

Changes in the quantity and quality of time use during the COVID-19 lockdowns in the UK: Who is the most affected?

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1 Abstract

2 We investigated changes in the quantity and quality of time spent on various activities in response to
3 the COVID-19-induced national lockdowns in the UK. We examined effects both in the first national
4 lockdown (May 2020) and the third national lockdown (March 2021). Using retrospective
5 longitudinal time-use diary data collected from a demographically diverse sample of over 760 UK
6 adults in both lockdowns, we found significant changes in both the quantity and quality of time spent
7 on broad activity categories (employment, housework, leisure). Individuals spent less time on
8 employment-related activities (in addition to a reduction in time spent commuting) and more time on
9 housework. These effects were concentrated on individuals with young children. Individuals also
10 spent more time doing leisure activities (e.g. hobbies) alone and conducting employment-related
11 activities outside normal working hours, changes that were significantly correlated with decreases in
12 overall enjoyment. Changes in quality exacerbated existing inequalities in quantity of time use, with
13 parents of young children being disproportionately affected. These findings indicate that quality of
14 time use is another important consideration for policy design and evaluation.

15 Introduction

16 The COVID-19 pandemic has drastically affected our daily lives and will likely have lasting effects
17 on lifestyles and work arrangements [1], [2]. Previous studies found that public health measures to
18 contain the pandemic had different effects across sociodemographic groups, exacerbating inequalities
19 in mental health, job security, and hours worked across various dimensions such as gender [3–6],
20 ethnicity [7], age [8–10], and occupation [11,12].

21 Aside from changing the total allocation of time across various activities (‘quantity’), the pandemic
22 and associated mitigation measures may also have changed the way these activities are conducted
23 (‘quality’). Our study contributes to this literature by examining another important yet under-studied
24 dimension of inequality – quality of time spent on daily activities, which has been shown to affect
25 wellbeing [13–15]. To do so, we collected detailed retrospective time-use diaries for a large

26 demographically diverse sample of UK adults (N=766), documenting the sequence and characteristics
27 of activities conducted by each individual over a specified 24-hour period. We used this data to
28 measure quantity of time spent on 4 broad activity categories: employment (excluding time spent
29 travelling to/from work), housework (e.g. cooking), leisure (e.g. mass media consumption), and
30 subsistence (sleeping, eating, and other personal care). We also constructed measures of quality of
31 time use by focusing on factors that affect an individual's experience of an activity, such as with
32 whom the activity was done and the time at which the activity was performed.

33 While most studies focus on the early months of the pandemic, our data covers 3 timepoints over a
34 13-month period: pre-pandemic (February 2020), first national lockdown (May 2020), and third
35 national lockdown (March 2021). Since the first and third national lockdowns were similar in all key
36 respects (school and workplace closures, stay-at-home requirements, restrictions on movement within
37 the UK; as detailed in [S1 Appendix, Table S1](#)), we can examine the effects of repeated COVID-19
38 containment measures. The unique longitudinal nature of our data also captures within-person
39 changes and adaptations as lockdowns and social distancing measures become part of everyday life.
40 Within-person comparisons allow us to control for any unobserved variation across individuals that
41 affects the outcome variables, for example differences in the way individuals report enjoyment on a
42 Likert scale [16].

43 We documented significant and persistent changes in the quantity of time use: in both lockdowns,
44 compared to the pre-pandemic timepoint, individuals spent more time on housework and less time on
45 employment-related activities (conditional on remaining employed during either lockdown), with
46 effects being concentrated on individuals with young children. Compared to the pre-pandemic
47 timepoint, fewer individuals were employed during either lockdown, and females with young children
48 were significantly less likely to be employed. We also found clear evidence that the quality of time
49 use decreased during both lockdowns, with increases in leisure time spent alone and a larger
50 proportion of individuals working unusual hours and conducting housework during standard working
51 hours.

52 Our study shows that both quality and quantity of time use were important for self-reported
53 enjoyment. Changes in daily routines and patterns of time use were significantly correlated with
54 changes in overall enjoyment. Increases in leisure time were associated with increases in overall
55 enjoyment, but these effects diminished if leisure time was spent alone. Deteriorations in work-life
56 balance, indicated by employment activities conducted outside normal working hours, were
57 negatively associated with overall enjoyment. To the extent that lockdowns and social distancing
58 measures influence daily routines, the persistence of these changes could affect longer-term
59 psychological well-being [17].

60 **Materials and Methods**

61 This study was approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Oxford (approval
62 code ECONCIA20-21-16). Informed consent was provided by all survey participants prior to their
63 participation and participants understood that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

64 We collected data in two waves. Wave 1 was conducted in May 2020, 7 weeks into the first national
65 lockdown in the UK. We used the survey platform Prolific to recruit individuals who were over 18,
66 had lived in the UK since December 2019, and were still in the labor market (including those
67 unemployed and searching for work) in February 2020. Individuals provided information for the first
68 two timepoints: pre-pandemic (defined as February 2020) and the first national lockdown. We then
69 surveyed the same respondents 10 months later (Wave 2), 7 weeks into the third national lockdown.
70 [S1 Appendix, Section 1](#) contains more details about the study context and sample.

71 Our longitudinal sample consists of individuals who completed at least one time-use diary for each
72 timepoint. [S1 Appendix, Section 2.2](#) shows that our longitudinal sample does not significantly differ
73 in sociodemographic characteristics (age, gender, ethnicity, education, and household composition)
74 from the full sample who completed Wave 1 only.

75 Our sample was designed to be demographically diverse across gender, age, and ethnicity. [S1](#)
76 [Appendix, Section 2.3](#) compares the composition of our sample and that of a nationally representative

77 sample (Understanding Society) and shows some similarities in sociodemographic characteristics,
 78 though our sample is more educated and older on average. Our results are qualitatively similar when
 79 we reweighted our sample to match the composition of Understanding Society’s in-workforce sample
 80 across gender, age, ethnicity, education, and household composition (S1 Appendix, Section 8).

81 For each timepoint, we asked respondents to retrospectively fill in time-use diaries for their most
 82 recent workday (if applicable) and non-workday. Time-use diaries record the chronological sequence
 83 of activities that respondents did over a 24-hour period through a series of ‘episodes’, and have been
 84 shown to give comparable data quality to objective real-time measures such as wearable cameras and
 85 accelerometers [18,19]. The structure of our time-use diaries followed those used in the UK Time Use
 86 Survey (UKTUS), but for respondents’ ease of completion, we used pre-specified activities (42 total)
 87 categorized under 4 broad categories: leisure, employment (excluding time spent travelling to/from
 88 work), housework, and subsistence (sleeping, eating, and other personal care). Table 1 shows the
 89 activity subcategories used in our main analysis and types of activities included in each broad
 90 category. S1 Appendix, Section 3.1 specifies the detailed mapping between broad categories and pre-
 91 specified activities.

Broad activity	Activity subcategories
Housework	Caring/Childcare Cooking/Groceries Cleaning Other housework (e.g. bills, household accounts, repairs)
Employment	Work tasks Meetings Searching for jobs Other employment-related activities (e.g. casual work)
Leisure	Social/cultural Arts/Hobbies Mass media consumption Physical exercise Volunteering
Subsistence	Sleeping Eating Personal care

92 **Table 1.** Time use diaries: Mapping between activity subcategories and the broad activity categories
93 used in our analysis. See [S1 Appendix, Section 3.1](#) for the detailed mapping between pre-specified
94 activities and broad categories.

95 For each episode within a time-use diary, respondents specified (1) the episode start and end time
96 (with a minimum duration of 10 minutes per episode); (2) the main activity of that episode; (3) the
97 secondary activity that the respondent was engaged in simultaneously (if any); (4) whom they did the
98 activity with; (5) where they did the activity; (6) whether they used a device for that episode; (7) how
99 much they enjoyed the activity (on a scale of 1 to 7).

100 Within a given diary day, there may be episodes with missing or mis-recorded data. We checked and
101 cleaned each diary using a set of rules detailed in [S1 Appendix, Section 3.2](#), based on the UKTUS'
102 methodology. Most episodes did not require editing. For example, less than 0.01% of episodes had
103 missing activities or missing start or end times. To check whether recall bias affected the quality of
104 data, in [S1 Appendix, Section 3.3](#) we verified that mean pre-pandemic times spent on broad activity
105 categories were similar to those obtained from a nationally representative survey (the 2014/15 UK
106 Time Use Survey), as done by other COVID-19 studies on time use [20,21].

107 We also collected the following sociodemographic information from each respondent: gender, year of
108 birth, ethnicity, highest educational level, household composition, employment status, work
109 arrangements at each timepoint, and monthly before-tax income. [S1 Appendix, Section 4](#) provides
110 more detail on the construction of our main variables and covariates.

111 Our analysis followed the procedures outlined in our pre-analysis plan
112 (<https://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=3az7we>), with extensions discussed in [S1 Appendix, Section 5](#).
113 Analyses were conducted with Stata statistical software version 16.0. For inference, we used two-
114 sided p-values and 95% confidence intervals.

115 Results

116 Changes in time use: Quantity

117 For each individual and timepoint, we calculated the total time spent on employment, housework,
118 leisure, and subsistence as a main activity. Since a respondent completed up to 2 diary days per
119 timepoint, we obtained a single value for each timepoint by dividing the total time spent by the total
120 number of applicable diary days. Total time spent on housework, leisure, and subsistence were
121 divided by 2 if a respondent completed both a workday diary and non-workday diary; total time spent
122 on employment was not divided by 2 because there was at most one applicable diary day per
123 timepoint.

124 Fig 1 shows average within-person differences in time spent per day on broad activity categories,
125 comparing the pre-pandemic timepoint with the first and third lockdowns. We calculated average
126 within-person differences separately by gender (female vs male) and household composition (living
127 with at least one young child under 11 vs not living with a child under 11). In our main measure of
128 time use, we categorized time spent according to the main activity. [S1 Appendix, Section 6.1](#) presents
129 additional results when time spent was categorized according to both the main and secondary activity,
130 which are qualitatively similar to our main results.

131 **Fig 1. Within-person changes in time spent on 4 broad activity categories.** Bars present average
132 within-person changes in quantity of time use between the pre-pandemic timepoint (February 2020)
133 and the first lockdown (May 2020) or the third lockdown (March 2021). Within-person changes for
134 employment activities were calculated using the subset of individuals who remained employed in both
135 periods of interest. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals, and average levels for each
136 subgroup are reported underneath the bars. Note that the conditional means were calculated separately
137 (either by gender or household composition), so the four subgroups shown are not mutually exclusive.
138 Panel A shows that among people who were employed both pre-pandemic and during the lockdown in
139 question, time spent on employment-related activities decreased by 17-43 minutes on average

140 compared to before the pandemic. Although the direction of change was the same across population
141 subgroups, the magnitude varies. When evaluated in both absolute and percentage terms, on average
142 people living with at least one young child (aged 11 or under) saw a larger decrease in time spent on
143 employment activities ($0.72 \times 60 = 43$ minutes, 95% CI = [-74, -13]) during the first lockdown and a
144 32-minute decrease (95% CI = [-57, -5]) between pre-pandemic and the third lockdown. In
145 comparison, people not living with young children saw an average decrease of 28 minutes (95% CI =
146 [-40, -14]) during the first lockdown and 22 minutes (95% CI = [-37, -8]) between pre-pandemic and
147 the third lockdown.

148 Aside from changes in the intensive margin, we also found substantial increases in the extensive
149 margin (unemployment). [S1 Appendix, Section 6.2](#) shows that before the pandemic, 86% of our
150 sample was employed, but only 63% and 74% were employed during the first and third lockdown
151 respectively. Our analysis in [S1 Appendix, Table S16](#) also indicates heterogeneity in employment
152 probabilities: controlling for pre-pandemic employment status, females with young children were
153 significantly less likely to be employed than males without children across both lockdowns and
154 significantly less likely to be employed than males with children during the third lockdown. [S1](#)
155 [Appendix, Section 6.3](#) computes Gini coefficients to show that inequality in time spent on
156 employment increased during both lockdowns compared to the pre-pandemic timepoint due to these
157 changes in the extensive margin.

158 Panels B and D show that the first lockdown had a larger effect on time spent on housework and
159 subsistence activities compared to the third lockdown. Among females, the average time spent on
160 housework increased by 28 minutes ($= 0.47 \times 60$; 95% CI = [17, 38]) during the first lockdown.
161 Among males, the average time spent on subsistence activities increased by 30 minutes (95% CI =
162 [18, 41]) during the first lockdown. However, these increases were largely reversed during the third
163 lockdown for an overall mean-zero effect.

164 Panel C shows that changes in time spent on leisure activities were unequally distributed and larger
165 during the third lockdown. Among individuals without children, average time spent on leisure

166 activities increased by 38 minutes during the first lockdown and by 58 minutes during the third
167 lockdown, relative to the pre-pandemic period. In contrast, individuals with young children
168 experienced a moderate increase only during the third lockdown (31 minutes, 95% CI = [7, 57]).

169 Correlation between time use during the lockdowns and 170 sociodemographic characteristics

171 To further analyze how time spent varied across population subgroups, we examined the correlation
172 between time use patterns during each lockdown and sociodemographic characteristics of
173 respondents, controlling for pre-pandemic levels of time use. We used the following regression
174 specification:

$$175 \quad TS_{i,LD} = \alpha + \beta' \mathbf{W}_i + \delta TS_{i,Pre} + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

176 $TS_{i,LD}$ is respondent i 's time spent on one of the four broad activity categories, either measured as
177 time spent on that activity during the first lockdown or during the third lockdown. \mathbf{W}_i is a vector of
178 respondent characteristics: a binary indicator for female, age categories (5-year intervals from 25-29
179 to 60 or above, measured relative to 18-24-year-olds), a binary indicator for having a tertiary degree, a
180 binary indicator for white ethnicity, categories for monthly income (intervals of 1000 GBP, measured
181 relative to <1000 GBP), a binary indicator for working-from-home status during the first lockdown
182 (if the dependent variable is for the first lockdown) or third lockdown (if the dependent variable is for
183 the third lockdown), and a binary indicator for living with a child under 11. To capture potential
184 gender differences in parental time allocation to childcare and housework [6], we also included an
185 interaction term between female and living with young children in this vector. With the exception of
186 working-from-home status, all respondent characteristics were taken from the pre-pandemic
187 timepoint.

188 We included pre-pandemic levels in total time spent on an activity category ($TS_{i,Pre}$) to account for
189 the fact that time use patterns are persistent over time and that respondents who engaged in below-

190 average/above-average levels of a particular activity would be unable to decrease/increase the amount
191 of time spent by the same degree as respondents who engaged in moderate levels of that activity.

192 For regressions with employment as the dependent variable, we used a Heckman selection model to
193 account for the possibility that individual characteristics such as gender and household composition
194 affect the likelihood of remaining in employment during either lockdown [22]. Since every
195 respondent participated in other non-employment activities, we did not apply Heckman corrections
196 for the regressions with time spent on housework, leisure, or subsistence as the dependent variable. To
197 satisfy the exclusion restriction of our Heckman employment selection equation, in addition to all
198 variables in the vector W_i , we included a binary indicator that equals 1 if the respondent was
199 employed pre-pandemic and zero otherwise, and a continuous variable ranging from 0 to 100
200 measuring the percentage of time spent working from home in the pre-pandemic period. The
201 coefficients on the Heckman selection equation (S1 Appendix, Table S16) show that the likelihood of
202 remaining employed during the first and third lockdowns increased with income ($p < 0.05$) but was
203 significantly lower for females with young children ($p < 0.05$).

204 The estimated coefficients from our time use regressions, shown in Fig 2, indicate variation in time
205 use across gender, household composition, age, and income, with effects mainly concentrated on
206 adults living with young children. Full regression tables are reported in S1 Appendix, Section 6.4.

207 **Fig 2. Correlates of time spent (hours per day) on broad activity categories.** Lockdown 1 refers to
208 May 2020 and Lockdown 3 refers to March 2021. In addition to the variables reported, we also
209 controlled for age, education, working-from-home status, and pre-pandemic levels in total time spent
210 on the given activity. Regressions with employment as the dependent variable used Heckman
211 corrections to account for selection into employment. Point estimates are reported with 95%
212 confidence intervals. The Heckman corrected regression (panel A) used bootstrapped standard errors
213 (1000 replications); other regressions used robust standard errors (panels B-D). *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p <$
214 0.05 , * $p < 0.1$.

215 Panel A shows that conditional on remaining employed, females living with young children reduced
216 their time spent on employment-related activities in the first lockdown by 64 minutes more per day
217 compared to males without young children ($=60 \times (-0.05-0.08-0.93)$; $p < 0.05$) and by 61 minutes
218 more per day than females without young children ($=60 \times (-0.08-0.93)$; $p < 0.05$). In contrast, high-
219 income individuals (earning £5000 per month or more) worked almost two hours ($p < 0.01$) more per
220 day in the third lockdown than employed individuals earning less than £1000 per month. In [S1](#)
221 [Appendix, Table S17](#), we also present results without applying the Heckman correction. The
222 coefficients are qualitatively similar to those in our main specification, suggesting that our results for
223 employment are not primarily driven by selection effects. [S1 Appendix, Table S18](#) provides a
224 breakdown of time use by subcategories in Table 1 and shows that this decrease was mainly due to a
225 reduction in time spent on work tasks, rather than meetings and other employment activities.

226 Panel B shows that living with young children was associated with a 57-minute ($p < 0.01$) per day
227 increase in housework during the third lockdown, and females living with young children did an extra
228 67 minutes ($=60 \times (0.21+0.90)$; $p < 0.05$) of housework compared to males living with young
229 children. We did not find evidence of differential effects by income brackets. [S1 Appendix, Table S19](#)
230 shows a breakdown of time use by housework subcategories in Table 1, and suggests a gendered
231 division of housework for cooking and cleaning. Only females experienced an increase in time spent
232 on cooking and cleaning, whereas increases in time spent on caring duties were experienced by both
233 males and females with young children.

234 Panel C shows that living with young children was associated with a decrease in leisure time of 56-
235 minutes per day ($p < 0.01$) during the first lockdown and a decrease of 55-minutes ($p < 0.01$) during
236 the third lockdown. We did not find evidence of differential effects by income brackets. [S1 Appendix,](#)
237 [Table S20](#) breaks down leisure activities into the subcategories from Table 1. The results indicate that
238 among females and individuals with young children, the decrease in leisure time was driven by a
239 reduction in time spent on hobbies (consisting of active leisure activities), especially during the first
240 lockdown. Given that the positive relationship between leisure time and mental health operates

241 through active rather than passive leisure [23–26], the overall effect of increased lockdown leisure on
242 wellbeing is unclear *a priori*.

243 Lastly, panel D shows that individuals with higher incomes (earning £4000 per month or more) spent
244 less time on subsistence activities during both lockdowns. [S1 Appendix, Table S21](#) provides a
245 breakdown of changes in time use by subsistence activity subcategories and indicates that this
246 decrease was spread across all subsistence activities rather than being concentrated on a particular
247 activity.

248 Changes in time use: Quality

249 Aside from changing total time spent on activities, the pandemic may also have affected the way that
250 individuals conduct certain activities, which in turn influences their enjoyment of time spent on those
251 activities. The psychological and sociological literature considers any factor that affects episode-
252 specific enjoyment beyond the specific activity conducted as an indicator of quality [27–29].

253 Using this definition, we focused on 4 measures of quality.

254 **1. Multitasking.** Multitasking, defined as the simultaneous performance of more than one task
255 or type of activity [30], can enable individuals to meet the competing demands of work and
256 home [31,32] but has been linked to feelings of time stress [33] and lower activity-specific
257 enjoyment [34,35]. We considered a subset of multitasking behaviors where respondents
258 conducted activities in different broad categories (such as housework and employment). For
259 each respondent and timepoint, we calculated the total time spent on episodes that contain
260 both a main and secondary activity, where the main and secondary activities belong to
261 different broad categories (e.g. employment as main activity, housework as secondary
262 activity).

263 **2. Leisure time spent alone.** Conducting leisure activities with other individuals is associated
264 with higher instantaneous satisfaction [36–38] and better health outcomes in the long run

265 [15,39,40]. For each respondent and timepoint, we calculated the total time spent on episodes
266 where the activity category was ‘leisure’ and was conducted alone.

267 **3. Working atypical hours.** Conducting employment-related activities on non-workdays and
268 outside typical working hours affects one’s ability to spend leisure time with others [41,42]
269 and is associated with poorer mental health [14,43]. We defined unusual work hours as any
270 employment-related activity conducted outside standard working hours (the time window of
271 8.30-17.30 on a workday), which includes employment-related activities conducted on a non-
272 workday, and job searching activities for the unemployed. The time window was determined
273 by taking the median start and end time of employment activities across all respondents’ pre-
274 pandemic workday diaries.

275 **4. Doing housework during typical working hours.** This measure of ‘unusual’ housework
276 hours captures the inability to clearly delineate boundaries between work and family life,
277 which is associated with lower job satisfaction and job performance, and negative long-term
278 health outcomes [13,44]. We measured unusual housework hours as any housework-related
279 activity conducted within standard working hours (8.30-17.30 on a workday).

280 Fig 3 shows average within-person differences for these 4 measures. While the significant increase in
281 hours spent multitasking only occurred during the first lockdown (panel A), the increase in time spent
282 doing leisure activities alone was larger in the third lockdown, even for individuals with young
283 children (panel B).

284 **Fig 3. Within-person changes in quality of time use.** Bars present average within-person changes in
285 quality of time use between the pre-pandemic timepoint (February 2020) and the first lockdown (May
286 2020) or the third lockdown (March 2021). Unusual work includes the job searching activities of the
287 unemployed. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals, and average levels for each subgroup are
288 reported underneath the bars. Note that the conditional means were calculated separately (either by
289 gender or household composition), so the four subgroups shown are not mutually exclusive.

290 The pandemic also had substantial effects on patterns of time use, disrupting typical workday routines
291 and blurring the distinction between work and family life. Compared to the pre-pandemic timepoint,
292 Panel C shows that there was a significant increase in the proportion of individuals who worked
293 unusual hours (outside 8.30-17.30 on a workday). In the third lockdown, 18% (95% CI = [14, 22]) of
294 males saw an increase in time spent on work-related activities during unusual hours. Panel D shows
295 that individuals living with young children were disproportionately more likely to do housework
296 during unusual hours (8.30-17.30 during a workday): in the third lockdown, 40% of individuals in this
297 group (95% CI = [32, 49]) increased time spent on housework during typical working hours compared
298 to 24% (95% CI = [20, 27]) of individuals without young children.

299 Time use and overall enjoyment

300 These observed changes in the quality and quantity of time use could affect individuals' experiences
301 of conducting their daily activities. To investigate this possibility, we examined how self-reported
302 enjoyment varies across timepoints. For each individual and timepoint, we calculated a single
303 measure of enjoyment by aggregating episode-specific enjoyment (measured on a 1-7 Likert scale)
304 across all episodes and diary days, weighted by the duration of time spent on each episode.

305 Fig 4 shows average within-person differences in overall enjoyment, comparing the first and third
306 lockdown to the pre-pandemic timepoint. Calculating within-person differences of aggregate
307 enjoyment helps mitigate issues with interpersonal comparability of levels of enjoyment [16]. Across
308 all subgroups considered, overall self-reported enjoyment during the third lockdown was 0.26-0.36
309 points lower on a 1-7 scale relative to the pre-pandemic period (equivalently, 0.34-0.47 standard
310 deviations lower, given that 1 standard-deviation corresponds to 0.76 units in the pre-pandemic
311 period), with the largest average decrease among respondents living with young children during the
312 third lockdown (-0.36 points, 95% CI = [-0.48, -0.24]). These findings are consistent with earlier
313 studies on UK adults during the first lockdown, which found that the first lockdown adversely
314 affected mental wellbeing [45–47].

315 **Fig 4. Changes in self-reported enjoyment.** Bars present average within-person changes in self-
 316 reported enjoyment between the pre-pandemic timepoint (February 2020) and the first lockdown
 317 (May 2020) or the third lockdown (March 2021). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals, and
 318 average levels for each subgroup are reported underneath the bars. 1 standard deviation corresponds
 319 to 0.76 units on the 1-7 enjoyment Likert scale in the pre-pandemic period. Note that the conditional
 320 means were calculated separately (either by gender or household composition), so the four subgroups
 321 shown are not mutually exclusive.

322 To further examine the relationship between enjoyment, quality of time use, and quantity of time use,
 323 we regressed within-person changes in overall enjoyment on changes in quantity and quality measures
 324 of time use, measured in hours, controlling for sociodemographic characteristics. We used the
 325 following regression specification:

$$326 \quad \Delta E_i = \alpha + \gamma' \mathbf{W}_i + \lambda' \Delta \mathbf{Q}_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (2)$$

327 ΔE_i is within-person changes in overall enjoyment (either the first lockdown minus pre-pandemic
 328 level or third lockdown minus pre-pandemic level). \mathbf{W}_i is the same vector of respondent
 329 characteristics included in the time use regressions specified in equation (1). $\Delta \mathbf{Q}_i$ is a vector
 330 containing within-person changes in time spent (hours per day) on the four broad activity categories
 331 across two timepoints (e.g. the first lockdown minus pre-pandemic) and within-person changes (hours
 332 per day) in the four quality measures across the same two timepoints. Since the variable measuring
 333 changes in time spent on employment was missing for individuals who were unemployed at any given
 334 timepoint, we used the missing indicator method to include all respondents in the regression
 335 regardless of employment status, alleviating concerns about sample selection [48]. Specifically, we
 336 replaced the missing variable with some arbitrary fixed value and include in equation (2) a binary
 337 indicator that equals 1 if that variable is missing and zero otherwise.

338 The estimated coefficients of equation (2), shown in Fig 5, suggest that changes in characteristics of
 339 time use (quality) were significantly correlated with changes in overall enjoyment. A one-hour
 340 increase in leisure time during the first lockdown was associated with a 0.07 unit (0.09 standard

341 deviation) increase in overall enjoyment ($p < 0.01$), but this effect was reduced by 0.03 units (0.04
342 standard deviations) if leisure time was spent alone. We obtained similar results for the third
343 lockdown: compared to the pre-pandemic timepoint, a one-hour increase in leisure time spent alone
344 was associated with a 0.04 unit (0.05 standard deviation) decrease in overall enjoyment ($p < 0.05$).
345 Furthermore, individuals who worked an extra hour outside of typical working hours during the third
346 lockdown experienced a 0.08 unit (0.11 standard deviation) decrease in overall enjoyment compared
347 to the pre-pandemic period ($p < 0.01$). Full regression tables are presented in [S1 Appendix, Section](#)
348 [6.6](#).

349 **Fig 5. Relationship between changes in enjoyment, quantity of time use, and quality of time use.**

350 Estimates of correlations between within-person changes in overall self-reported enjoyment and
351 characteristics of time use. Reported changes during the first and third lockdown (May 2020 and
352 March 2021, respectively) are relative to the pre-pandemic timepoint (February 2020). Regressions
353 include all individuals in our sample. In addition to the variables reported, we also controlled for a
354 vector of respondent characteristics (see main text), and a binary indicator if changes in time spent on
355 employment was missing. A coefficient of 0.1 corresponds to ~0.13 SD in pre-pandemic enjoyment
356 levels. Point estimates are reported with 95% confidence intervals, using robust standard errors. *** p
357 < 0.01 , ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

358 **Robustness of results**

359 Our main analysis relied on the longitudinal nature of our data. To account for potential bias arising
360 from attrition between Waves 1 and 2, we used inverse probability weights to re-weight our
361 longitudinal sample. Specifically, we ran a probit regression where the outcome variable equals 1 for
362 respondents that participated in both waves and 0 otherwise, and the control variables are age
363 categories, a binary indicator for female, a binary indicator for white ethnicity, a binary indicator for
364 having a tertiary degree, and a binary indicator for living with a child under 11. Using the estimated
365 coefficients, we then predicted the probability of appearing in both survey waves and used the inverse

366 of these predicted probabilities as weights. [S1 Appendix, Section 7](#) shows that we obtained
367 qualitatively similar results when using weights to correct for potential attrition bias.

368 To assess the representativeness of our results, we reweighted our sample to match the composition of
369 Understanding Society’s in-workforce sample across gender, age, ethnicity, education, and household
370 composition (all defined as categorical variables). [S1 Appendix, Section 8](#) contains further details
371 about the construction of these calibration weights and shows that our results remain qualitatively
372 similar when these weights are applied.

373 Lastly, in [S1 Appendix, Section 9](#), we argue that our results are unlikely to be confounded by sample
374 selection based on unobservable characteristics or by differential measurement error in time use
375 across timepoints.

376 Discussion

377 The pandemic-induced national lockdowns caused drastic changes in the daily routines of many
378 individuals. Aside from changing the total allocation of time across various activities (‘quantity’),
379 these national lockdowns may also have changed the way these activities are conducted (‘quality’),
380 which could affect individuals’ enjoyment of their time in the short run and mental health outcomes in
381 the long run.

382 Our study investigated this issue using unique longitudinal data on a demographically diverse group
383 of UK adults, comparing three timepoints: pre-pandemic (February 2020), the first national lockdown
384 (May 2020), and the third national lockdown (March 2021). For both lockdowns, we documented
385 significant changes in the quantity of time use: compared to the pre-pandemic timepoint, individuals
386 who remained employed in the first or third lockdown spent less time on employment-related
387 activities and more time on housework, with the effects being concentrated on individuals with young
388 children. Females with young children were especially disadvantaged as they were less likely to
389 remain in employment during either lockdown. Our comparisons of the first and third lockdowns

390 highlight the similar nature of changes in time use and complement existing literature on the first
391 lockdown [49].

392 We also found clear evidence that the quality of time use decreased during both lockdowns, with
393 increases in leisure time spent alone and a larger proportion of individuals working unusual hours and
394 conducting housework during working hours. These changes in quality of time use are important for
395 self-reported enjoyment. For example, an increase in time spent on employment activities conducted
396 outside normal working hours was negatively associated with overall enjoyment.

397 The observed reduction in leisure and increase in housework are likely to be reversed as the UK
398 resumes large-scale social and cultural events and schools return to normal operations, but the effects
399 of COVID-19 on working arrangements are likely to persist [1,50,51]. As new variants threaten the
400 efficacy of vaccines, social distancing restrictions and national lockdowns may still be implemented
401 in the future [52,53]. Therefore, our results provide useful insights for pandemic-related
402 policymaking.

403 While changes in quantity of time use and the resulting inequality across population subgroups have
404 been well-documented in the literature, the additional adverse effects through changes in quality,
405 particularly the timing of activities, is an important yet understudied policy concern. Given that
406 ‘hybrid working’ (splitting time between the office and home) is likely to become part of normal
407 working practices [51], our findings suggest that company policies aimed at promoting work-life
408 balance for teleworkers, such as limits on email communications after working hours, could improve
409 wellbeing and prevent long-term mental health issues. Employers should design home-working
410 schedules that support the needs of already-disadvantaged demographic subgroups, such as
411 households with young children. Further research is needed to assess specific initiatives that address
412 the long-term consequences of the pandemic on quality of time use and wellbeing.

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563

564 Supporting Information

565 **S1 Appendix. Online supporting materials.** (PDF)

566 **S2 Appendix. Survey.** (PDF)

567 **S3 Replication Code.** (ZIP)