

Changing Times:

New Sources of Parenting Stress & the Shifting Meanings of Time With & For Children

Melissa A. Milkie
University of Toronto
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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic powerfully altered parents' time schedules and time pressures as their lives shifted in unique and unprecedented ways. This chapter shows how three central forms of parents' time during the pandemic – time parents spent *with* children, *for* children, and *toward safeguarding* children's futures – was upended. I illustrate how the pandemic transformed these aspects of time, increasing parents' demands. First, the quality of time with children became more stressful, although potentially more enjoyable and meaningful as well. Second, the time spent for children's provision – in paid and unpaid labor -- increased to very high levels, in large part due to how children's education demands moved into homes. Third, the time parents invest toward the safeguarding of children's futures became more emotionally fraught. Notably, the increased demands and pressures related to parental time varied by social class and gender, exacerbating inequalities. Looking toward the future, there may be countervailing effects that lessen the blow of pandemic time stressors, as new meanings surrounding the value of spending time with and for children may develop among families and societies. Especially important for parental justice will be changes in societal supports for the healthy allocation of parents' time with children, for children, and toward safeguarding their futures. [Orchid ID: 0000-0002-7772-6614]

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Time during the COVID-19 pandemic passed before us in an unrecognizable pace and form. During lockdown, our schedules from just weeks earlier became cut off abruptly, with new routines, and lack thereof, suddenly thrust in front of us to make sense of. And our time took on new emotional elements. The year 2020 saw uncertainties and fear color how, with whom, and where we spent our time, as days upon days stretched into a murkier future. What is “quality time” and how can we achieve it? Under the “new normal,” what will our time be like? These are among the big questions being asked by scholars, as we march forward into the decade that has begun by upending our time use and our perceptions of time.

For those living with children during the COVID-19 pandemic, questions about how they spend their time are further complicated. Parents are tasked with providing optimal conditions for children’s health and development. To the extent possible, most parents try to craft their own and their children’s time to maximize children’s academic and skill growth, as well as their happiness. Yet pandemic conditions exploded both parents’ and children’s time use – the normal allocations to work, school, and family -- deeply upending schedules and locales. Parents watched children’s schedules – even those organized meticulously with an eye toward children’s futures – quickly crumble away.

This chapter will analyze parents’ pandemic time upheavals, time stressors, and the new meanings of quality time when much work and schooling moved to homes, and most parents became isolated alone together with their children. It will focus on three forms of parental time: time spent *with* children at home and in activities out in the social world, time spent *for* children

– to meet their material, care, and educational needs, and time spent *toward safeguarding* and managing children’s futures. The essay shows that parents’ roles became more demanding, while rewards shifted. The pandemic’s untethering of children’s and families’ time provoked questions about the benefits and costs of time allocations, exacerbated class and gender inequalities in parenting, and highlighted the sources of institutional (dis)investments in children’s lives.

The Upending of Family Time

The *demands-rewards* theoretical perspective on parents’ well-being (Nomaguchi and Milkie 2020) frames this essay. This model emphasizes the shifts in factors influencing parents’ mental health and well-being in 2020 once the pandemic hit. In examining demands, in line with stress process theories (Pearlin 1999), the focus is on shifting time-based and other *stressors* parents experience, both objective and subjective, and how these influence parents’ levels of *distress*. Individual and institutional resources may buffer parents’ stress, though these are unequally distributed, especially by social class. In examining the rewards of parenting, emphasis is upon how new sources of meaning and happiness in time with and for children might unfold during the pandemic and beyond.

The demands-rewards perspective underscores the overarching place of social statuses, and thus variations in the stress process across statuses will be emphasized. For example, socioeconomic status (SES) is a paramount influence on parents’ experiences and thus the time stressors of parents with more versus fewer resources are considered. Work investments vary by SES and occupation, and the pandemic created an uneven shock to parents’ work time and conditions. Some parents’ work intensified, others lost their jobs and security, and still other parents’ work put them on the front lines and at risk of disease, potentially pulling them apart

from children for safety reasons (J.W. Cox 2020). SES is also relevant to how parents are able to invest in children. Across the socioeconomic spectrum, parents spend time and energy toward *safeguarding* children's futures, but this takes very different forms. Gender is another key status inequality, with mothers' time and parenting stressors more deeply shocked by the pandemic as they face endless tasks, impacts on their paid work, and worse mental health than fathers (Chung et al. 2020; J. Cox 2020; Gerber 2020; Landivar et al. 2020; Manzo and Minello 2020).

In all, the pandemic upended parents' and children's lives – their work, schooling and play, and their schedules, rhythms, and relationships. Just about all those things that made life normal for children and their families before the pandemic shifted abruptly. From parents' perspectives, important changes may have come to the time they spend with children, the time they allocate for children's provision, and the way they approach safeguarding children's futures. Below, I elaborate on these forms of time, and how they have been dramatically altered, making the balance of demands and rewards less favorable for parents, though divergent based on parents' social statuses. I discuss how some time patterns for parents and families may stick across the coming years.

Time with Children

In “normal times,” many parents felt they had too little time with children, with about half in the U.S., Canada, and many European countries expressing this sentiment (Milkie, Nomaguchi, and Schieman 2019; Berghammer and Milkie 2020). Suddenly, once the pandemic hit, most parents whose minor children lived with them had nothing *but* time with children. The children's school became home, friends were out of reach for the most part, and for many children, their only young companions were siblings, if they had them. Kids' activities were

cancelled, as well as parents' outside leisure time and ways to take breaks away from the unending day-to-day responsibilities they face as parents. Many parents' paid work came home to couches, desks, makeshift spaces across cramped spaces, or more luxurious home offices. Some parents lost jobs, making their at-home time with children more complex, as the future looked less secure. No matter the size of the home, the makeup of the household, the amount of outdoor space, the weather, or the neighborhood, parents' time with children radically changed during the lockdown months – there was more of it – and its qualities may have shifted. Such a sudden transition may have juxtaposed the experiences in a way that made parents especially reflective of the meaning of time with children. While about half of parents had longed for more time with children in the recent past (Berghammer and Milkie 2020; Milkie, Nomaguchi, and Schieman 2019), the kind of time that they suddenly had with children – was likely not what they had been envisioning. Indeed, stuck in a “bubble” with children meant high care needs within the household, with limited ability for parents to tap into even those in nearby “bubbles” (Trnka and Davies 2020, this volume) who could help parents out with high demands.

Time spent in the company of children has at least three central qualities under normal times: compared to time apart from children, it is especially enjoyable, it is meaningful, but it can also be stressful and demanding (Negraia and Augustine 2020; Nomaguchi and Milkie 2020; Musick, Meier and Flood 2016). In the pandemic, each of these became magnified. Taken together, given that parents were stressed from work – either due to overwork and the blurring of work-family boundaries – or because jobs themselves were lost or upended -- the overall quality of time in the pandemic could be characterized as off and unbalanced. And for single parents with few or perhaps no other adults to be able to pull into children's lives directly due to the pandemic, maintaining quality time with children became even more challenging (Rogers

2020). As the pandemic worsened, with more virus cases in the community and tighter lockdown conditions, the stressful part of time spent with children became more prominent, and the normal feelings of happiness at being together on the part of both parents and children may have felt dampened (Galinsky 1999). How time with children was experienced in terms of its quality for parents and family life became more glaringly obvious as life slowed way, way down, and paradoxically for some, accelerated in terms of time demands.

The pandemic likely made each of these qualities of time with children – stress, enjoyment, and meaningfulness – more deeply felt. In terms of stress, time parents spent for children became fraught as it conflicted with parents’ work—spilling directly into the day-to-day interactions parents have with kids. Moreover, the time parents spent with children could easily become conflictual, given the host of new restrictions and guiding behavior that parents needed to enforce with their children. For school-aged kids and teenagers, this meant parents sometimes had to create, maintain and/or encourage educational connections and activities – really an entirely new ballgame that parents and children had not negotiated in modern times. For the most part, children did not like online schooling, as they felt the deprivation of the richness of in-person lessons, and greatly missed their friends and teachers (CBC 2020). Heavily dependent on the quality of the educational experience to begin with, those parents, typically higher-SES, whose kids attended schools that were able to quickly adjust and provide high quality experiences in real time were going to experience less stress. In all, for many reasons, then, due to parents’ work stresses and overload (Galinsky 1999; Tubbs, Roy and Burton 2005), the enforcing of educational work for kids that might cause conflicts, and to the great amounts of time families spent together with few “real” connections to others outside their household time with children likely became more stressful – crowding out quality time.

Though time with children had great potential to become more stressful, it also had a potential upside. The new forms and amounts of time could also be quite positive. In terms of feelings of enjoyment and happiness with children, there were fresh possibilities. As the outside social sphere became restricted, and some parents found their job pressures were at least temporarily lessened or had commutes evaporate, parents tried new things. Time with children became conducive to sustained blocks of focused or creative time together – like hiking, biking, board games, baking, and the like if resources allowed. For some, cooking together may have become a high-quality activity to enjoy.¹ Some parents were even able to experience new joys with their children through adopting pets into the family (Kavin 2020). In all, since many of the normal ways of life were suddenly gone – including all the normal extracurriculars like sports and lessons that children participated in – parents were able to (or were forced to) get creative and try new things – thus affecting the quality of time in everyday family life. Quality time often is more of an ideal than a reality though, even in normal times (Christensen 2002; Daly 2001). To the extent that fears of the virus, stresses from economic fallout, and demands and conflicts parents experienced during their long days at home with children, these joys could get crowded out.

Parents' social class mattered in that lockdowns varied by the resources parents had going into "lockdown." The types of new activities that parents could do with children might have varied based on space – and so how happy versus stressful the time parents experienced with children might follow (Carmona 2020). There were fewer escapes for parents who are in

¹ However, for parents with few resources, ingredients and time needed to try new recipes may have been scarce. Indeed, for many parents with lower incomes, even feeding their families had to be renegotiated during pandemic times. Given that children's meals had been delivered at school through government or other programs, new routines to obtain regular meals became necessary with school closures (Dunn et al. 2020).

urban areas or small dwellings – as even outside space became extremely difficult to navigate when basic but treasured city playgrounds were off limits. Without vehicles like cars or bikes to get to parks or trails that were conducive to quality time out in nature, some low-resourced urban parents may have been stuck in small places where over time, it would become more and more difficult to enjoy time together. The quality of time with children was also conditioned by the severity of the outbreak across societies. Extreme examples occurred in regions of China, Italy, and Spain, when parents were completely locked inside with children by government mandates for weeks on end, without the ability to even move outside their apartment or house for fresh air or exercise (Carmona 2020).

Time with children not only might have become paradoxically, both more stressful and potentially more enjoyable, it may have become more meaningful. Some parents, no doubt found the extra and different time at home with children a gift -- to more fully appreciate their presence and to discuss the world in new ways with their children. This might have been especially true for those with older children and teenagers, wherein parents could have potentially taken advantage of an awareness that they may have just a little time left before offspring move into futures outside the household. Moreover, these teenagers also had their social lives drastically curtailed for a time, allowing them to potentially be fully more available. At the same time, parents may have had more reason for discussion of values, given the major social movements like Black Lives Matter that co-occurred during the pandemic. Moral issues surrounding family, the economy, health care, policing, anti-black and anti-Asian discrimination (Chiang 2020, this volume), and multiple urgent social problems became central in many families' conversations during these times. Moreover, the value of work, and working from home, became more clear, with many parents expressing hopes of continuing remote work into the future, in part to spend

more time with children (Chung et al. 2020). Parents, like other adults, became confronted with what matters in life, the world, and the future – and had new opportunities to share important life lessons with their children – potentially making time with children especially meaningful.

The quality of time *with* children surely changed. Perhaps there was more stressful time with children, but also there may have been more opportunities for unique or new ways to enjoy spending days together. Parents and children alike surely learned lessons about what they value and how they want to spend their time. How “quality” the time with children became, depended a great deal on parents’ resources – money, work conditions, education level, health, space, and so on. In order to make room for quality time, stressors need to be held at bay (Tubbs, Roy and Burton 2005). In essence, for the time with children to be high quality during the pandemic, many resources would have had to be already in place, and supports from the larger community, workplace, and government able to be leveraged.

Time for Children

The pandemic altered *time for* children, that is the labor it takes to provide the very basics of income and care as parents.² Thinking about this within the framework of the demands-rewards perspective, the pandemic tipped the balance, creating more distress among parents. Under normal circumstances, most parents’ workloads are very high in total – that is paid and unpaid work hours – because a large part of their lives are given to time for children’s provision in the form of direct childcare. For most fathers this is typically in the form of many hours on the

² There are clearly overlaps between what I distinguish as time *with* and *for* children. I count the basic physical care of young children, which takes large amounts of time, as being part of time provided for children in unpaid care work. Beyond physical care, childcare in the time diary literature (e.g., Musick, Meier and Flood 2016) also includes teaching, educational activities, and helping children, which became heavy during the pandemic, and I include in this category of time spent for children. Time spent with children includes more of the interactive leisure-like activities, discussed above. The lines of time *with* versus *for* children, though, are drawn here only for analytical purposes.

job, or even taking two jobs to make ends meet given the expenses of children. Mothers do more housework than fathers, but are also employed at quite high levels, with about two-thirds in the labor force, though varying across countries (Berghammer and Milkie 2020).

When the pandemic hit, many parents' investments of time for children became greater and more difficult. Most fundamentally, work and care time dedicated to provide for children became a bigger stressor, creating greater distress in the form of work-family conflicts (Chung et al. 2020; Craig and Churchill 2020). For some, work-family conflicts arose as duties from the job often done remotely from home, directly confronted (new and extra) parental duties (Schieman et al. 2020). Other parents lost jobs, and thus the uncertainties hit hard, given the responsibilities of providing for children, and the deep ache of potentially becoming evicted from their home in some countries where social protections were weak. Still other parents were essential workers – and their work became more difficult and exhausting, with added concerns about their own health and their family's health as the possibility of catching the virus was heightened (J.W. Cox).

For one group of parents, typically professionals in more developed countries, the time that they spent for children in paid and unpaid labor was dramatically altered in that paid work moved into telecommuting from home. This then faced direct competition with childcare or guided school work that parents become suddenly charged with. A unique feature of the pandemic for parents was the fact that childcare and the education of children became fully under their roof. And with few other adults to assist – including teachers who were newly attempting to reach students remotely – this was a complex situation. For a multitude of reasons – technologies, uninterested children, material that did not translate well to online work – parents ended up in the drivers' seats of children's educations – on top of their paid work, if they still

had it – resulting in more work-family conflict. This meant to take on the new load of work, parents’ mental and physical health could suffer (Chung et al. 2020).

Time parents spent for children during the pandemic also includes another form of labor – that of housework. Here, demands also increased and became more stressful for parents, especially mothers (Chung et al. 2020). During the pandemic, more dishes piled up, shopping became especially fraught and time consuming, and households experienced new levels of use. Perhaps some older children became more involved in helping with household tasks -- although for many parents, this may have been offset by difficulties in creating and enforcing new rules for kids, in the midst of the children having to adjust to their own new worlds of the pandemic.

A final key component of parents’ time invested for children – what sociologists count as hours of childcare in the direct service of children’s needs – also increased, sometimes dramatically. Where young children are concerned, this came in the form of direct care that children would have otherwise received from daycares and elementary schools. Babysitters were typically off limits. Parents thus spent countless extra hours in direct care and supervision for especially young children -- something that those without children in the home clearly did not have as part of their portfolio – and as noted, a key feature of this extra child time is that it became in direct conflict with paid work. The hours added up – and piled on top of the housework, and alongside the paid work. The collisions across the forms of work undoubtedly formed new types of work-home conflicts for parents (Schieman et al. 2020).

To underscore the severity of how parents’ time *for* children was affected by the pandemic, it is important to note that an entire societal institution – that of education -- was cut off from the children (and others) it was supposed to serve – and though this was uneven between and within countries, its effects on parents’ lives cannot be overstated. Instructional

time by schools dropped dramatically and the content often did not include new material. In some countries, after a period of lockdown, they re-opened, though with many uncertainties. However, in many other countries, the vast majority of schools did not reopen in spring 2020, or beyond, creating a chasm of months of unstructured time when the educational content provided by schools was minimally engaging to children. Summer camps, which some privileged parents count on for supporting both care and education for children, were also cancelled or went online from home, across the United States, Canada, and other places. Even into the new academic year, for example in the United States, parents' demands stayed high as they had to supervise and supplement time that children normally spent in educational institutions, when many school districts declared school would be online for the new school year. This effectively places the huge educational workload onto parents for months upon months. This was not just a matter of extra hours that exhausted parents faced in educating children – but as will be discussed below, it placed undue strain on how parents across the class spectrum felt able to safeguard children's futures (Milkie and Warner 2014).

In all, the pandemic created a new world in terms of parents' time *for* children – by increasing time demands on parents in terms of childcare and especially creating and overseeing the education of their children (Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020). For mothers more so than fathers, this pushed some of them to reduce hours or leave jobs and careers when things reached a breaking point (Landivar et al. 2020; Qian and Fuller 2020). For single mothers and fathers, often providing the main income for their children, leaving jobs might have been extremely difficult, even when demands became very high (Rogers 2020), and they likely experienced high levels of distress. The pandemic created more stress linked to the provider role too, as some parents had to work from home when children were present, some became laid off, and others

had to work in essential jobs putting themselves and their families at risk. A small portion of parents, though, may have had steady income even with reduced job demands, and short or no commutes such that the amount of time they spent for children's provision stayed similar or possibly was reduced.

Safeguarding: Time Toward Children's Futures

Guiding children is much more than the time parents spend directly with them and for them. Raising kids involves a great deal of anticipatory planning work to attempt to assure that children's pathways are smooth as they grow. Children's successes are often marked and celebrated along the way – which they likely enjoy – but these are also a vastly underappreciated form of rewards from the society for parents. In short, the pandemic may have altered this third form of time for some parents – from hopeful to fearful, and from joyous to filled with loss. This parental *time toward* children's futures became emotionally fraught during the pandemic as rewards lessened and uncertainties rose.

Parenting requires great efforts across many years – through infancy, toddlerhood, childhood and adolescence – and toward an imagined future in adulthood. The markers and rituals that a child moves through are normally multifaceted and meaningful. These are both greatly anticipated and marked socially in dramatic and profoundly felt ways, including through organized religions (e.g., bar and bat mitzvahs, confirmations and first communions), through the education system in the form of graduations, awards ceremonies, musical events, and so on – in high school but also middle and elementary school, and even in pre-K. In extracurricular activities, these are capped by playoffs, tournaments, competitions, awards banquets and the like, with kids from working-class families typically enjoying at least one team or club, and middle-

and upper-class children more regularly participating (Lareau 2003). These events serve as markers of a job well done for parents, and a time when they are sometimes formally recognized by schools, community organizations, and the like for contributing time toward children's futures.

The anticipation phase related to these markers are vitally important – in essence it helps parents and children persevere and work hard through the many hours of learning that it takes to achieve. These markers are of the work called *status safeguarding* (Milkie and Warner 2014) – the efforts of parents, most often especially mothers, to maintain their child's move toward success and well-being into the child's future. The pandemic cancellations of children's ceremonies and ritual markers were vast – although many moved online or were attempted in unique ways, parents were prevented from observing key, long-anticipated events with their communities – for example, graduations -- in the normal, expected, and highly anticipated ways. Instead of the expected community-level joys at a high school graduation, there was sadness and loss associated with distanced or online ceremonies, if they were conducted at all. Instead of hope about the future of the child's next steps, there may have been apprehension or fear (Null 2020).

The work of safeguarding children's futures became harder for parents, as the rest of the world shrunk away and each household was on its own. Relentless days and weeks of feeling alone in their work of guiding children turned to months of parents feeling relatively isolated in their raising of the next generation. Moreover, fears related to children's futures likely increased a great deal, making the time parents spent monitoring, planning, and organizing for children's daily lives and building toward their futures more fraught with questions about whether the future they once expected would look the same. An expected pathway (at least for the globally

privileged) – a quality education leading to a college degree and a decent job – appeared increasingly precarious – as education became upended and good jobs – already precarious – became even more so.

Unevenness Across Social Statuses: Time Inequality and Parents' Lives

Parents' time with and for children, and their time in working toward children's futures, absolutely and dramatically shifted during the pandemic. But the differences among parents are many, across a number of parents' central statuses. For one -- were parents comfortable, income-wise, with a great deal of wealth to support their lifestyle? Or were they just getting by, and perhaps experiencing a loss of income due to a temporary or permanent job loss, to add stress to their provider role? Parents' economic status sharply determined how they experienced time with and for children during the pandemic. Those with large homes, multiple technologies, adequate transportation, and money to buy new things during otherwise economically constrained times, would be more easily able to weather the time shifts with their children. Those at the other end of the SES spectrum became at further disadvantage during pandemic times, with lost work or more stressful situations regarding their children's educations evident. Single parents may have been at great risk of both economic precarity and overload from extra time spent on children's provision. In terms of children's futures, wealthier families may have gained even more of an edge as they scrambled to safeguard their children's academic distinctions, talents, and happiness (Milkie and Warner 2014) when pre-pandemic education and extracurricular systems were upended. Thus, parenting inequalities prior to 2020 became exacerbated as the pandemic wore on.

The parental roles of mothers and fathers also mattered a great deal as to how they experienced the work of childrearing in the pandemic. Fathers stepped up their work in the home

during the early months, in both housework and childcare (Carlson, Petts, and Pepin 2020; Craig and Churchill 2020; Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020). But more so than mothers, fathers might feel the pressures of time *for* children through paid work, and how it changed. Mothers also experienced more work occurring through housework, childcare, and the education of children (Shafer, Scheibling, and Milkie 2020). As the pandemic continued, and some changes to time with children became entrenched, the direct conflicts with paid work became more glaring. Some parents, but most often mothers, had to reduce their paid work hours or leave the workforce, exacerbating gender inequalities between mothers and fathers (Landivar et al. 2020). Mothers did so in order to manage family life during pandemic times (Qian and Fuller 2020), helping “solve” the problem of demands from children’s care and education in the short term, but at potential cost to mothers’ own career and future well-being. Will the pandemic mean that it is mothers whose careers become sacrificed, where governments and workplaces cannot prioritize children’s care and education? Research from early in the pandemic, such as that by Qian and Fuller (2020) shows that because mothers’ work was devalued prior to the pandemic, and due to the wage gap that in part exists because of the care work mothers’ are pushed to take on, mothers did reduce hours or leave paid work more so than fathers. The pandemic will likely have long-term effects on mothers’ care time and in exacerbating gender inequalities (Chung et al. 2020; Craig and Churchill 2020; Landivar et al. 2020).

Changing Values: Parents’ and Society’s

As the pandemic became enduring over many months, the possibility of redistributions of how, with whom, and where parents spent their time potentially shifted more permanently. As parents weathered the storm of the pandemic, and as they led their children through this difficult

time, values related to health, education, and inequalities and how parents spend time became more clear. How does parents' time for children and their futures matter in a society? What is the social response (Ryan 2020, this volume) to the way that the virus has upended children's education and care, and parents' lives? It is an underappreciated question – but one that could, and should, be asked more often. How parents' time is important became more obvious during the pandemic as parents scrambled to do it all, including working for pay (if they could maintain their employment) alongside also caring for and guiding, supplementing, and even creating children's education from home. Parents' new stressors in the form of big workloads and exhaustion became glaringly clear. The need for prioritizing education and childcare so that parents can distribute their time allocations in a healthy way across paid work and care became more dire in places where parents were most disadvantaged prior to 2020 (Collins 2019; Glass, Simon and Andersson 2016). A lack of investments in children, and thus in their parents must be recognized as a structural problem to be addressed (Folbre 2008; Manzo and Minello 2020). How do, and how will, local, state, and federal governments prioritize children and parents, particularly those with fewer means? Will governments invest in supporting high-quality care and educational systems that not only help children but also ease time burdens on parents – or not (Folbre 2008)? Do they recognize the great investments many parents make in terms of time for and with children – both of which have become more stressful and burdensome during the pandemic? Will they support parents, especially those with fewer resources, in investing in children's futures? How do governments help the well-being of this vitally important group raising the next generation?

Conclusion

In all, the unpaid work of parenting has been put into shock, as the juggling of the roles of parent and worker became upended in the pandemic, and normal time schedules and timelines exploded. What were taken-for-granted ways of parenting in many societies at the turn of the decade -- parenting that was described as “intensive” (Nomaguchi and Milkie 2020) due to the deep financial and time investments parents made into children – is now even more so. Time spent with and for children took on – and will continue to take on new forms and meanings. Given parents’ time allocations and well-being is relevant not only for themselves but also for the next generation of citizens, assessing the pandemic’s shock on parents’ time strains and mental health is vital. How societies support parents through the pandemic will have a lasting impact on those currently raising children during this era. More importantly, these supports will also be manifest through how the children and youth of 2020, and potentially beyond, weather this storm -- and thus for generations to come.

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