pay	25%	21%	23%
	I quit myself because I was afraid of the risk of disease.	5%	9%	8%
	I quit myself because I had to take care of a child / elderly / patient at home.	10%	10%	10%
	I had my own workplace and closed because things stopped / orders stopped.	2%	0%	1%
	I worked freelance, I stopped working because my own work was stopped.	1%	3%	2%
	Other	11%	18%	15%
		19%	17%	18%

If there has been a change in your employment status due to the outbreak, which of the following best expresses this change?

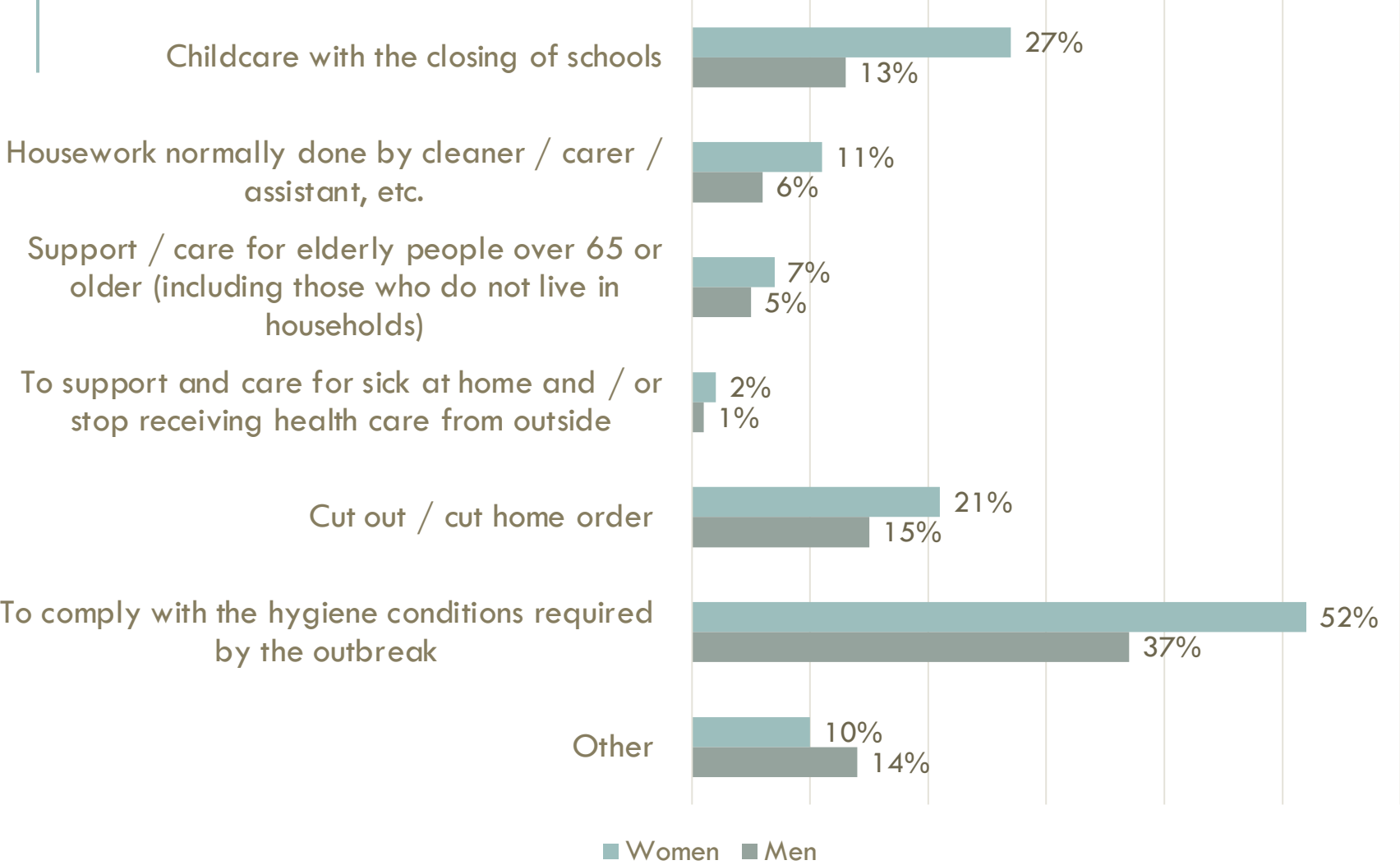
I continue to work at my workplace as before.	51%	61%	58%
I started working from home.	26%	10%	14%
I started working from home, partly at work, at other times.	14%	13%	13%

CHANGE IN UNPAID WORKLOAD – BINARY (YES/NO) QUESTION



SOURCES OF CHANGE IN UNPAID WORKLOAD

Main Reasons for the Increase in Unpaid Workload



CHANGE IN PAID, UNPAID AND TOTAL WORK TIME BY GENDER UNDER COVID-19 LOCKDOWN MEASURES - MAY 2020 VS. APRIL 2018 (HRS/DAY)

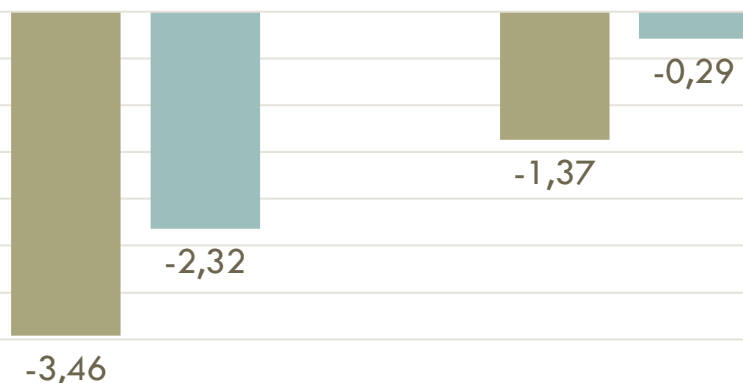
	DURING THE PANDEMIC (May 2020)			PRE-PANDEMIC (April 2018)			CHANGE FROM PRE-PANDEMIC		
Hours per Day	Paid	Unpaid	Total	Paid	Unpaid	Total	Paid	Unpaid	Total
All Women	0,99	4,49	5,48	1,60	2,85	4,45	-0,61	1,64	1,03
Employed Women	6,5	2,69	9,19	6,09	1,52	7,61	0,41	1,17	1,58
1.Pre- and during-pandemic working at workplace	7,92	2,17	10,09						
2.Pre- and during employed now working (partly) from home	5,48	3,17	8,65						
3.Not in employment pre-pandemic now employed	2,32	3,77	6,09						
Non-employed Women	0,24*	4,73	4,97	0,34*	3,24	3,58	-1,91	3,61	1,7
4.Neither pre- nor during-pandemic	0,17	4,74	4,91						
5.Was in employment pre- pandemic but not during pandemic	0,61	4,53	5,14						
All Men	3,31	1,13	4,44	5,06	0,27	5,33	-1,75	0,86	-0,89
Employed Men	6,79	0,96	7,75	7,46	0,21	7,67	-0,67	0,75	0,08
1.Pre- and during-pandemic working at workplace	7,64	0,72	8,36						
2.Pre- and during employed now working (partly) from home	6,25	1,18	7,43						
3.Not in employment pre-pandemic now employed	3,75	1,56	5,31						
Non-employed Men	0,97*	1,25	2,22	1,26*	0,38	1,64	-0,29	0,87	0,58
4.Neither pre- nor during-pandemic	0,34	1,28	1,62						
5.Was in employment pre- pandemic but not during pandemic	2,14	1,18	3,32						

CHANGE IN GENDER GAPS IN PAID, UNPAID AND TOTAL WORK TIME UNDER COVID-19 LOCKDOWN MEASURES - MAY 2020 VS. APRIL 2018 (HRS/DAY)

GGAP in Paid Work Time (hrs/day)

All

Employed

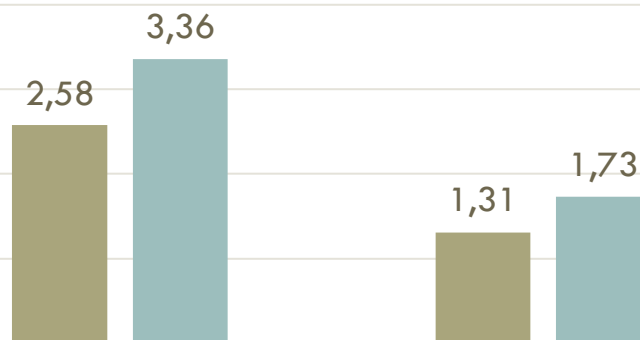


■ 2018 ■ 2020

GGAP in Unpaid Work Time (hrs/day)

All

Employed

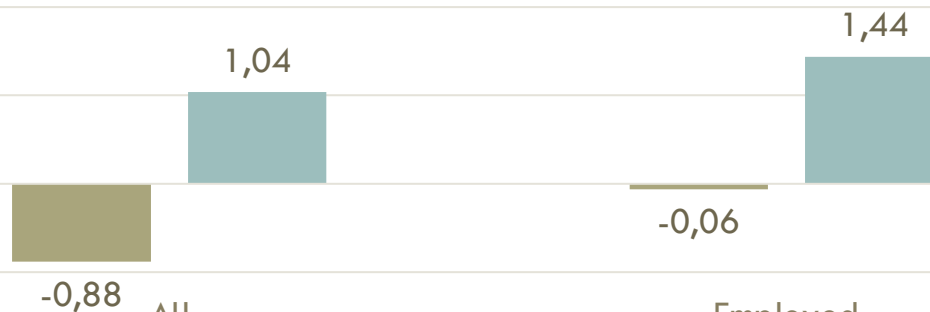


■ 2018 ■ 2020

GGAP in Total Work Time (hrs/day)

All

Employed



■ 2018 ■ 2020

ESTIMATION RESULTS: DETERMINANTS OF DAILY UNPAID WORK TIME BY GENDER POOLED SAMPLE (2018 AND 2020) WITH INTERACTION VARIABLES

Pooled Sample (2018 and 2020)	Women	Women	Men	Men
		(Marginal Effects)		(Marginal Effects)
Dependent: Daily Unpaid Work Time				
Pooled Estimation with: Year Dummy 2020	2.483*** (0.122)	1.94	5.479*** (0.247)	1.15
Pooled Estimation with interaction variable 2020 year dummy and: Educational attainment (Base: Less than high school)				
High School	0.418 (0.268)	0.33	0.612 (0.463)	0.13
University	0.506 (0.340)	0.40	-0.158 (0.518)	-0.03
Marital Status (Base: Single)				
Married	-0.385 (0.280)	-0.30	1.164*** (0.438)	0.24
Widow/Separated	-1.386*** (0.440)	-1.08	0.136 (1.036)	0.03
Employment Status (Base: Non-employed)				
Employed	0.751** (0.298)	0.59	1.178*** (0.425)	0.25
Non-employed with positive paid work hrs	1.466*** (0.462)	1.15	0.950 (0.771)	0.20

ESTIMATION RESULTS: DETERMINANTS OF DAILY UNPAID WORK TIME BY GENDER POOLED SAMPLE (2018 AND 2020) WITH INTERACTION VARIABLES (CONT.D)

Pooled Sample (2018 and 2020)	Women	Women	Men	Men
	(Marginal Effects)		(Marginal Effects)	
Income groups (Base: First income range)				
2 nd income group	0.0312 (0.735)	0.02	1.345 (1.455)	0.28
3 rd income group	0.382 (0.659)	0.30	1.565 (1.260)	0.33
4 th income group	0.771 (0.662)	0.60	1.955 (1.263)	0.41
5 th income group	1.289* (0.681)	1.01	2.386* (1.285)	0.50
6 th income group	1.042 (0.765)	0.81	2.528* (1.356)	0.53
Children by Age X Year 2020				
At least one small child (0-2 years) (=1 if Yes, =0 if No) X Year 2020	0.790*** (0.268)	0.61	2.135*** (0.517)	0.44
At least one small child (3-5 years) (=1 if Yes, =0 if No) X Year 2020	0.640*** (0.185)	0.49	3.344*** (0.417)	0.70
At least one child (6-9 years) (=1 if Yes, =0 if No) X Year 2020	1.217*** (0.181)	0.94	2.382*** (0.374)	0.50
At least one child (10-14 years) (=1 if Yes, =0 if No) X Year 2020	2.013*** (0.144)	1.55	4.721*** (0.329)	0.98
Controls for Age groups (3), Household size (3) and composition (5)	Yes		Yes	
Observations	3,628		3,786	
Uncensored observations	2,829		793	

ESTIMATION RESULTS: DETERMINANTS OF DAILY UNPAID WORK TIME BY GENDER - CROSS-SECTION (2018; 2020)

Dependent Variable: Daily Unpaid Work Time	2020		2020 Marginal Effects		2018		2018 Marginal Effects	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Educational attainment (Base: Less than high school)								
High School	0.09	0.43	0.08	0.18	-0.53***	-0.23	-0.50	-0.10
	(0.27)	(0.32)			(0.19)	(0.24)		
University	0.25	0.77**	0.21	0.32	-0.35	0.75**	-0.33	0.31
	(0.36)	(0.38)			(0.26)	(0.29)		
Marital Status (Base: Single)								
Married	2.23***	0.20	1.93	0.08	1.15*	0.63	1.10	0.26
	(0.54)	(0.86)			(0.59)	(0.75)		
Separated/Widow(er)	0.71	-0.37	0.62	-0.15	2.63***	0.43	2.51	0.18
	(0.52)	(0.91)			(0.27)	(0.37)		
Employment Status (Base: Non-employed)								
Employed	-0.56	-0.26	-0.48	-0.11	-2.28***	-1.33***	-2.18	-0.54
	(0.39)	(0.40)			(0.19)	(0.34)		
Non-employed with positive paid work hrs	0.32	0.29	0.28	0.12	-1.26***	-0.80	-1.20	-0.32
	(0.43)	(0.54)			(0.27)	(0.50)		

ESTIMATION RESULTS: DETERMINANTS OF DAILY UNPAID WORK TIME BY GENDER - CROSS-SECTION (2018; 2020) *CONT.D*

Dependent Variable: Daily Unpaid Work Time	2020		2020 Marginal Effects		2018		2018 Marginal Effects	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Change in employment conditions (Base: continue to work at my workplace as before)								
Started working from home.	1.32** (0.66)	2.20*** (0.66)	1.14	0.90				
Started working from home. partly at work. at other times.	1.64** (0.77)	0.71 (0.61)	1.42	0.29				
Started working from home with the epidemic. but now start working again at work	1.39 (0.95)	0.49 (0.54)	1.21	0.20				
No response to change in emp.	2.73*** (0.50)	2.20*** (0.66)	2.37	0.63				

ESTIMATION RESULTS: DETERMINANTS OF DAILY UNPAID WORK TIME BY GENDER - CROSS-SECTION (2018; 2020) *CONT.D*

Dependent Variable: Daily Unpaid Work Time	2020		2020 Marginal Effects		2018		2018 Marginal Effects	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Change in spouse's housework with the pandemic (Base: No Change)								
Increased	0.17 (0.26)	0.067 (0.34)	0.15	0.03				
Decreased	1.45* (0.78)	0.53 (0.99)	1.25	0.22				
No response	-0.89* (0.46)	-0.43 (0.79)	-0.77	-0.17				
Age groups (3), Household composition (5), size (3) and income groups (5)	Controlled	Controlled			Controlled	Controlled		
Constant	-0.75 (1.16)	-1.72 (1.51)			-1.23* (0.70)	-2.52** (1.25)		
Sigma	5.73*** (0.13)	6.59*** (0.25)			3.87*** (0.07)	5.24*** (0.24)		
Observations	1,122	1,096			2,506	2,690		
Uncensored obs.#	972	448			1,857	345		

CONCLUSIONS

Under the COVID-19 pandemic in Turkey:

- There was a substantial increase in unpaid work both for women and men;
- Men's unpaid work increased substantially (IN RELATIVE terms);
- BUT Women ended up absorbing the bulk of the increase in unpaid work;
- Hence the gender gap in unpaid work increased.

- Gender gap in paid work narrowed as
- the decrease in women's paid work was much less than in men's;
- average paid work time for women in employment increased, for men decreased.

- Gender gap in total work increased as on average women's total workload increased by more than men's.
- Particularly Employed Women experienced an alarming intensification in their overall workload; the work-life balance conditions have further deteriorated with the pandemic, aggravating the time constraints on women's labor supply; threatening weakening female labor market attachment.

CONCLUSIONS

The magnitude of the increase in men's unpaid work is dependent on their paid work conditions, such as working from home and lower employment hours;

- *This goes to show cultural norms re: work can be eroded easily when material conditions of paid and unpaid work change allowing men to reconcile paid and unpaid work!*
- *Hence a policy implication: more care leave and flexible work conditions for men with care responsibilities, lower full-time job hours, regulation of workplace hours for men's increased care work time*
- The unpaid work disparities amongst women by class decreased through increasing care work by educated and employed women closer to their less educated and non-employed counterparts;
- *Hence → increasing awareness of care work by men and upper socioeconomic groups – a historical moment for change?*
- COVID-19 has highlighted women's vulnerability to health (and economic) shocks through their higher unpaid work load;
- Hence the need for work–life balance policies and for investment in social care as an essential component of gender equality and increasing household and community resilience in the face of shocks.

FOR FULL PAPER SEE:

FEMINIST ECONOMICS 27(1-2): FEMINIST ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES ON THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC, [HTTPS://WWW.TANDFONLINE.COM/DOI/FULL/10.1080/13545701.2020.1849764](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13545701.2020.1849764)