

Life in lockdown: The economic and social effect of lockdown during Alert Level 4 in New Zealand

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Executive Summary

On March 25th 2020 New Zealand completed a 48 hour transition to an Alert Level 4 lockdown, a state which severely restricted people's movement and their social interactions in an attempt to limit the spread of Covid-19. To examine the effects of lockdown on economic and social wellbeing in New Zealand, the Roy McKenzie Centre for the Study of Families and Children and the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies conducted a survey between Wednesday April 15th and Saturday April 18th. This period was particularly salient for examining wellbeing as it was the third week of lockdown and a time when no official announcement had been made on how long lockdown would continue.

The survey was conducted using an existing sampling frame of adults (18 years and older) living in New Zealand. The final sample was 2,002 respondents. Sampling weights were applied to derive nationally-representative estimates. We gathered information on three key domains: 1) labour market outcomes; 2) individual wellbeing; and, 3) family wellbeing and functioning. Where possible we asked respondents about either how things had changed or how they were prior to lockdown. We will be going back to respondents in late June, after most restrictions had been lifted (Alert Level 1), to understand how life had changed post-lockdown.

The focus of this report is the first data wave, collected during lockdown. Key findings include:

Work and income during lockdown:

- The estimated unemployment rate doubled from 5.3% immediately prior to lockdown to 10.3% by the third week of lockdown.
- Seven percent of people previously employed lost their jobs three weeks into lockdown (generalised to a national level to approximately 180,000 people) and two percent of people gained work.
- Among those employed prior to lockdown, during lockdown one third were essential workers, one third were able to work from home, and 28% remained employed but unable to work.
- Workers in retail and transportation industries reported higher job losses and higher rates of remaining employed but unable to work.
- Workers from higher income households and with higher education were more likely to be able to work from home.

- NZ Europeans were least likely to experience job loss.
- Nearly half (44%) of respondents were living in a household where at least one adult had experienced job or income loss.

Work status, job and economic loss and personal wellbeing during lockdown:

- Compared to other workers, essential workers were more likely to report feelings of anger (20% vs. 16%) and stress (47% vs. 38%) during lockdown.
- Experiencing job and income loss was associated with lower wellbeing, in terms of feelings of anger (21% among those who lost their jobs and 19% among those who lost income vs. 14% with no economic loss), depression (30% and 26% vs. 16%), stress (35% and 35% vs. 24%), and loneliness (19% and 13% vs. 9%), compared to those who did not experience economic loss.
- Being in households where another adult experienced job or income loss was also associated with poorer wellbeing.
- The adverse impact of job and income loss on wellbeing was stronger among young people (18-24 years) and those in low-income households (less than \$30,000pa).

Work status, job and income loss, and family functioning during lockdown:

- Overall, families were remarkably robust under lockdown. There was little perceived change in family functioning during lockdown.
- Focussing on those who lost jobs, men reported a moderate decline in couple supportiveness and women with partners who lost jobs reported large declines in couple supportiveness.
- Mothers of young children reported a small decline in their parental role satisfaction during lockdown, whereas mothers of teenagers experienced a moderate increase.
- There was little change in fathers' parental role satisfaction.

Work-family conflict and family wellbeing during lockdown:

- Over half (52%) of working mothers and nearly half (47%) of working fathers reported an increase in family demands.
- Increases in family demands were larger for mothers compared to fathers, generally, with the gender gap widest among parents of young children. Working mothers with children aged 0-4 years old experienced a large increase in family time demands (81% of a standard deviation increase)—double that of fathers of young children.

- Despite the increase in family demands for parents, there was no compensating decline in job demands—work time demands among those who continued working remained constant.
- Working mothers (49%) were somewhat more likely than working fathers (42%) to report that family demands and job demands were in conflict.
- Work-family conflict was associated with more negative emotions and less positive ones during the day, with the wellbeing gap stronger among mothers.
- Greater work-family conflict was associated with an increase in partner conflict and a decrease in partner supportiveness, and declines in parental role satisfaction. These changes were stronger among mothers.

Taken together, this report highlights that close to half of all New Zealanders experienced an economic loss during Alert Level 4 lockdown. It confirms that the wellbeing losses among those who experienced job or income loss are also likely to have been substantial. Essential workers reported slightly more stress during this time. Those who remained employed but could not work—a sizeable proportion who were likely being supported by the government wage subsidy programme—reported better wellbeing than other workers during lockdown and much better wellbeing than those who lost their jobs, demonstrating the positive impact of job security despite being unable to work.

In terms of family functioning, families as a whole were considerably less stressed by fears that lockdown would strain relationships. Balancing work and family demands under lockdown, however, created time pressure and stress among working parents, in particular working mothers of young children.

Overall, these findings can inform policy responses in the labour market that are aimed at both economic and wellbeing recovery, and in the event of potential future lockdowns.

Introduction

On March 25th 2020, New Zealand moved into an Alert Level 4 lockdown—a mere 48 hours after Prime Minister Jacinda Arden announced the move—as part of New Zealand’s efforts against transmission of the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2)—the virus strain causing the respiratory illness coronavirus disease 2019 (Covid-19). At Alert Level 4, people were required to severely restrict their personal movement and social interactions.¹ Except for essential services, including hospitals, essential health clinics, supermarkets, and pharmacies, all businesses were closed, as were schools and universities, and childcare facilities. Those who were considered essential workers—such as those in healthcare and operating grocery stores—were still able to be in the workplace, but all others were not. Those who could work from home continued to work, while others ceased working. People were asked to form ‘bubbles’—small groups of people who would only come in close contact with each other during the lockdown period, typically representing just those they lived with or those in one other home. Recreational activity, such as walking or bike riding, was restricted to people’s immediate residential neighbourhood. Leisure activities that could potentially force someone to ‘break’ their bubble, such as needing to be rescued while ocean swimming or fishing, were banned. The pace of the transition from relative freedom to lockdown and the restrictions that were placed represented one of the strictest policy responses in the world.

The lockdown represented an unprecedented experience for New Zealanders in two important ways. First, despite experiencing recessions in the past, the pace at which New Zealand dropped into recession and the depth of the drop in economic activity and the increase in job loss were unlike any economic shock ever experienced. Entire industries virtually ceased to operate, with little clarity around what a new normal would look like or when it might emerge. Second, New Zealanders had never been asked to so severely limit their movements, social interactions, and the ways they went about organising and providing for their household. Fears were raised about the strain this would place on family relationships, and about the effects of social isolation, particularly for older persons.

¹ New Zealand Government (2020). COVID-19 Alert Systems. Accessed May 22nd, 2020: <https://covid19.govt.nz/alert-system/covid-19-alert-system/#alert-level-4-%E2%80%94-lockdown>

In these ways, the Covid-19 crisis generally, and the lockdown specifically, represented a unique, unprecedented, and unknown challenge. This study is an attempt to understand how we coped.

The current study

While the health risks of Covid-19, particularly to older persons and those with pre-existing health conditions such as auto-immune deficiencies, are well documented, the economic and socio-emotional impact of business shutdown and social isolation during lockdown had not been examined—New Zealand had never been there before. While there was much speculation amongst the public and in the media, there was little hard evidence. This study aims to examine the economic and socio-emotional effect of these public health measures for people and families in New Zealand during the lockdown restrictions. In particular, the study focussed on examining consequences of lockdown for people's economic and employment situations, their individual wellbeing, their family relationships, and the intersection of work and family life.

Three broad research questions guided the study:

- 1) What happened to people's work and economic resources during lockdown?
- 2) Did lockdown have an impact on their own and their families' wellbeing?
- 3) Were different groups of people more or less impacted by lockdown?

Study design

The survey was conducted by Colmar Brunton through a web-based questionnaire using the Fly Buys sampling frame. The final sample included 2,002 respondents aged 18 years and older. Data were collected over four days between April 15th and April 18th—the third week of Level 4 lockdown. A more thorough documentation and explanation of our methodological approach can be found in the Methodological Appendix.

This window was a particularly salient period during the lockdown: there was still uncertainty around how long the lockdown would last, financial and tangible resources were

diminishing for some families, the novelty of lockdown may have been wearing thin, and home schooling began for school-aged children.²

The survey covered the following topics:

- The nature of people's bubble and household composition;
- Their employment situation before and during lockdown;
- Changes in income, wages and material hardship during lockdown compared to before;
- Affective mood throughout the day, including feelings of anger, happiness, stress, enjoyment;
- Sense of loneliness and ability to reach out for help;
- Change in relationship quality with families and partners; and,
- Work and family time demands.

The report

In this report we focus on describing the economic outcomes and their variation across groups, followed by a consideration of the effects of changes in work lives and economic positions on wellbeing during lockdown. In Section 1, we describe the work situations of those who remained employed during lockdown and estimate job and income loss due to lockdown. Section 2 examines associations between economic loss (i.e., both job and income loss) and personal socio-emotional wellbeing. Section 3 considers the overall impact of lockdown on family wellbeing, including relationship conflict and satisfaction with parenting, with a focus on those who did and did not experience job or income loss. Section 4 concludes by examining the impact of lockdown on work and family time demands, and the prevalence of Work-family conflict among working parents with children.

² The state school holidays were brought forward two weeks to 30 March to 14 April—the beginning of lockdown.

Section 1: Work and income during lockdown

Many work places were forced to close during lockdown. Essential workers, such as those in health services and working in supermarkets, were still able and expected to go into work. Those whose work places closed worked from home if they were able to. However, a large portion of workers not considered essential were not able to work from home but remained employed—a work situation likely facilitated in part by the government-provided Covid-19 wage subsidy that supported employers in retaining staff during lockdown. Despite this government programme, job loss was still expected. In this section we document the work situations and job and income loss experiences due to lockdown.

Work status during lockdown

Sixty-eight percent of survey respondents were in paid employment before lockdown began. During week three of lockdown, close to one third (32%) of those respondents were working as essential workers during lockdown, with a further 32% able to continue working from home. A slightly smaller proportion (28%) remained employed but could not work because of the lockdown. Seven percent of previously employed respondents became unemployed during the lockdown, with a large majority of those citing Covid-19 as the primary reason.³

The primary industries of Agriculture and Mining had the highest rate of essential workers (67%) and lowest proportion reporting job loss (3%). Workers in Retail, Wholesale, and Transport industries were most affected, with one in eight (13%) losing their jobs and another 45 percent not working, yet still employed, because of the lockdown.

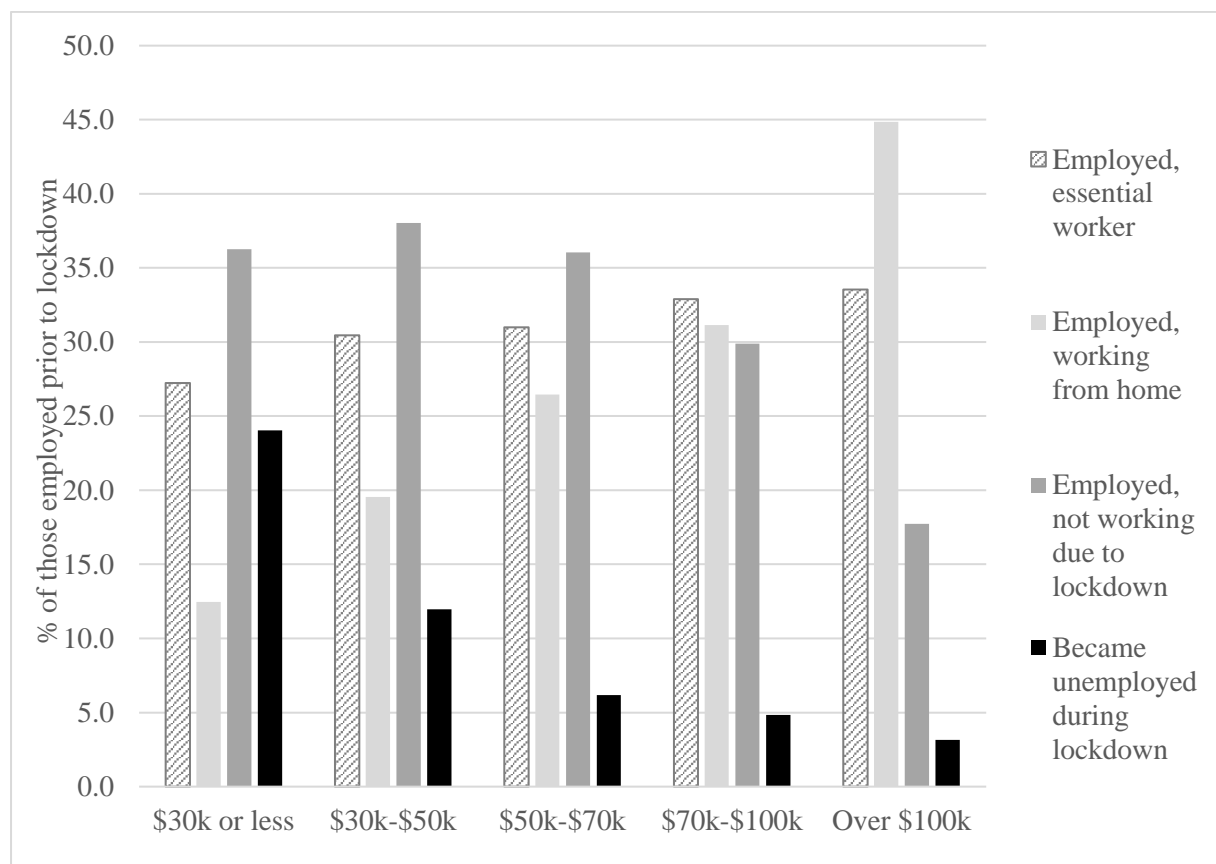
Socioeconomic disparities in work situations during lockdown

Work status during lockdown varied by several sociodemographic characteristics, including income, education, and ethnicity (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). Respondents with annual household incomes \$30,000 or less were more likely to have lost jobs (24%), with lower rates of job loss at higher income levels (ranging from 12% among those in the \$30,001-\$50,000 bracket, to 3% among those earning over \$100,000).⁴ Respondents in low-income households were also much less likely to be able to work from home (13%) compared to those in the highest-income households (45%).

³ Table 1.1 in the data appendix displays full results.

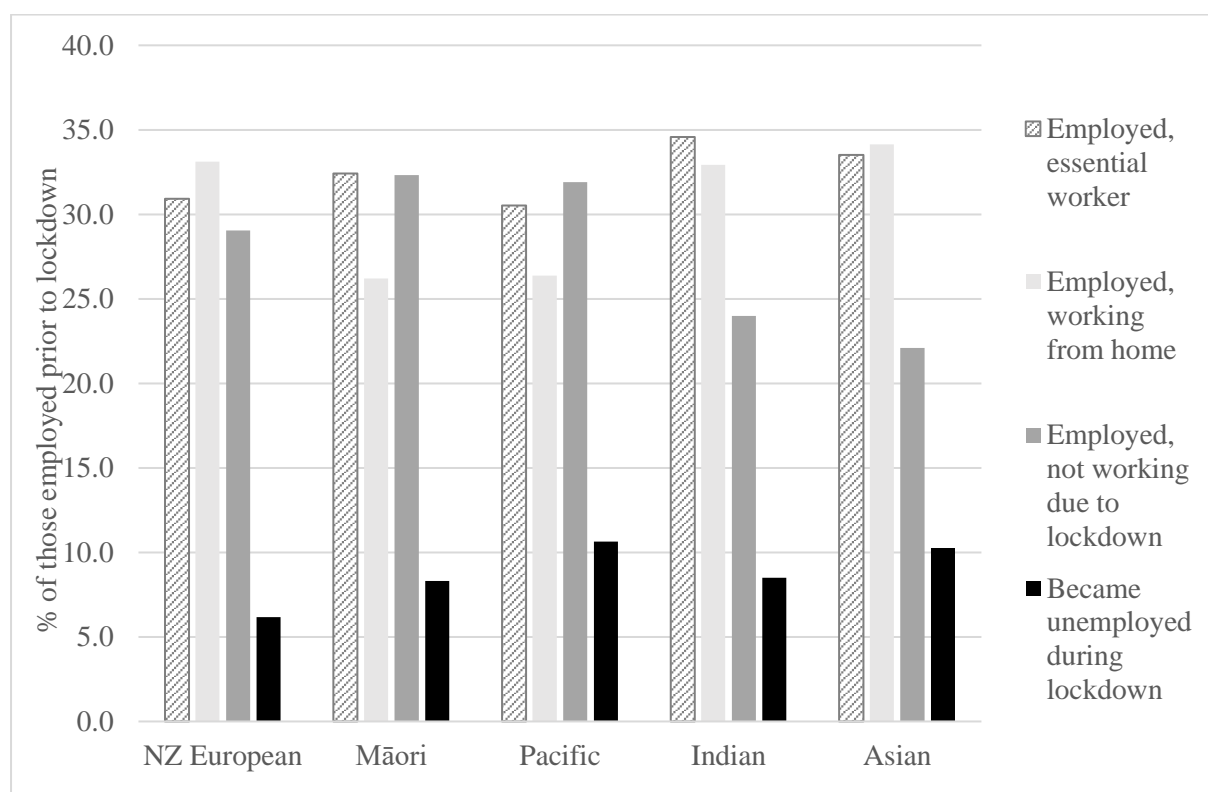
⁴ Generally, comparisons referenced in the text are statistically different at at least $p < .05$.

Figure 1.1. Work status by household income



Respondents with higher education were also more likely to have jobs that allowed them to work from home—with 46% of working respondents with a postgraduate degree working from home, compared to 30% of those with a diploma or secondary school education. More people of Pacific (11%) and Asian (10%) ethnicity lost employment during lockdown. NZ Europeans were least likely to lose their jobs (6%). There were few differences in job outcomes for men and women or across age groups, although we note that young people had much higher levels of unemployment prior to lockdown.

Figure 1.2. Work status by ethnicity



Unemployment rate prior to and during lockdown

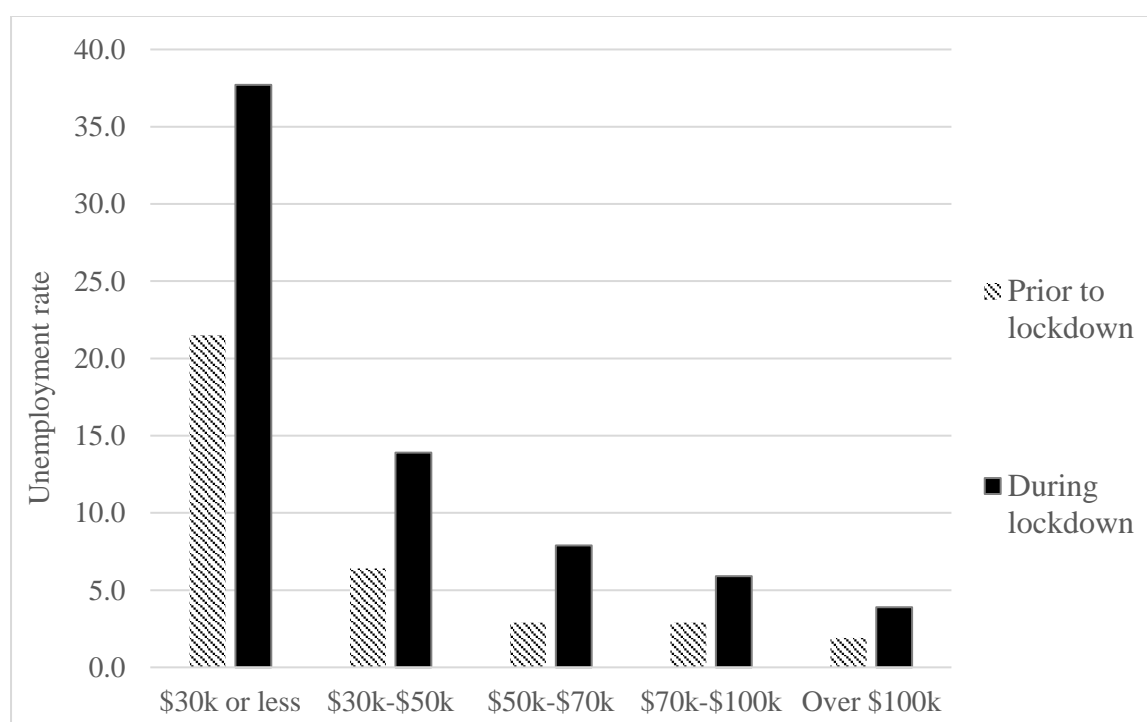
Employment information together with job loss information allows an estimate of the impact of lockdown on unemployment. Our unemployment estimates are not directly comparable to those which would arise from the official unemployment statistics, since we do not use the same questions. Official Household Labour Force Survey data will not be available for some months (at the time this report was released) and will even then not allow isolation of the lockdown period.

We find a clear, large increase in unemployment during the lockdown compared to immediately prior. By the time the survey was taken the estimated unemployment rate among our respondents was 10.3%. This includes the 3.4% of respondents who said they were unemployed and actively seeking work prior to lockdown. Just under 2% of respondents said they became *employed* during lockdown. If this entire group had been unemployed and actively seeking work prior to the lockdown, this implies a pre-lockdown unemployment rate

of 5.2%, indicating the unemployment rate may have doubled by week 3 of the lockdown to 10.3%.⁵

The relatively small sample size means that disaggregated unemployment rates for sub-groups of the population must be treated cautiously.⁶ In broad terms, however, population groups with higher unemployment rates prior to lockdown continued to have higher rates during lockdown, although their rate of increase in unemployment was not usually any greater than for other groups. Respondents in low-income households (under \$30,000pa) had the highest rate of unemployment pre-lockdown (22%) and a substantially higher rate than other groups during the lockdown (38%). This is compared to the next highest unemployment rate, among those earning \$30,001-\$50,000, who rose from 6% pre-lockdown to 14% during lockdown (Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3. Unemployment rate prior to and during lockdown by household income



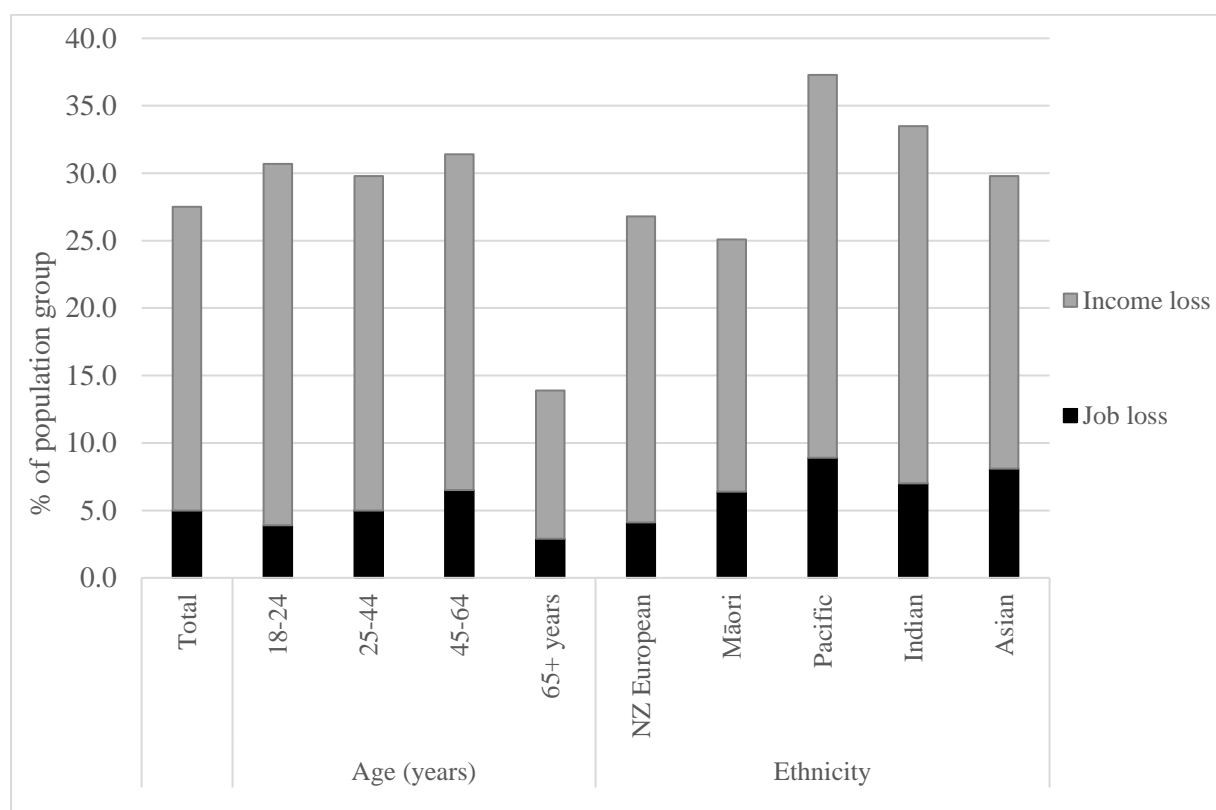
⁵ By comparison, the March quarter Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS) estimated the unemployment rate at 4.2% of the labour force. Sampling and questionnaire differences are likely to account for the disparity in these two figures. In particular, the March quarter HLFS captures respondents during the period of January through March, whereas our pre-lockdown unemployment rate captures employment immediately prior to lockdown, when job loss due to the pandemic may have already begun.

⁶ Typically in the HLFS, Māori and Pacific unemployment rates are 2.5-3.5 times higher than those of NZ Europeans. A risk ratio of this size is not observed in our survey, which suggests sampling error or bias in the sampling frame towards those Māori and Pacific people who have a better labour market performance.

Immediate impact on incomes

More than a quarter (28%) of all respondents experienced an economic loss either as a result of losing their job (5%) or because of a reduction in their wages or salary (23%) which may have reflected a reduction in either hours worked or pay per hour, or both. There were few large differences in terms of economic loss by sociodemographic group. Those in the Pacific and Indian ethnic groups had somewhat higher rates of economic loss, as did respondents whose annual household incomes were between \$50,000 and \$100,000. People aged 65 years and older had significantly lower rates of economic impact (Figure 1.4).⁷

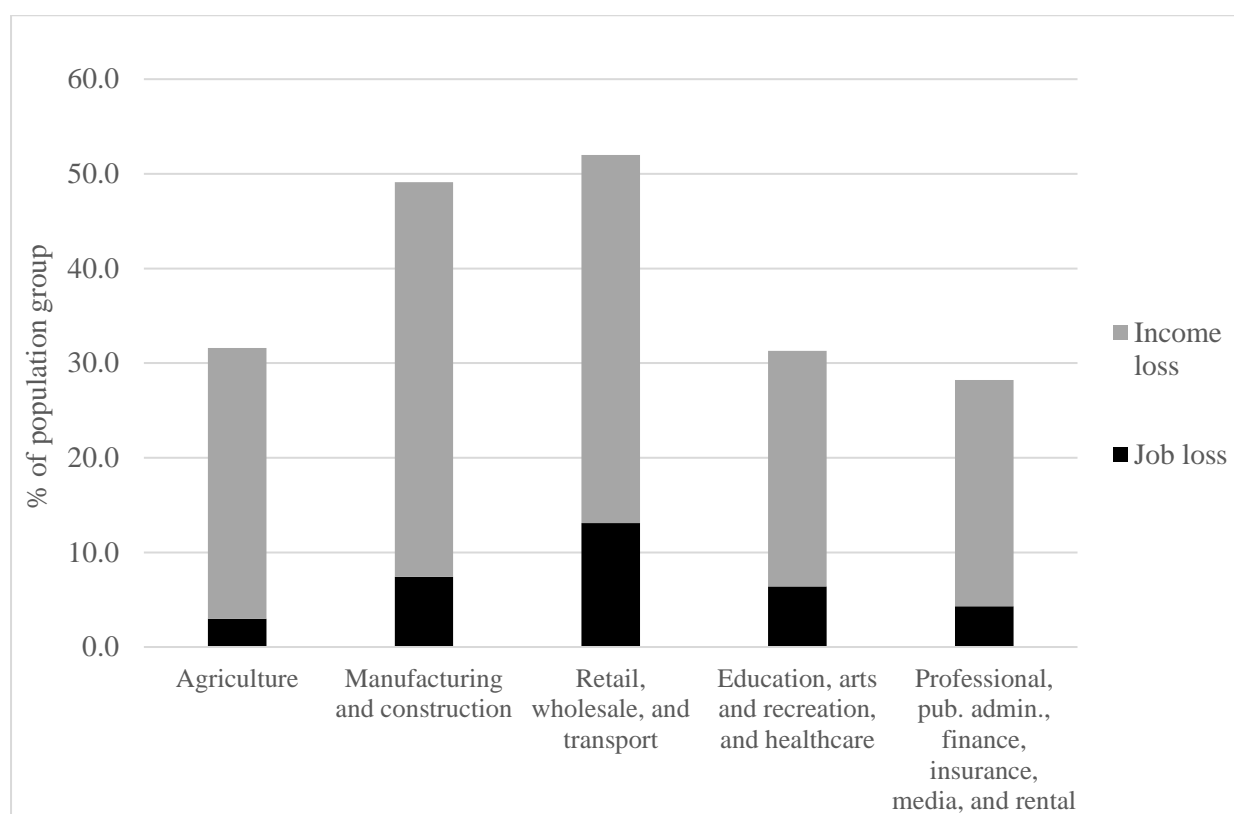
Figure 1.4. Economic loss during lockdown overall, and by age and ethnicity



Examining workers' economic loss by industry, Manufacturing and Construction employees and those working in Retail, Wholesale or Transport were hardest hit, with approximately half of both these groups being adversely affected financially, reflecting the impact of the lockdown rules on these industries (Figure 1.5).

⁷ Table 1.2 in the data appendix displays full results.

Figure 1.5. Economic loss during lockdown by industry of employment



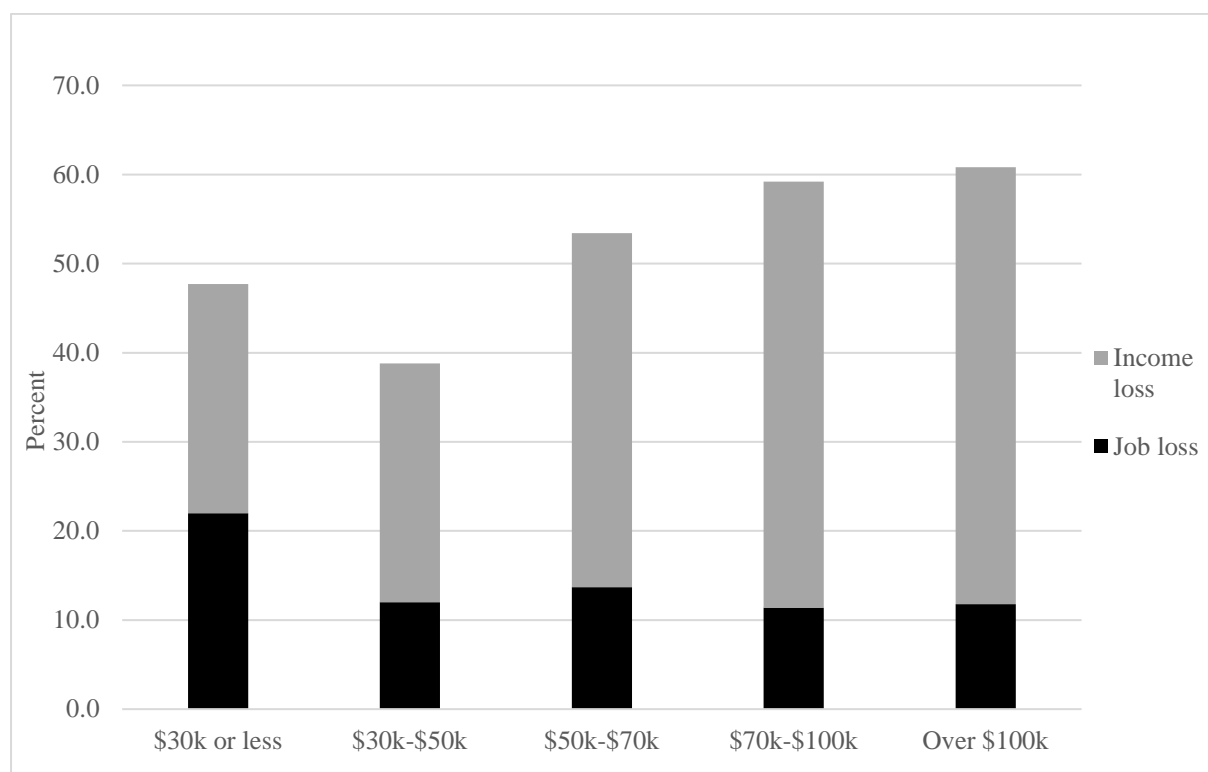
Household-level economic impact

The negative economic impact of the lockdown was more widely spread when viewed from a household perspective (Figure 1.6). Forty-four percent of respondents—nearly half—lived in a household where at least one adult had experienced job and/or income loss. One in eight households (13%) included at least one adult who had lost employment during the lockdown and in 39% of households at least one person had lost part or all of their income. In 4.5% of households, two or more adults had lost their jobs.

Again, households where the respondent worked in Manufacturing, Construction, or Retail, Wholesale and Transport were the hardest hit, with two-thirds of workers in these sectors experiencing an economic loss. Households where the respondent was aged under 25 also experienced greater negative economic impacts. Higher-income homes (52% among those earning over \$100,000pa) were more likely to report at least one adult in their home had experienced job or income loss, compared to homes with lower incomes (e.g., 33% among homes living on less than \$30,000pa). This result is driven by higher rates of income loss, not job loss, with the trend switched for lower-income households (i.e., lower-income households' overall economic loss was driven more by job loss, rather than by declines in

wages). The lower rates of economic loss among low-income households are partially a function of higher levels of unemployment and non-work to begin with.

Figure 1.6. Household-level economic loss during lockdown by household income



Among respondents who were partnered, 8% reported that at least one of the couple had lost a job and in 1% of cases both had lost their jobs.⁸ In more than one third of partnered families (34%), at least one experienced an income decline. Thirteen percent experienced both partners losing income. The combined effect of these impacts was that 39% of couples experienced an economic loss, jumping to 46% when the experiences of other adults living in those homes was included. This impact was higher for couples with dependent children aged 18 years and under (51%) than for couples with no dependent children living with them (44%). One quarter of sole parents with dependent children experienced an economic loss, with that increasing to 42% of single parents experiencing a household-level economic loss once taking into consideration the economic losses of other (non-partner) adults in the home.

⁸ Table 1.3 in the data appendix displays full results.

Material hardship and economic loss

Overall, during lockdown 8% of respondents reported not having enough or only just enough money to meet their everyday needs, such as rent and food, in the past two weeks. Low-income families (\$30,000pa or less) (16%) and sole parents (20%) were most likely to report material hardship, whereas high-income families (over \$100,000pa) (4.5%), respondents with partners but no dependent children (6%), and those aged 65 years and older (1.7%) were least likely.

Understandably, economic loss was associated with material hardship. Close to one quarter (24%) of those who experienced job loss said they did not have enough or only just enough money to meet their everyday needs, in the past two weeks. This was around 13% for those who remained employed but experienced a drop in income. Just 5% of respondents living in households where no adults experienced job or income loss reported material hardship.

Summary

Those employed prior to lockdown had a range of work experiences during lockdown, with one third of those who were employed working as essential workers, a further third working from home, and 28% remaining employed but unable to work—presumably many supported in part by the government Covid-19 wage subsidy scheme. Seven percent of those employed prior to lockdown, however, lost their jobs, with those workers in retail and transportation industries most affected. Those with higher incomes and education were least likely to experience job loss. Among those who remained employed, 28% reported an income loss, through wage or hours reductions. In total, 44% of respondents lived in a household where at least one adult experienced either job or income loss.

Section 2: Work status, job and economic loss, and individual wellbeing

Section 1 highlighted a range of work experiences during lockdown, and highlighted also that job and income loss were common experiences. Although job and income losses were shared across many sociodemographic groups, some were disproportionately affected.

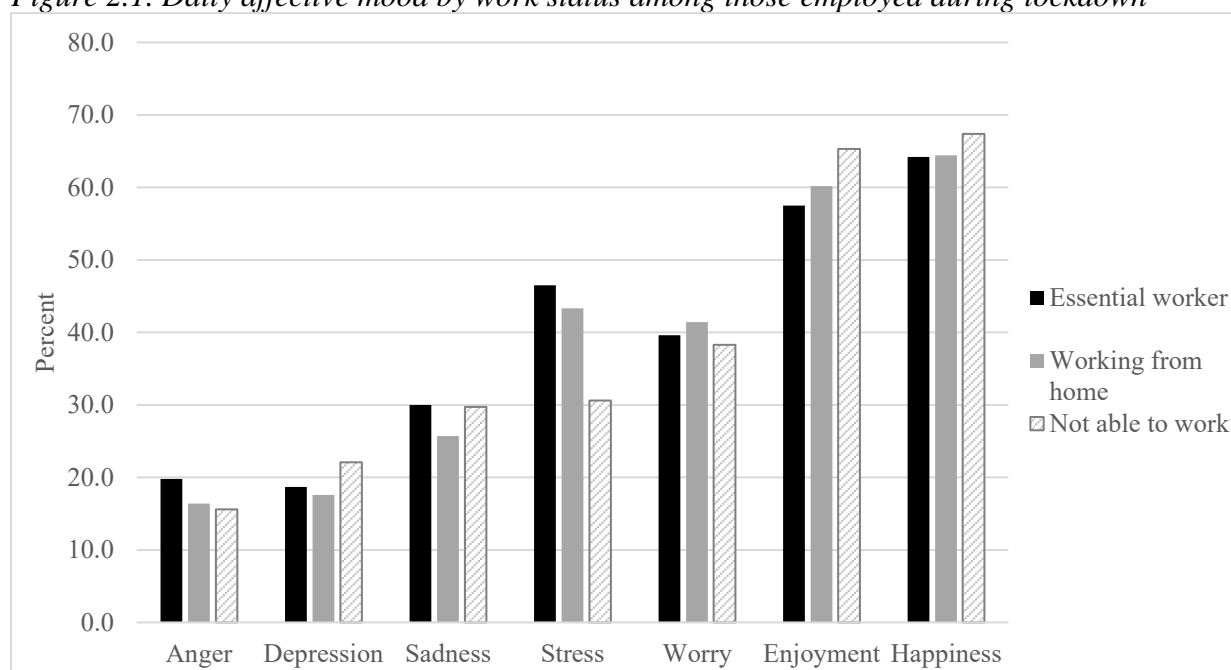
This section examines socio-emotional and psychological wellbeing among workers across their different work experiences during lockdown, and the impact of job and income loss. Although we do not have survey data on socio-emotional wellbeing *prior* to lockdown, as it was not considered feasible to retrospectively ask these questions, we can compare wellbeing between those who did and did not experience job or income loss, for example, and examine how any potential economic loss-related wellbeing gaps differ across key sociodemographic groups. Although job and income losses were shared widely, the impact of job loss on wellbeing may differ between groups. Examining these wellbeing gaps points to those who may have been disproportionately affected by experiences of job and income loss during lockdown.

Work status and wellbeing

Figure 2.1 shows affective daily mood among groups of workers who remained employed during lockdown.⁹ Consistent with the Gallup Experience Indices, daily mood was assessed by asking respondents “did you experience [emotion] during a lot of the day yesterday?” Essential workers were modestly more likely to report experiencing anger (20%) and stress (47%) for much of the day compared to those able to work from home (16% and 43%, respectively) and those employed but unable to work (16% and 31%, respectively). Those employed but unable to work from home were more likely to experience enjoyment through the day (65% vs. 58% among essential workers and 60% among those working from home). Those able to work from home were less likely to report feeling lonely (7%, vs. around 11% of among all respondents and other workers) and feeling sad (26% vs. 30% among essential workers and those not able to work). There were no statistical differences among workers in terms of their feelings of happiness.

⁹ Table 2.1 in the data appendix displays full results.

Figure 2.1. Daily affective mood by work status among those employed during lockdown



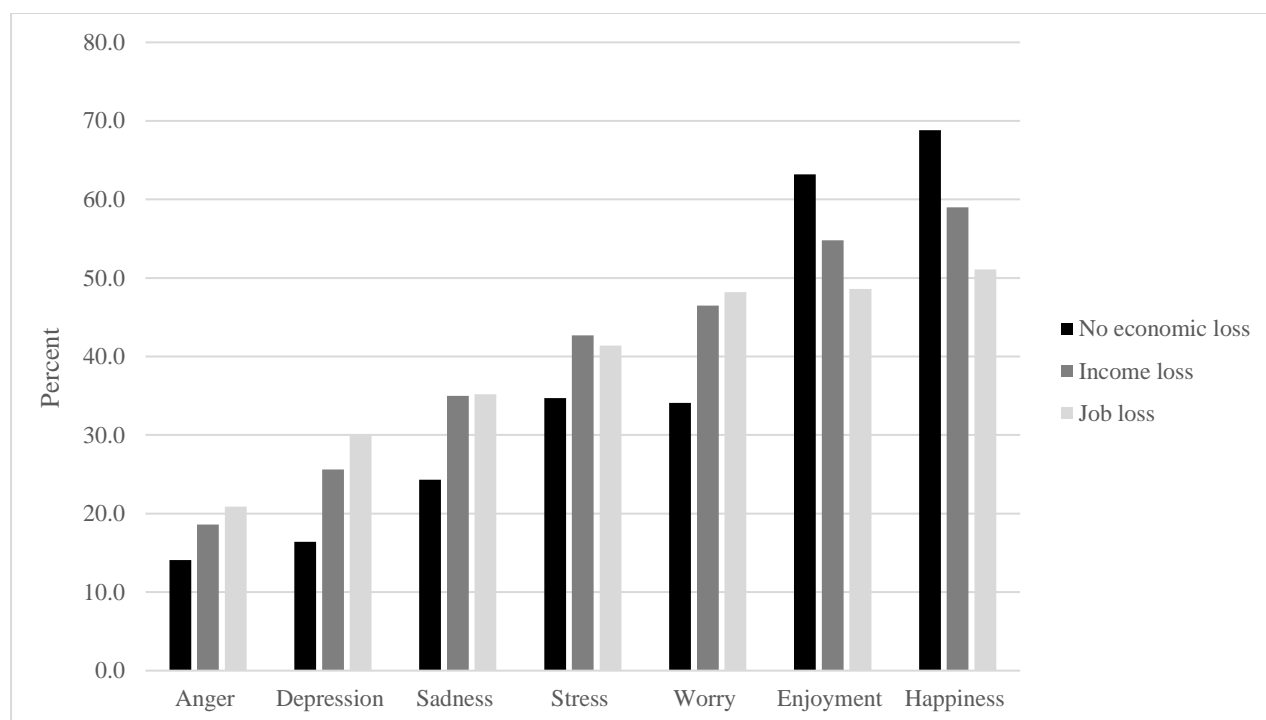
Individual job and income loss and wellbeing

Figure 2.2 compared affective daily mood between those who did and did not experience job loss and/or income loss during lockdown.¹⁰ Overall, people who experienced job or income loss during lockdown reported more negative emotions and fewer positive emotions than those who did not. For example, 30% of respondents who lost their job during lockdown reported being depressed “a lot” of the day, compared to 26% of those who experienced income loss but no job loss, and 14% of respondents who did not experience job or income loss. As another example, just over half (51%) of those who lost their jobs experienced happiness a lot during the prior day compared to 59% who experienced income loss but no job loss, and over two-thirds (69%) of those who did not experience job or income loss.

Overall, patterns suggest that those experiencing economic loss were more likely to report negative affect and less likely to report positive affect. While income decline matters for wellbeing, job loss may be a particularly acute shock to experience.

Figure 2.2. Daily affective mood by job and income loss during lockdown

¹⁰ Table 2.2 in the data appendix displays full results.



These differences were also evident when examining loneliness and help-seeking behaviour. Those who experienced job loss during lockdown were substantially more likely to report feeling lonely most or all of the time during the past month (19%), compared to 13% of those experiencing income loss only, and 9% of those who experienced no economic loss. In line with this finding, those experiencing job loss were also more likely to report that if they were feeling down or depressed they would find it hard to talk to someone (27% vs. 17% of those who reported income loss only and 13% of with no economic loss). Taken together, those who experienced job or income loss during lockdown had lower levels of wellbeing during this time *and* would also be less likely to find it easy to reach out to someone to talk about it.

Household-level job and income loss and individual wellbeing

Job or income loss has the potential to spill over to affect the wellbeing of other household members. We find a similar pattern in terms of both the pattern of results and the size of the wellbeing gap, providing support for the notion of a household economic impact on wellbeing.¹¹

¹¹ Table 2.2 in the data appendix displays full results.

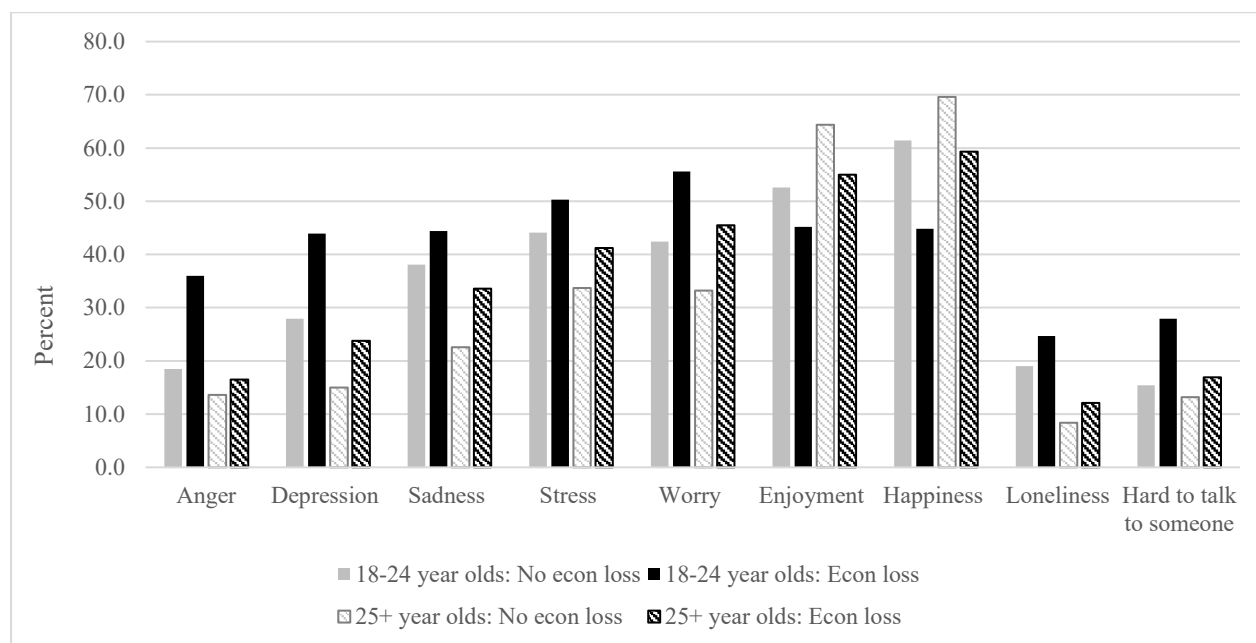
Sociodemographic disparities between economic loss and individual wellbeing

There were several key findings in terms of the disproportionate impact of economic loss among specific sociodemographic groups.¹² We focus on economic loss generally (i.e., combining those who experienced job loss and/or income loss), due to small cell sizes when examining within sociodemographic groups. We note, however, that, based on the findings documenting the association between job and income loss and wellbeing above, the results examining economic loss presented here may be more conservative than if we were able to examine job loss alone.

Figure 2.3 shows personal wellbeing among young people (18-24 year olds) compared to middle-aged and older people (25 years and older). Young people, regardless of economic loss during lockdown, experienced more negative feelings (e.g., anger, depression, stress) during the day and less positive ones (i.e., happiness, enjoyment) compared with older age groups. Moreover, the wellbeing gap between those who experienced economic loss and those who did not during lockdown was wider among young people than older age groups. For example, 36% of young people who experienced economic loss reported feeling anger a lot during the day compared to 19% of those young people who did not report economic loss—a 17% difference. When examining those aged 25 years or older, however, that gap narrows: just 17% of middle-aged and older people who experienced economic loss reported feeling angry, compared to 14% of those who did not experience economic loss.

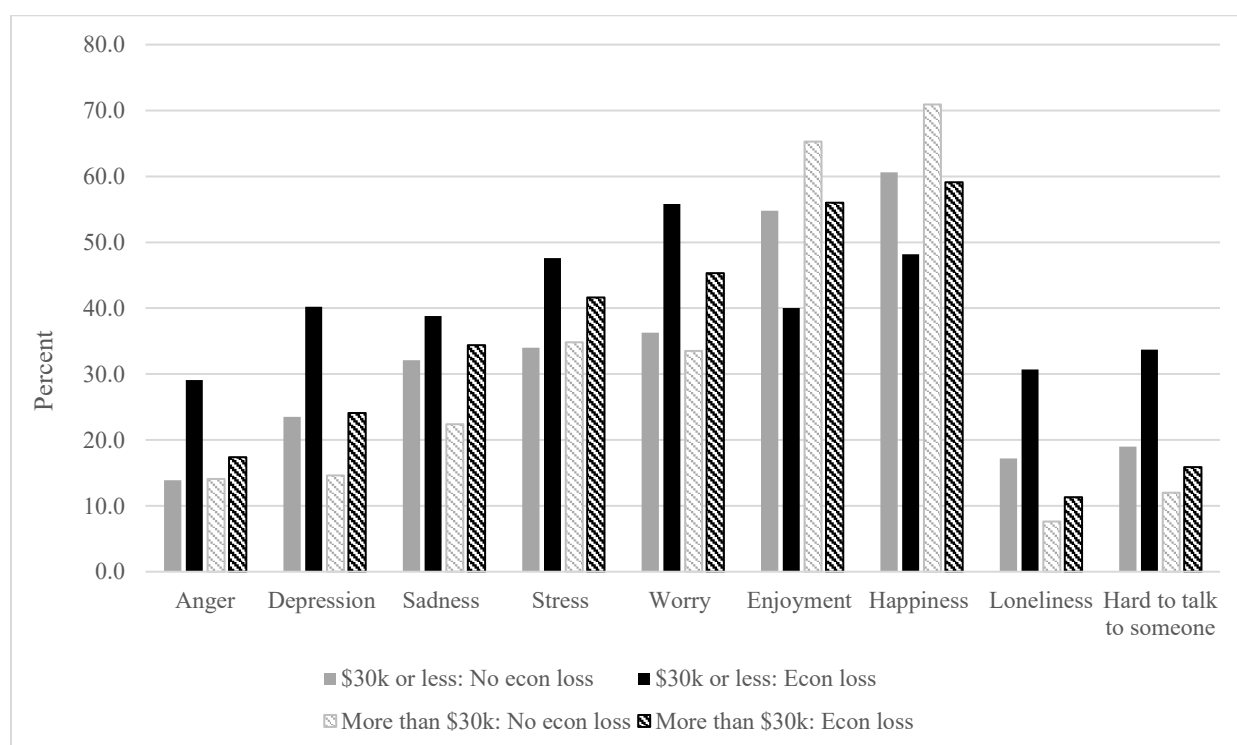
¹² Table 2.3 in the data appendix displays full results.

Figure 2.3. Individual wellbeing by economic loss experience by age group



A similar wellbeing gap is found across income levels (Figure 2.4). The gap between those who experienced individual economic loss and those who did not was wider among those in low-income households (\$30,000pa or less) compared to those in middle- and higher-income households (households over \$30,000pa). This finding held across all individual wellbeing indicators except for sadness (where the gap was wider for higher-income households) and happiness (no difference).

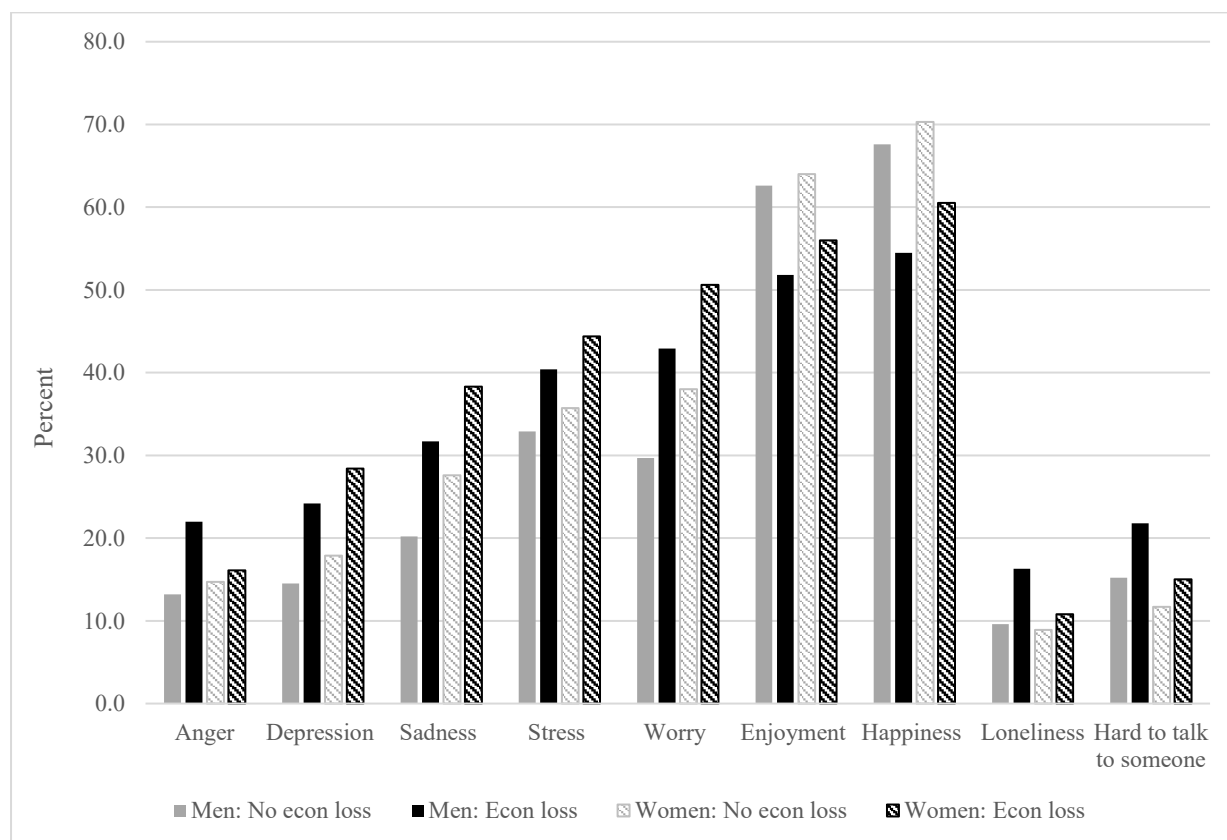
Figure 2.4. Individual wellbeing by economic loss experience by household income



Finally, the economic loss-related wellbeing gap was bigger for men than women (Figure 2.5). This finding is in line with a body of literature showing the disproportionate negative effects of job loss for men. The wellbeing gap was larger among men than women for feelings of anger (9% gap between men who experienced economic loss during lockdown vs. men who did not, compared to a 1% gap among women), feelings of loneliness (7% gap for men vs. 2% gap for women), and finding it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed (7% gap for men vs. 2% gap for women).

The gender story was reversed, however, when examining household-level economic loss. Household economic loss was associated with wider wellbeing gaps among women, likely reflecting the effect of their partners' economic loss on their wellbeing. For example, the gap in feeling worried between women in households who experienced economic loss and those who did not was 18%, compared to 10% for men. This pattern was similar for feelings of depression, sadness, and enjoyment.

Figure 2.5. Individual wellbeing by economic loss experience by gender



Summary

The work situation of those who remained employed was differentially associated with wellbeing during lockdown. Essential workers were somewhat more likely to report feelings of anger and stress compared to those who remained employed but were unable to work and, to a lesser extent, those who were able to work from home.

Job and income loss were associated with greater anger, depression, stress, worry, and loneliness, and lower happiness. There was a disproportionate wellbeing gap among groups that were already disadvantaged in terms of their existing lower levels of wellbeing and their socioeconomic profile, in the case of young people and low-income households.

Section 3: Work status, job and income loss, and family wellbeing

The lockdown confined people to only directly interacting with others in their ‘bubbles,’ most often exclusively those they lived with. These restrictions may have placed strain on family relationships and roles. On the other hand, it also afforded many families the opportunity to share time away from the hectic pace of their regular schedules. In this section, we examine whether lockdown was associated with changes in different elements of family wellbeing—such as couple conflict and parenting—and whether specific stressors, such as job and income loss, and child care intensity (measured by age of the children in the home), heightened family stress. Change from before to during lockdown was measured by asking people about their family wellbeing currently (i.e., during lockdown) and retrospectively, thinking back to prior to lockdown.

Family wellbeing during lockdown

In total, respondents reported little change in family wellbeing between pre-lockdown and lockdown. This conclusion applies to a global measure on their relationship with their family,¹³ validated measures of couple conflict (e.g., reports of changes in arguing) and supportiveness (e.g., reports of changes in partner expressing love, feeling understood, being fair) for those living with their partners, and a validated measure of parental role satisfaction (e.g., satisfaction with themselves as parent, with their relationship with their children, with their children’s behaviour) among those with dependent children in the household. There were no differences by gender. Family and couple functioning, contrary to fears expressed by some before and during lockdown, was remarkably robust in the face of the Covid-19 epidemic and the lockdown shock.

Job loss and couple supportiveness

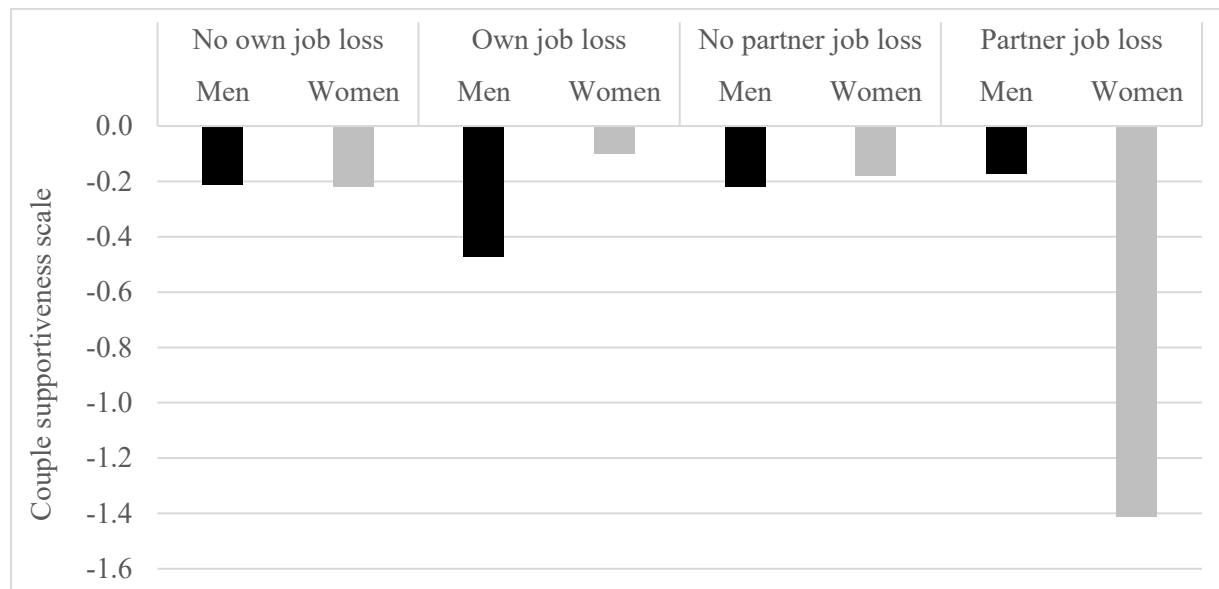
Some changes do emerge, however, when examining work status and job loss by gender (Figure 3.1). Although partnered women who lost their job did not report a decline in couple supportiveness, women whose partners’ lost their jobs during lockdown reported large declines in couple supportiveness, shifting 1.40 scale points down (a large effect size).¹⁴ On the flipside, partnered men who lost their jobs during lockdown reported a moderate -0.47

¹³ Respondents were asked, “On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is poor and 10 is excellent, in general how was your relationship with your family before lockdown?” and “how is your relationship with your family now?”

¹⁴ Cohen classified effect sizes as small (around 0.20), medium (around 0.50), and large (over 0.80). We use this terminology below. See Cohen, J. (1969). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. New York: Academic Press.

scale point decline in couple supportiveness (34% of a standard deviation). Partners' job loss did not appear to affect men's reports of couple supportiveness.

Figure 3.1. Couple supportiveness by own and partner job loss, and gender

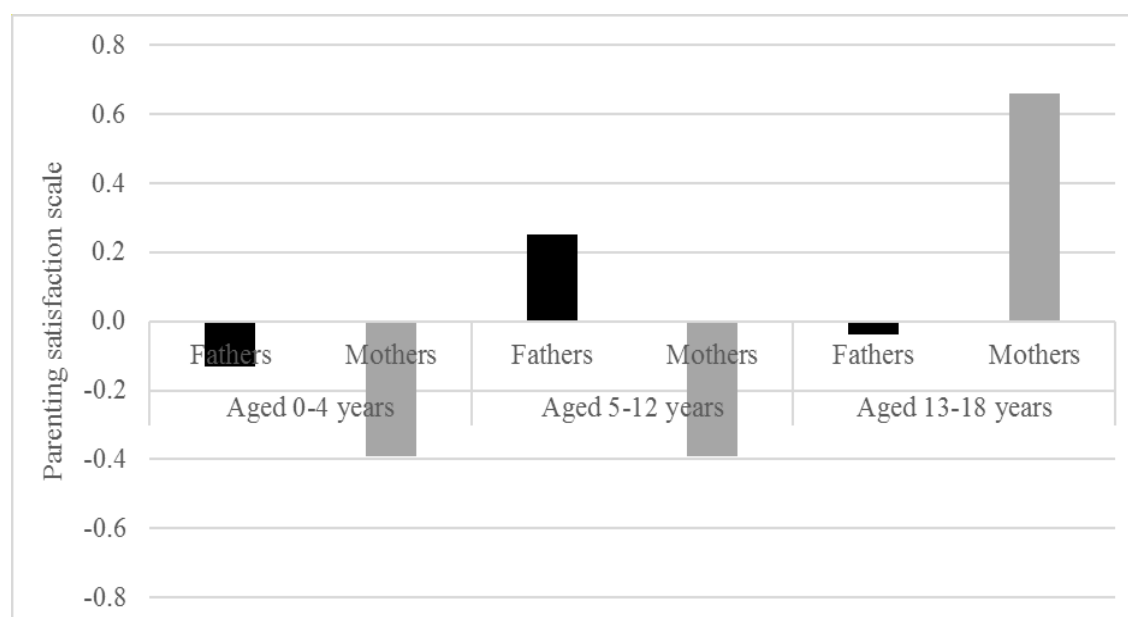


Parental role satisfaction and the age of children

Although there were no differences overall between men and women in reports of how lockdown affected their parenting, some small differences emerged when examining parental satisfaction by the age of their children (Figure 3.2). Mothers of young children on average reported a slight decline in parental role satisfaction during lockdown, reporting a small -0.40 scale point decline (14% of a standard deviation). This decline was primarily driven by changes in their satisfaction with their children's behaviour and with themselves as a parent, not in satisfaction in their relationship with their children. On the other hand, mothers of teenagers reported a moderate increase in their parental role satisfaction during lockdown, shifting up 0.70 scale points (24% of a standard deviation). This pattern was in equal parts driven by satisfaction with their children's behaviour, themselves as a parent, and their relationship with their children.

Fathers reported little change in parental role satisfaction during lockdown, regardless of the age of their children.

Figure 3.2. Change in parental satisfaction from prior to during lockdown by age of youngest child



Summary

In aggregate, there was little change in family wellbeing, in terms of couple supportiveness and conflict and parental role satisfaction, from prior to during lockdown. Some small changes did emerge amongst those experiencing job loss and women with greater parenting demands. For example, men who lost jobs during lockdown, on average, reported declines in their feelings of support from their partners, whereas women who lost jobs reported no such decline. On the flipside, however, women whose partners lost their jobs during lockdown reported declines in feeling supported by their partners, whereas there was no change among men whose partners lost their jobs.

Mothers and fathers reported no change, on average, in their parental role satisfaction from pre-lockdown to during lockdown. Examining these patterns by the age of the youngest child in the home, however, revealed that mothers of young children (aged 0-4 years old) reported a small decline in parental satisfaction. Mothers of teenagers also reported a moderate increase in their parental role satisfaction.

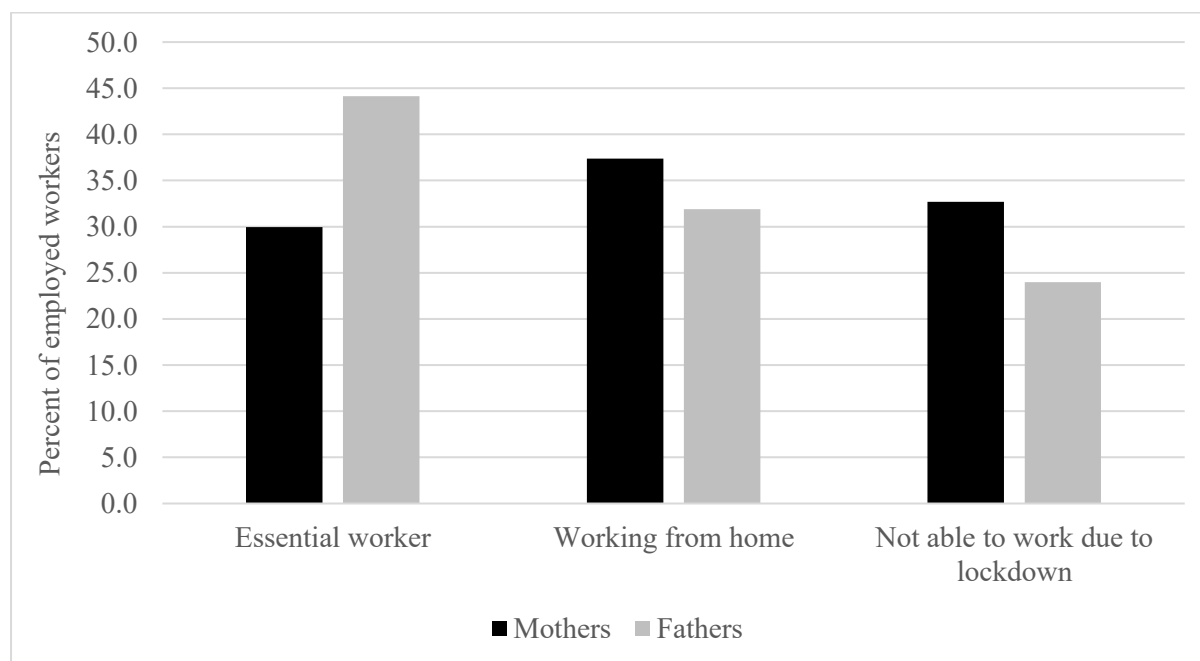
Section 4: Work-family conflict and family wellbeing among families with children

The lockdown posed a unique set of challenges for parents in paid work with dependent children. During lockdown, schools and most early childcare facilities closed. At the same time, essential workers and those with jobs who could work from home did so without the childcare support they may have relied on. For those with school-aged children, this might have also involved leading or monitoring educational activities in the week of lockdown examined. In this section, we consider how work and family time demands changed for parents who were able to continue to work during lockdown, whether parents were experiencing work demands interfering with family responsibilities and vice versa (“cross-domain conflict” below), and whether this conflict was associated with parental and family wellbeing.

Work demands and parent gender

Figure 4.1 shows the work status of parents employed during lockdown (excluding those on parental leave or other long-term leave). Of those employed, fathers were more likely than mothers to be essential workers (44% vs. 30%, respectively), while a greater proportion of employed mothers were working from home (37% vs. 32%) or remained employed but were not working from home (33% vs. 24%). Overall, then, employed mothers were more likely to be at home during lockdown, but also more likely to continue to work from home compared with fathers.

Figure 4.1. Work status of employed parents with dependent children in the home



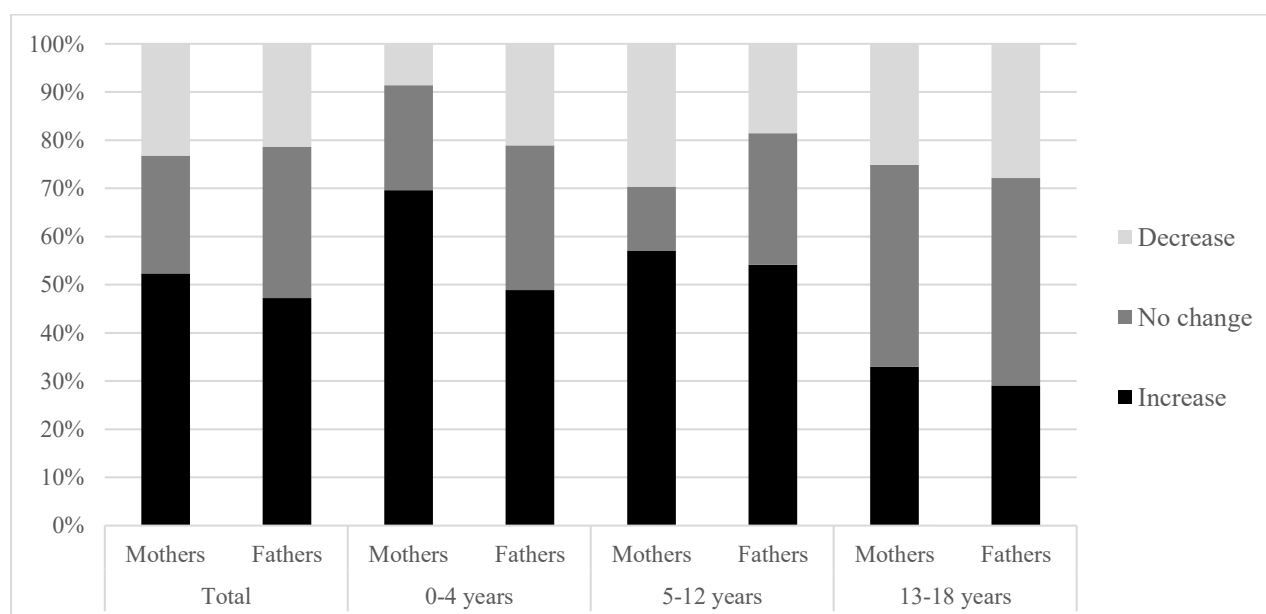
Parents who were essential workers or could work from home (hereafter, working parents) reported an increase in family and personal life time demands in lockdown, a slightly under medium sized effect (0.42 or a 38% standard deviation increase).¹⁵ Workers without dependent children in the home, however, experienced no statistical change in family and personal life time demands.

Despite an increase in family demands for parents, there was no difference among parents and non-parents in terms of changes in their work demands during lockdown, with work demands for those who could work remaining consistent during lockdown.

Family demands, parent gender, and age of children

Among working parents, mothers were slightly more likely to report an increase in family demands than fathers (52% vs. 47%, respectively).¹⁶ This gender gap, however, was wider when children were younger (Figure 4.2). Seventy percent of working mothers with young children (aged 0-4 years) reported an increase in family demands compared to 49% of working fathers—a 21% gap. The gap narrowed to just 3% among parents whose youngest child was aged between 5-12 years (57% vs. 54% among mothers and fathers, respectively) and teenagers (33% vs. 30%).

Figure 4.2. Change in family time demands during lockdown among working parents



¹⁵ The family and personal life-time demands question asked respondents whether their time outside of paid work during lockdown changed along a scale ranging from -2 (greatly decreased) through 2 (greatly increased).

¹⁶ Table 4.1 in the data appendix displays full results.

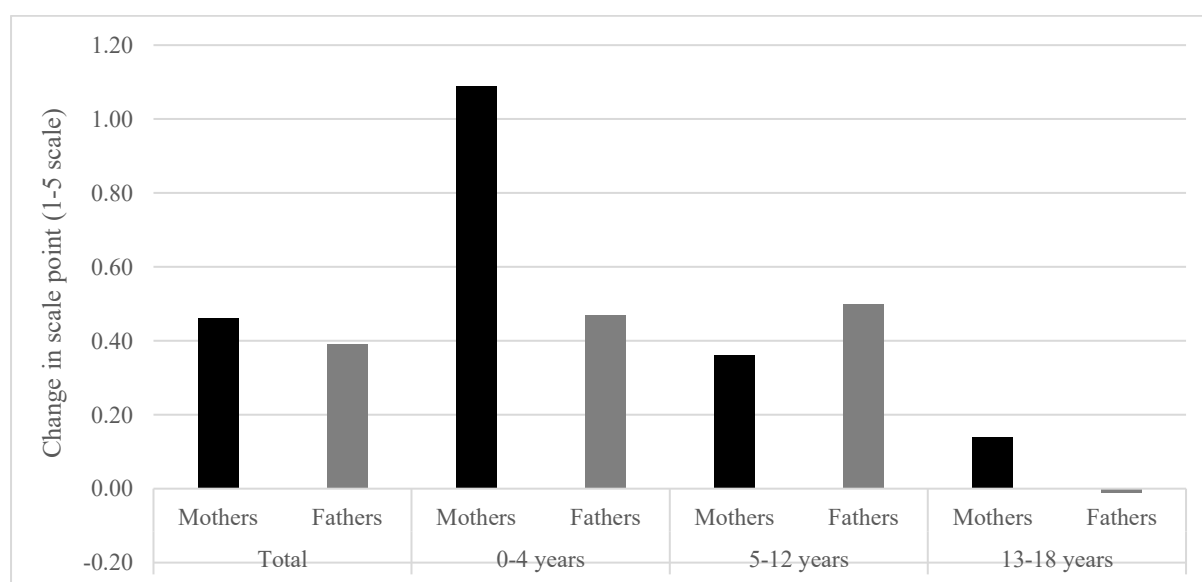
Working mothers of young children were not only more likely to report an increase in family demands during lockdown, but the intensity of the increase was larger (Figure 4.3).¹⁷

Working mothers with young children (0-4 years old) had a large increase in family demands, increasing by 1.09, on average, on a 5-point scale (87% of a standard deviation increase).

There was an age-graded pattern, whereby mothers whose youngest child was aged between 5-12 years (school-aged) experienced a small-sized 0.36 scale increase (28% standard deviation increase), followed by those whose youngest child was aged between 13-18 years (college aged), whose family demands increased by 0.14 scale points (a less than small effect size).

Working fathers with young children experienced a smaller increase of 0.47 (a 38% standard deviation increase) compared to working mothers of young children. Fathers whose youngest child was aged 5-12 years reported a statistically similar increase in family demands to fathers with young children, as well as to their female counterparts whose youngest child was aged 5-12 years. Unlike working mothers, however, working fathers whose youngest children were teenagers reported no statistical increase in family demands.

Figure 4.3. Intensity change in family time demands during lockdown among working parents



Despite single mothers not having a partner in the home to help, there were no statistical differences among single and partnered working mothers in their reports of changes in family

¹⁷ Table 4.2 in the data appendix displays full results.

and work demands during lockdown, with both groups reporting increases in family demands and no change in work demands.

Work-family conflict among working parents

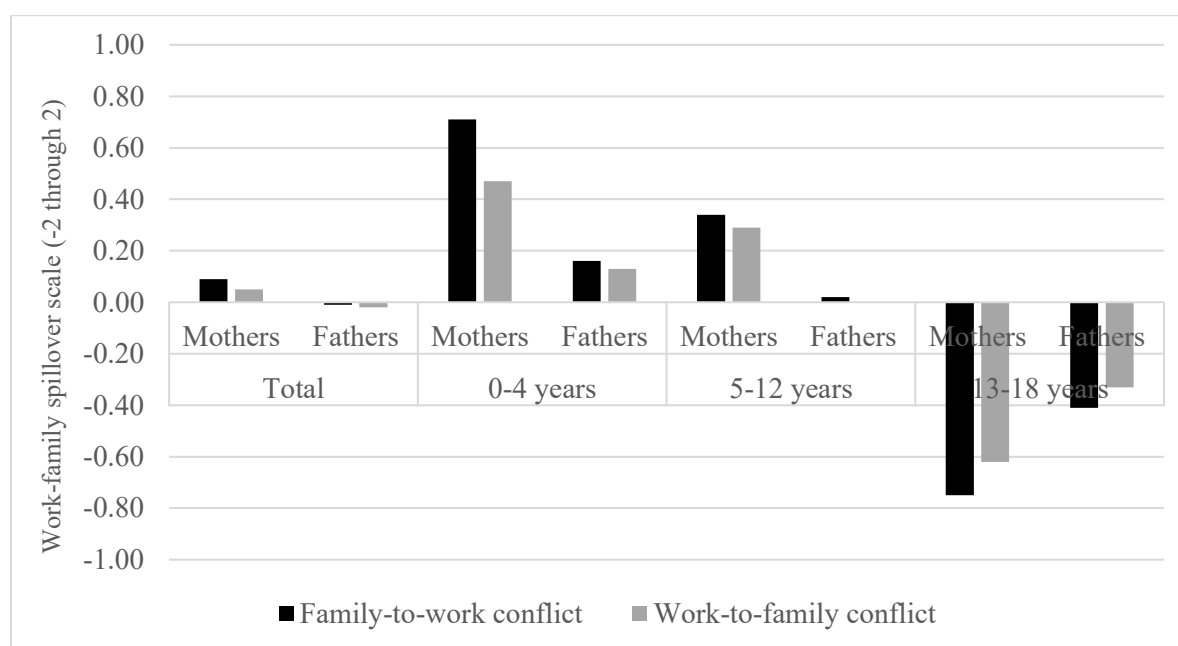
Although both working fathers and mothers reported increases in family time demands, only working mothers of young and primary-school aged children were, on average, more likely to report that their family demands during lockdown interfered with their job demands (i.e., family-to-work conflict) (Figure 4.4).¹⁸ This finding was driven by mothers with young children (0.71 scale point, 61% of a standard deviation) and, to a lesser extent, primary-school aged children (0.34 scale point, 30% of standard deviation).

In fact, working mothers of teenagers (youngest child aged 13-18 years) were less likely than mothers of younger children to agree with the statement that their family demands interfered with their job demands.

This pattern of results was similar for work-to-family conflict. Effect sizes, however, were smaller. This is consistent with the findings that family time demands increased whereas work time demands remained consistent during lockdown.

¹⁸ Respondents were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following two statements on work-family spillover: 1) “the demands of my family and personal life during lockdown interfere with my ability to meet the demands of my job” (family-to-work conflict); and, 2) “the demands of my job during lockdown interfere with my ability to meet the demands of my family and personal life” (work-to-family demands). The response scale ranged from -2 (strongly disagree) through 2 (strongly agree).

Figure 4.4. Work-family spillover during lockdown among working parents



The absence of work-family conflict among fathers, generally, and mothers with teenagers, specifically, despite increases in family demands, may be partially driven by lower levels of family time demands prior to lockdown, with time use research highlighting that men and parents with only older children spend less time with children.

Work-family conflict and individual wellbeing

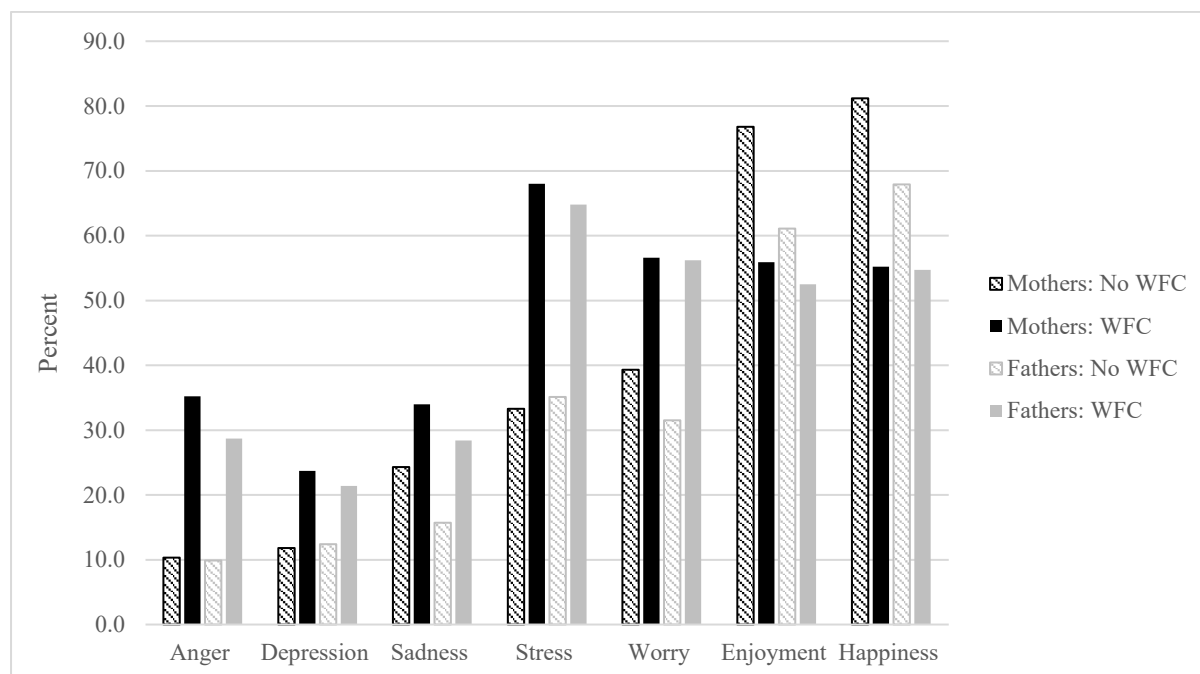
Overall, 49% of working mothers and 42% of working fathers reported that job demands and family responsibilities conflicted during lockdown.¹⁹ Across all wellbeing indicators, those experiencing work-family conflict during lockdown reported more negative affect (e.g., anger, stress, anxiety) and less positive affect (i.e., enjoyment, happiness) (Figure 4.5). For example, 35% of mothers and 29% fathers who experienced work-family conflict reported feeling angry much of the day compared to 10% among parents who did not report work-family conflict. As another, 55% of parents who experienced work-family conflict reported feeling happiness much of the day compared to 81% of mothers and 68% of fathers who did not report work-family conflict.

The wellbeing gap among working parents experiencing work-family conflict and those who did not was wider for mothers compared to fathers for positive emotions and feelings of

¹⁹ Table 4.3 in the data appendix displays full results.

anger and stress, whereas the work-family conflict gap for was only wider among men for feelings of worry

Figure 4.5. Work-family conflict and individual wellbeing during lockdown among working parents



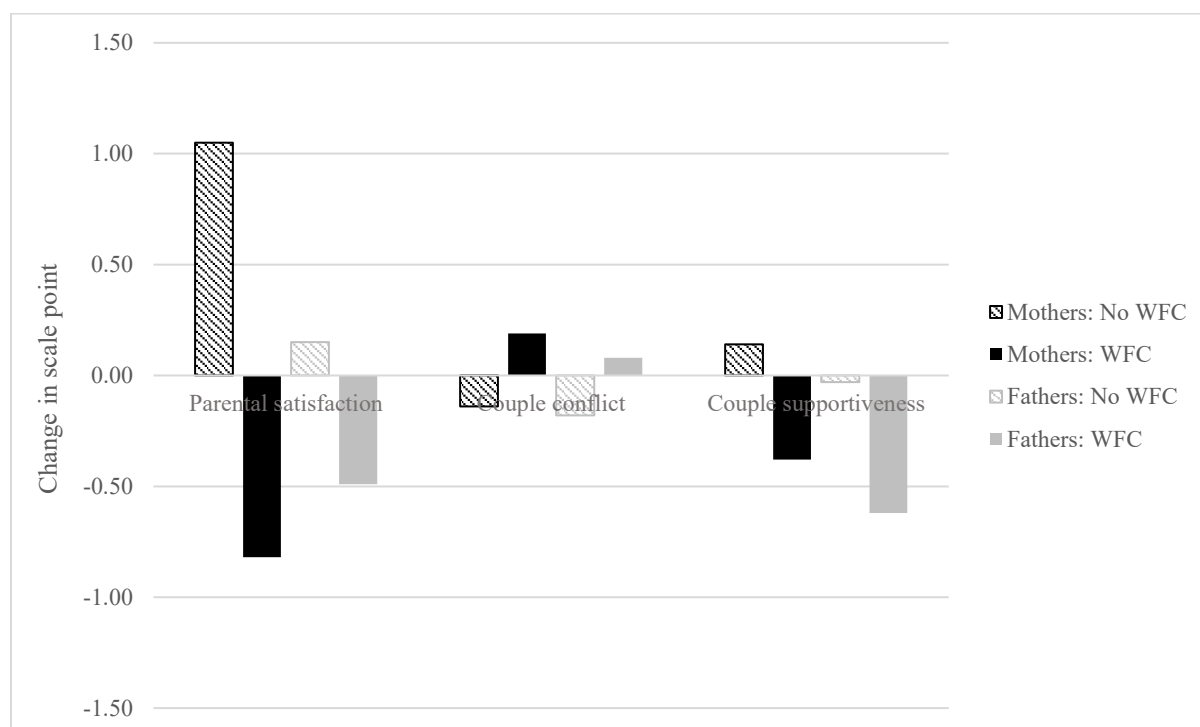
Work-family conflict and family relationships

Examining the wellbeing gap in family relationships reveals that working mothers and fathers who experienced work-family conflict during lockdown reported increasing conflict with and declining supportiveness from their partners after moving into lockdown (Figure 4.6). The work-family conflict wellbeing gap in partner supportiveness was a third of standard deviation difference for fathers and 40% of a standard deviation for mothers (for a gap of 0.59 and 0.52 for fathers and mothers, respectively)—a small to medium effect size. The effect sizes were smaller for couple conflict (26% and 21% of a standard deviation for working mothers and fathers, respectively).

On average, parents experiencing work-family conflict were more likely to report a decline in their satisfaction with their parental role during lockdown, compared to an increase in parental satisfaction during lockdown among parents not experiencing work-family conflict. This gap was wider among working mothers. Those mothers not experiencing work-family conflict reported a 1.1 scale score increase (36% of a standard deviation) in parental role satisfaction—a small-moderate effect size, compared with a 0.82 decline (28% of a standard

deviation) in parental role satisfaction among those reporting work-family conflict. Overall, this was a wellbeing gap of 1.9—a medium to large effect. As noted, a similar but weaker pattern was observed for working fathers, with a parental role satisfaction gap of 0.6 scale points, one third of that observed among women.

Figure 4.6. Work-family conflict and change in family wellbeing during lockdown among working parents



Summary

Parents who could continue to work during lockdown—either as essential workers or working from home—experienced significant increases in family time demands, yet still reported the same job demands compared to prior to lockdown. The family demands were particularly acute for parents of young children generally and mothers specifically. This gender gap may be explained, in part, by differences in work status. Fathers were more likely to be essential workers and hence not present to help with childcare. On the other hand, mothers were more likely to be able to work from home or were not able to work at home or the workplace and could pick up childcare responsibilities. In turn, mothers who could continue to work during lockdown were more likely than fathers in a similar position to report that their family demands interfered with their ability to meet their job responsibilities, with this gap wider among mothers and fathers with young children.

Working parents who reported work-family conflict reported lower wellbeing than those who did not report work-family conflict. Mothers, for the most part, reported a larger wellbeing gap than fathers. Partnered mothers and fathers who experienced work-family conflict during lockdown reported a decline in partner supportiveness and an increase in partner conflict, where those who did not report work-family conflict reported either an improvement or no change in their relationship with their partner. Both mothers and fathers reporting work-family conflict experienced a decline in their satisfaction with their parental role. The gap in parental satisfaction between those who did and did not report work-family conflict, however, was three times larger among mothers compared to fathers.

Conclusion

The global threat of Covid-19 at the time of writing still remains. Many are forecasting that Covid-19 will continue to be transmitted throughout the world into the foreseeable future and until a vaccine is developed. While public health concerns have necessarily and primarily guided the ways in which commerce is conducted and society is allowed to interact, the outcomes of these restrictions have implications for economic and social wellbeing that are not equally experienced.

In terms of the economic toll, our findings show that close to half (44%) of New Zealanders lived in a household where they or another adult experienced an economic loss during lockdown—either through job loss or declines in income. In turn, these economic shocks were associated with lower socio-emotional wellbeing and impacted on people's relationships.

Despite this turmoil, families appeared to weather the storm quite well. With the closure of schools and early childcare centres, families with children had more time together which, for the most part, did not impact family relationships and in some instances, improved those relationships (e.g., among mothers of teenagers). On the other hand, balancing work and childcare demands took a toll on some parents. Increases in family responsibilities and the ensuing work-family conflict was associated with declines in socioemotional wellbeing, couple supportiveness, and parental role satisfaction. This was particularly so for mothers, generally, and mothers with young children more acutely.

Although New Zealanders reported an overwhelming acceptance of and compliance with the unprecedented public health measures,²⁰ the descriptive findings of this study shed light on the unequal wellbeing burden of lockdown, in terms of job and income loss and parental time crunch. At the same time, these findings highlight that, overall, New Zealanders appeared resilient in the face of this public health crisis three weeks into an unprecedented lockdown. This study identified key groups who faced significant hardship. It will be important for future research to identify whether these effects are long-lasting, and if so, appropriate policy tools aimed at alleviating these effects should be prioritised during the recovery.

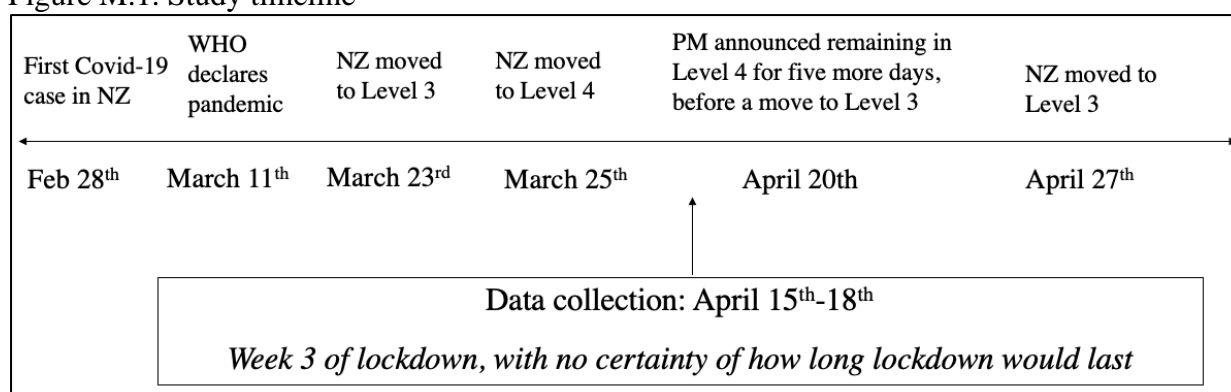
²⁰ Colmar Brunton (2020). COVID Times: Education 3: Backing New Zealand. Accessed June 12th, 2020: <https://static.colmarbrunton.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/COVID-Times-24-April-2020.pdf>

Methodological Appendix

On March 25th, New Zealand transitioned to an Alert Level 4 lockdown. Just over a week later, on April 3rd, the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies and the Roy McKenzie Centre for the Study of Families and Children made a decision to conduct a survey of wellbeing, family functioning, and labour market outcomes during and after the lockdown. We recognised the lack of information in these three specified areas in terms of official statistics, and also the lag between official statistics and policy making, seeking to address those issues with our survey. The following week of April 6th through 10th, a small team from the Institute and the Centre rapidly pulled together a survey questionnaire. The survey went into the field the following week, with responses collected between Wednesday April 15th and Saturday April 18th—the third week of lockdown. Level 4 lockdown ended on Monday April 27. Figure M.1 presents the chronological order of events related to New Zealand’s early experience of the Covid-19 pandemic and the study’s timeline.

The third week of lockdown—the week when our survey data were collected—represented a particularly salient period of the Alert Level 4 lockdown. Resources may have been running low for some families and the novelty of staying home wearing thin. For those with school-aged children, school holidays were over and home schooling and remote learning had begun. Moreover, there still was no government announcement on how long lockdown would end and how might social restrictions change should there be a change in alert levels. In short, we would expect this to have been more challenging and uncertain time.

Figure M.1. Study timeline



Survey instruments were designed by the research team members from the Institute for Governance and Policy Studies and the Roy McKenzie Centre for the Study of Families and Children, Awhi Rito. Survey questions contained a mixture of purpose built measures (e.g., questions to reflect the lockdown situation, such as terms like ‘essential worker’ to understand work situations) and survey constructs that have been used in other surveys or in clinical settings that have been scientifically tested, such as some of the individual and family wellbeing measures. Other survey questions were edited to ask retrospective questions (i.e., “thinking back to just prior to lockdown”) in order to measure pre- to during-lockdown change.

Data

The survey was a web-based survey administered by Colmar Brunton. Colmar Brunton recruits respondents through the Fly Buys Loyalty programme. Fly Buys is one of the largest loyalty programmes in New Zealand with over 2.5 million members, representing approximately two thirds of New Zealand adults. Potential participants are reached through email, with a web link to the survey. Quotas were applied at the sample selection stage in order to ensure good representation across sociodemographic groups, such as age, gender, ethnicity, income, and region. Respondents require internet access (either through household internet or cellphone data) in order to participate in the survey.

Sample

The “Life under lockdown” survey has a total of 2,002 respondents. Table M.1 (below) displays a description of the sample.

Analysis

The analyses in this report are statistical univariate and bivariate descriptives. Weights are applied to produce nationally-representative population-level estimates. Analyses were conducted using Stata.

Table M.1. Sample description

	Unweighted <i>n</i>	Unweighted %/M	Weighted n/M
Sex			
Men	839	41.9	50.7
Women	1,156	57.7	48.9
Gender diverse	7	0.4	0.4
Age (years)			
18-24	236	11.8	11.2
25-44	750	37.6	32.2
45-64	717	36.0	38.1
65+ years	291	14.6	18.6
Household income			
\$30,000 or less	323	16.1	18.5
\$30,001-\$50,000	351	17.5	19.7
\$50,001-\$70,000	311	15.5	14.7
\$70,001-\$100,000	413	20.6	18.7
Over \$100,000	604	30.2	28.5
Ethnicity			
European	1,414	70.8	75.3
Māori	273	14.7	13.5
Pacific	175	8.8	6.6
Indian	158	7.9	6.7
Asian	195	9.8	8.8
Education			
Secondary school or less	552	28.2	29.7
Diploma	624	31.8	32.1
Undergraduate degree	423	21.6	20.3
Postgraduate degree	362	18.5	17.9
<i>n</i>	2,002	100.0	100.0

Note. Ethnicity not mutually-exclusive categories. Difference between 2,002 and sum of categories (except for ethnicity) reflects missing data.

Data appendix

Table 1.1. Work status among those employed prior to lockdown

	Employed				Unemployed	
	Essential worker	Working from home	Not working due to lockdown	Not working, not lockdown related	Due to lockdown	Due to other reasons
Total	31.9	32.1	28.0	0.6	6.1	1.2
Sex						
Men	35.3	28.4	29.3	0.0	5.9	1.2
Women	28.3	36.2	26.8	1.3	6.3	1.1
Industry						
Agriculture and mining	66.6	20.1	10.2	0.0	1.9	1.2
Manufacturing and construction	24.9	28.5	39.3	0.0	6.1	1.2
Retail, wholesale, and transport	27.8	13.5	45.3	0.2	12.6	0.5
Education, arts and recreation, and healthcare	35.1	32.2	25.8	0.5	5.1	1.3
Professional, public administration, finance and insurance, information and media, and rental	29.1	50.7	15.1	0.8	2.9	1.4

Table 1.1 continued on next page

Table 1.1 continued

Age (years)							
18-24	29.0	30.1	34.9	0.3	5.6	0.0	
25-44	34.6	32.9	25.4	1.3	5.3	0.5	
45-64	32.5	31.8	27.3	0.1	6.8	1.6	
65+ years	18.1	33.6	36.6	0.0	7.7	4.0	
Household income							
\$30,000 or less	27.2	12.5	36.3	0.0	21.2	2.8	
\$30,001-\$50,000	30.4	19.6	38.0	0.0	9.7	2.2	
\$50,001-\$70,000	31.0	26.5	36.0	0.3	5.9	0.3	
\$70,001-\$100,000	32.9	31.1	29.9	1.2	3.9	0.9	
Over \$100,000	33.5	44.9	17.7	0.7	2.3	0.8	
Ethnicity							
European	30.9	33.1	29.0	0.7	5.4	0.7	
Māori	32.4	26.2	32.3	0.7	6.2	2.1	
Pacific	30.5	26.4	31.9	0.5	6.8	3.8	
Indian	34.6	32.9	24.0	0.0	6.1	2.4	
Asian	33.5	34.1	22.1	0.0	10.3	0.0	
Education							
Secondary school or less	30.8	20.0	42.8	0.3	5.1	1.1	
Diploma	29.9	28.1	33.9	0.3	6.7	1.2	
Undergraduate degree	36.6	39.0	15.8	1.4	6.6	0.6	
Postgraduate degree	30.0	45.7	16.0	0.5	5.9	1.9	

Table 1.1 continued on next page

Table 1.1 continued

Family structure						
Two parents with dependent child(ren)	35.2	32.9	24.9	2.0	4.3	0.6
One parent with dependent child(ren)	31.1	25.7	36.6	0.0	3.8	2.8
Lives alone	39.1	30.1	24.0	0.0	6.1	0.7
Partnered, no dependent child(ren)	30.2	35.3	26.4	0.2	6.3	1.6
Others	24.5	24.2	40.4	0.0	9.6	1.4
<i>n</i>	478	454	414	11	85	14

Note. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %. Respondents aged 18 years and older. Must be employed or unemployed and seeking work. Ethnicity not mutually-exclusive categories. "Not working, not lockdown related" refers to those on long-term unpaid/paid leave, parental leave, etc.

Table 1.2. Job, income, and economic loss during lockdown

	Job loss during lockdown		Income loss during lockdown		Economic loss during lockdown	
	Respondent	Household	Respondent	Household	Respondent	Household
	Weighted %		Weighted %		Weighted %	
Total	5.0	12.7	22.5	38.7	27.5	43.6
Sex						
Men	5.0	14.3	23.9	38.0	28.9	44.5
Women	5.0	11.1	24.4	39.6	26.2	42.9
Age (years)						
18-24	3.9	20.2	26.8	46.4	30.6	57.2
25-44	5.0	13.5	24.8	43.6	29.8	48.9
45-64	6.5	12.7	24.9	43.4	31.4	46.9
65+ years	2.9	6.5	11.0	16.6	13.8	19.7
Industry						
Agriculture	3.0	13.3	28.6	42.1	31.6	48.8
Manufacturing and construction	7.4	13.4	41.7	59.8	49.0	66.7
Retail, wholesale, and transport	13.1	22.3	38.9	59.6	52.0	65.8
Education, arts and recreation, and healthcare	6.4	13.2	24.9	43.6	31.3	49.1
Professional, public administration, finance and insurance, information and media, and rental	4.3	12.8	23.9	44.8	28.2	48.4

Table 1.2 continued on next page

Table 1.2 continued

Household income						
\$30,000 or less	8.9	22.0	12.8	25.7	21.4	33.1
\$30,001-\$50,000	5.8	12.0	16.6	26.8	22.4	31.7
\$50,001-\$70,000	4.8	13.7	29.1	39.7	33.9	46.0
\$70,001-\$100,000	4.2	11.4	28.5	47.8	32.7	51.9
Over \$100,000	3.3	11.8	25.4	49.0	28.3	52.0
Ethnicity						
European	4.1	10.1	22.7	38.8	26.8	42.1
Māori	6.4	17.2	18.7	40.0	25.0	46.1
Pacific	8.9	20.5	28.4	50.0	37.2	59.1
Indian	7.0	20.9	26.5	44.0	33.5	53.6
Asian	8.1	19.7	21.7	37.4	29.9	47.0
Education						
Secondary school or less	3.4	10.8	21.9	33.8	25.3	37.7
Diploma	5.3	11.1	23.6	39.6	28.9	44.4
Undergraduate degree	6.1	14.1	22.3	43.9	28.3	48.5
Postgraduate degree	6.4	15.8	21.6	40.9	28.1	46.8
<i>n</i>	99	289	476	822	575	936

Note. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %s. Income loss refers to those who lost income/wages while remaining employed. Economic loss refers at the individual level refers to those who lost their job and/or experiencing a decline in income.

Table 1.3. Job and income loss during lockdown by family structure

	<i>n</i> unweighted	Job loss during lockdown				
		Respondent	Partner	Either self or partner Weighted %	Both self and partner	Household (all adults)
Job loss						
Two parents with dependent child(ren)	661	4.3	4.4	7.3	1.3	13.0
One parent with dependent child(ren)	95	1.7	.	.	.	9.2
Lives alone	225	4.2	.	.	.	4.2
Partnered, no dependent child(ren)	738	5.3	3.5	7.7	1.1	11.4
Others	283	7.0	.	.	.	25.7
Income loss						
Two parents with dependent child(ren)	661	27.4	29.4	38.6	14.4	46.8
One parent with dependent child(ren)	95	23.2	.	.	.	40.6
Lives alone	225	14.7	.	.	.	14.7
Partnered, no dependent child(ren)	738	22.6	25.3	32.5	13.0	39.3
Others	283	22.8	.	.	.	40.3
Economic loss						
Two parents with dependent child(ren)	661	31.7	30.4	41.7	4.3	50.8
One parent with dependent child(ren)	95	24.9	.	.	.	42.0
Lives alone	225	18.8	.	.	.	18.8
Partnered, no dependent child(ren)	738	27.9	25.8	37.7	2.5	43.7
Others	283	29.8	.	.	.	52.4

Note. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %s. Income loss refers to those who lost income/wages while remaining employed. Economic loss refers at the individual level refers to those who lost their job and/or experiencing a decline in income.

Table 2.1. Individual wellbeing by individual- and household-level job, income, and economic loss

	Employed						Unemployed		Not working	
	Total	Essential worker	Working from home	Not able to work	Became employed during lockdown	Not working, not lockdown related	During lockdown	Prior to lockdown	Working age	Retired
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?										
Anger (%)	15.4	19.8	16.4	15.6	12.8	0.0	20.9	23.5	17.0	5.0
Depression (%)	19.1	18.7	17.6	22.1	17.3	0.0	29.9	32.4	30.7	6.7
Sadness (%)	27.2	30.0	25.7	29.7	31.6	9.0	35.2	44.1	33.1	14.9
Stress (%)	36.8	46.5	43.3	30.6	27.0	28.6	41.4	46.9	47.5	13.2
Worry (%)	37.5	39.6	41.4	38.3	33.0	52.0	48.2	51.6	47.0	17.2
Enjoyment (%)	60.6	57.5	60.2	65.3	43.4	64.9	48.6	50.1	54.4	70.3
Happiness (%)	65.7	64.2	64.4	67.4	48.5	70.4	51.1	60.4	58.2	78.5
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month										
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”										
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	10.6	11.2	7.0	11.6	14.6	17.0	19.2	34.1	14.6	4.8
	(0.72)	(0.74)	(0.63)	(0.73)	(0.86)	(0.75)	(0.79)	(0.90)	(0.78)	(0.58)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed										
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”										
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	14.8	11.8	13.0	15.6	21.5	10.1	27.0	38.9	21.2	8.8
	-0.56	-0.64	-0.57	-0.56	-0.23	-1.01	-0.17	0.17	-0.27	-0.86
	(1.12)	(1.04)	(1.08)	(1.12)	(1.31)	(1.07)	(1.26)	(1.15)	(1.23)	(1.05)
<i>n</i>	1,943	469	449	397	21	11	95	53	201	247

Notes. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 2.2. Individual wellbeing by individual- and household-level job, income, and economic loss

	Total	Individual		Other HH member		Household	
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<i>Job loss experience</i>							
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?							
Anger (%)	15.4	15.2	20.9	14.5	24.9	14.1	24.9
Depression (%)	19.1	18.5	29.9	17.8	32.7	17.2	32.7
Sadness (%)	27.2	26.8	35.2	26.3	37.2	25.8	37.2
Stress (%)	36.8	36.6	41.4	36.1	44.0	35.8	44.0
Worry (%)	37.5	37.0	48.2	36.7	47.6	36.1	47.6
Enjoyment (%)	60.6	61.2	48.6	61.1	52.5	61.8	52.5
Happiness (%)	65.7	66.5	51.1	66.4	55.1	67.2	55.1
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month							
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”							
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.65	0.63	0.93	0.62	0.97	0.60	0.97
	(0.72)	(0.71)	(0.79)	(0.70)	(0.80)	(0.69)	(0.80)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed							
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”							
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.56	-0.58	-0.17	-0.58	-0.23	-0.61	-0.23
	(1.12)	(1.11)	(1.26)	(1.12)	(1.17)	(1.10)	(1.17)
<i>n</i>	1,943	1,848	95	1,687	277	1,666	277
	Total	Individual		Other HH member		Household	
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<i>Income loss experience</i>							
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?							
Anger (%)	15.4	14.5	18.6	14.6	19.7	13.1	19.1

Table 2.2 continued on next page

Table 2.2 continued

Depression (%)	19.1	17.2	25.6	18.0	24.6	15.3	25.1
Sadness (%)	27.2	25.0	35.0	26.3	32.0	23.1	33.7
Stress (%)	36.8	35.1	42.7	35.1	45.2	32.3	43.8
Worry (%)	37.5	35.0	46.5	36.0	45.4	32.1	46.0
Enjoyment (%)	60.6	62.3	54.8	61.4	56.6	63.8	55.6
Happiness (%)	65.7	67.7	59.0	66.6	61.5	69.4	60.0
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month							
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”	10.6	10.0	12.6	10.5	11.5	9.7	12.1
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.65	0.63	0.70	0.64	0.70	0.61	0.70
	(0.72)	(0.71)	(0.73)	(0.72)	(0.72)	(0.71)	(0.72)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed							
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”	14.8	14.3	16.5	14.3	17.2	13.5	16.8
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.56	-0.57	-0.53	-0.57	-0.48	-0.59	-0.51
	(1.12)	(1.13)	(1.11)	(1.11)	(1.17)	(1.11)	(1.14)
<i>n</i>	1,943	1,483	460	1,624	343	1,143	800
				Other HH			
	Total	Individual		member		Household	
		No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
<i>Economic loss experience</i>							
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?							
Anger (%)	15.4	14.1	19.1	13.7	21.6	12.2	19.7
Depression (%)	19.1	16.4	26.4	17.0	26.6	14.3	25.4
Sadness (%)	27.2	24.3	35.0	25.4	34.0	22.3	33.6
Stress (%)	36.8	34.7	42.5	34.5	45.0	31.3	44.0
Worry (%)	37.5	34.1	46.8	35.0	46.6	31.3	45.7
Enjoyment (%)	60.6	63.2	53.7	62.1	55.3	64.9	55.0
Happiness (%)	65.7	68.8	57.5	67.2	60.3	70.5	59.5

Table 2.2 continued on next page

Table 2.2 continued

Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month							
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”	10.6	9.4	13.8	9.4	15.1	8.4	13.5
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.65	0.61	0.74	0.61	0.78	0.58	0.73
	(0.72)	(0.70)	(0.74)	(0.70)	(0.76)	(0.70)	(0.74)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed							
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”	14.8	13.4	18.4	13.6	19.0	12.6	17.6
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.56	-0.59	-0.46	-0.60	-0.41	-0.62	-0.49
	(1.12)	(1.11)	(1.14)	(1.10)	(1.17)	(1.10)	(1.15)
<i>n</i>	1,943	1,388	555	1,495	472	1,037	906

Notes. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations in parentheses. Income loss refers to those who lost income/wages while remaining employed. Economic loss refers at the individual level refers to those who lost their job and/or experiencing a decline in income.

Table 2.3. Individual wellbeing by individual- and household-level economic loss by key sociodemographic groups

Age	Young people (18-24 year olds)					Middle and older aged people (25+ year olds)				
	Total	Economic loss				Total	Economic loss			
		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?										
Anger (%)	23.9	18.5	36.0	13.9	31.2	14.4	13.6	16.5	12.0	17.6
Depression (%)	32.7	27.9	43.9	23.2	40.1	17.4	15.0	23.8	13.5	22.8
Sadness (%)	40.1	38.1	44.4	35.1	43.6	25.6	22.6	33.6	21.1	31.9
Stress (%)	46.1	44.1	50.3	37.1	52.5	35.7	33.7	41.2	30.9	42.4
Worry (%)	46.5	42.4	55.6	40.2	51.1	36.5	33.2	45.5	30.5	44.7
Enjoyment (%)	50.4	52.6	45.2	51.5	49.5	61.8	64.4	55.0	66.0	56.1
Happiness (%)	56.4	61.4	44.8	63.4	51.0	66.8	69.6	59.3	71.1	60.8
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month										
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”	20.8	19.0	24.7	15.2	24.7	9.4	8.4	12.1	7.8	11.5
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.98	0.94	1.09	0.89	1.05	0.61	0.58	0.69	0.56	0.67
	(0.82)	(0.84)	(0.79)	(0.83)	(0.81)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.72)	(0.68)	(0.71)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed										
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”	19.3	15.4	27.9	14.1	23.0	14.2	13.2	16.9	12.5	16.6
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.30	-0.38	-0.12	-0.46	-0.18	-0.59	-0.62	-0.52	-0.63	-0.54
	(1.08)	(1.09)	(1.04)	(1.09)	(1.06)	(1.12)	(1.11)	(1.15)	(1.10)	(1.15)
<i>n</i>	222	153	69	88	134	1,714	1,229	485	944	770

Table 2.3 continued on next page

Table 2.3 continued

	Very low-income household (\$30,000 or less)					Middle- and higher-income household (More than \$30,000)				
	Total	Economic loss				Total	Economic loss			
		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes
Household income										
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?										
Anger (%)	17.2	13.9	29.1	13.1	25.5	15.1	14.1	17.4	12.0	18.7
Depression (%)	27.0	23.5	40.2	22.5	36.1	17.4	14.6	24.1	12.1	23.7
Sadness (%)	33.4	32.1	38.8	32.8	34.8	25.9	22.4	34.4	19.5	33.5
Stress (%)	36.9	34.0	47.6	32.5	45.9	36.8	34.8	41.6	31.0	43.7
Worry (%)	40.4	36.3	55.8	37.3	46.8	36.9	33.5	45.3	29.6	45.5
Enjoyment (%)	51.7	54.8	40.0	56.4	41.8	62.6	65.3	56.0	67.3	57.1
Happiness (%)	58.0	60.6	48.2	61.9	49.7	67.5	70.9	59.1	72.9	61.0
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month										
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”	20.0	17.2	30.7	15.2	29.6	8.6	7.6	11.3	6.5	11.0
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.85	0.78	1.09	0.73	1.08	0.60	0.57	0.68	0.54	0.67
	(0.84)	(0.80)	(0.95)	(0.78)	(0.90)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.69)	(0.66)	(0.69)
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed										
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”	22.2	19.0	33.7	19.3	28.2	13.1	12.0	15.9	10.7	15.9
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.33	-0.41	-0.07	-0.38	-0.23	-0.60	-0.64	-0.53	-0.68	-0.53
	(1.27)	(1.23)	(1.38)	(1.22)	(1.37)	(1.08)	(1.08)	(1.09)	(1.06)	(1.10)
<i>n</i>	305	232	73	188	117	1,638	1,156	482	849	789

Table 2.3 continued on next page

Table 2.3 continued

Gender	Men					Women					
	Total	Economic loss				Total	Economic loss				
		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes		Individual No	Yes	Household No	Yes	
Did you experienced....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?											
Anger (%)	15.7	13.2	22.0	11.9	20.6	15.1	14.7	16.1	12.3	18.8	
Depression (%)	17.3	14.5	24.2	13.4	22.0	20.6	17.9	28.4	14.9	28.5	
Sadness (%)	23.6	20.2	31.7	19.7	28.4	30.4	27.6	38.3	24.4	38.6	
Stress (%)	35.1	32.9	40.4	30.2	41.2	38.0	35.7	44.4	31.7	46.5	
Worry (%)	33.5	29.7	42.9	28.9	39.2	41.3	38.0	50.6	33.4	51.8	
Enjoyment (%)	59.5	62.6	51.8	62.8	55.3	62.0	64.0	56.0	67.1	55.0	
Happiness (%)	63.8	67.6	54.5	69.3	56.9	67.7	70.3	60.5	71.9	62.0	
Experienced feelings of loneliness in the past month											
Percent said “most of the time” or “all of the time”	11.5	9.6	16.3	8.2	15.7	9.4	8.9	10.8	8.3	10.9	
Mean (0 to 3 scale)	0.62	0.57	0.75	0.54	0.72	0.67	0.65	0.72	0.62	0.73	
	(0.74)	(0.72)	(0.79)	(0.70)	(0.78)	(0.69)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.68)	(0.68)	
Would find it hard to talk with someone about feeling down or depressed											
Percent said “hard” or “very hard”	17.1	15.2	21.8	14.5	20.4	12.5	11.7	15.0	10.6	15.0	
Mean (-2 to 2 scale)	-0.48	-0.52	-0.39	-0.51	-0.44	-0.63	-0.67	-0.54	-0.71	-0.53	
	(1.14)	(1.12)	(1.18)	(1.11)	(1.17)	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.10)	(1.08)	(1.13)	
<i>n</i>	1,121	787	334	597	524	815	595	220	435	380	

Notes. Unweighted *ns*, weighted %, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations in parentheses. Income loss refers to those who lost income/ wages while remaining employed. Economic loss refers at the individual level refers to those who lost their job and/or experiencing a decline in income.

Table 4.1. Work-family conflict among working parents

	<i>n</i>	Change in family/personal life time demands			Change in work demands		
		Increase	No change	Decrease	Increase	No change	Decrease
Total	411	49.5	28.3	22.2	27.26	42.90	22.2
Mothers, total	150	52.4	24.4	23.2	30.41	41.78	27.8
By age of youngest child							
Aged 0-4 years	36	69.6	21.8	8.6	38.20	50.70	11.1
Aged 5-12 years	68	57.0	13.4	29.7	37.14	44.80	18.1
Aged 13-18 years	46	33.0	41.9	25.1	29.01	30.81	40.2
Mothers, partnered	128	53.7	24.2	22.1	31.11	40.43	28.5
Mothers, single	22	45.3	25.6	29.1	26.64	49.10	24.3
Fathers, total	261	47.2	31.4	21.3	24.77	43.70	31.5
By age of youngest child							
Aged 0-4 years	99	48.9	30.0	21.1	22.79	42.2	35.0
Aged 5-12 years	111	54.2	27.3	18.6	23.98	48.38	27.6
Aged 13-18 years	51	29.1	43.0	27.9	30.30	36.60	33.1

Table 4.1 continued on next page

Table 4.1 continued

		Family demands interfere with job demands			Job demands interfere with family demands		
		Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Total	411	38.7	25.6	35.7	36.43	27.29	36.3
Mothers, total	150	43.3	19.2	37.5	41.17	20.09	38.7
By age of youngest child							
Aged 0-4 years	36	62.2	21.2	16.6	58.73	19.66	21.6
Aged 5-12 years	68	52.1	21.2	26.7	48.84	20.54	30.6
Aged 13-18 years	46	16.1	14.7	69.2	16.53	19.77	63.7
Mothers, partnered	128	46.3	21.9	31.8	33.18	21.26	45.6
Mothers, single	22	26.9	4.3	68.8	30.25	13.73	56.0
Fathers, total	261	35.0	30.8	34.2	32.58	33.20	34.2
By age of youngest child							
Aged 0-4 years	99	42.1	28.1	29.8	37.16	34.4	28.4
Aged 5-12 years	111	35.9	33.0	31.1	34.19	30.76	35.1
Aged 13-18 years	51	19.3	31.0	49.7	20.20	35.82	44.0

Notes. Unweighted ns, weighted %.

Table 4.2. Work-family conflict among working parents

	<i>n</i>	Change in family/personal life time demands		Change in work demands		Family demands interfere with job demands		Job demands interfere with family demands	
		M	(std. dev.)	M	(std. dev.)	M	(std. dev.)	M	(std. dev.)
Total	421	0.42	(1.25)	-0.03	(1.11)	0.03	(1.15)	0.01	(1.13)
Mothers, total	154	0.46	(1.35)	0.03	(1.18)	0.09	(1.22)	0.05	(1.22)
By age of youngest child									
Aged 0-4 years	37	1.09	(1.11)	0.37	(0.93)	0.71	(1.03)	0.47	(1.26)
Aged 5-12 years	71	0.36	(1.56)	-0.01	(1.24)	0.34	(1.15)	0.29	(1.14)
Aged 13-18 years	46	0.14	(1.02)	-0.19	(1.23)	-0.75	(0.98)	-0.62	(1.01)
Mothers, partnered	132	0.49	(1.35)	0.02	(1.21)	0.20	(1.18)	0.14	(1.19)
Mothers, single	22	0.31	(1.33)	0.06	(1.03)	-0.54	(1.23)	-0.41	(1.28)
Fathers, total	267	0.39	(1.17)	-0.08	(1.06)	-0.01	(1.10)	-0.02	(1.05)
By age of youngest child									
Aged 0-4 years	100	0.47	(1.15)	-0.17	(1.07)	0.16	(1.11)	0.13	(1.03)
Aged 5-12 years	115	0.50	(1.19)	-0.05	(1.04)	0.02	(1.11)	0.00	(1.09)
Aged 13-18 years	52	0.00	(1.12)	0.03	(1.07)	-0.41	(0.99)	-0.33	(0.97)

Notes. Unweighted ns, weighted %, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Table 4.3. Work-family conflict among working parents (both directions: WTF and/or FTW)

	Mothers			Fathers		
	Total	Work-family conflict		Total	Work-family conflict	
		No	Yes		No	Yes
Total		51.2	48.8		58.2	41.8
Did you experience....[emotion]...during a lot of the day yesterday?						
Anger (%)	21.9	10.3	35.2	17.7	9.9	28.7
Depression (%)	17.3	11.8	23.7	15.9	12.4	21.4
Sadness (%)	28.5	24.3	34.0	21.1	15.7	28.4
Stress (%)	49.2	33.3	68.0	48.0	35.1	64.8
Worry (%)	46.8	39.3	56.6	42.5	31.5	56.2
Enjoyment (%)	65.9	76.8	55.9	57.3	61.1	52.5
Happiness (%)	68.0	81.2	55.2	62.1	67.9	54.7
Parental satisfaction	0.13 (2.96)	1.05 (1.99)	-0.82 (3.53)	-0.13 (2.55)	0.15 (1.67)	-0.49 (3.41)
Couple conflict	0.05 (1.27)	-0.14 (1.04)	0.19 (1.43)	-0.08 (1.25)	-0.18 (0.97)	0.08 (1.50)
Couple supportiveness	-0.13 (1.33)	0.14 (0.90)	-0.38 (1.61)	-0.28 (1.75)	-0.03 (1.43)	-0.62 (2.06)
<i>n</i>	154	91	63	267	179	88

Notes. Unweighted ns, weighted %, means, and standard deviations. Standard deviations in parentheses. "Work-family conflict" represents those who reported either work-to-family conflict and/or family-to-work conflict.