Shared versus solo time with children among U.S. parents

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Abstract

Studies of parental time use have produced numerous "stylized facts" about the ways in which mothers (and, separately, fathers) spend time caring for their children. Missing from this literature is an assessment of how much time spent by parents is shared – i.e., both parents are spending time together with children.

Why is this important? Economists (e.g., Isen & Stevenson; 2010; Stevenson & Wolfers, 2008) have recently discussed the rise of hedonic marriages and the fall of "productive marriages" in modern families. In contrast to a traditional view of marriage that emphasizes the gains from specialization in the production of children and household goods (Becker 1981), hedonic marriages generate "marital surplus" by virtue of the fact that spouses enjoy spending time with each other and caring for children together.

Moreover, theories from developmental psychology suggest that shared parent time might have a unique benefit to children over and above the benefit of time alone with either parent. For example, spending time with both parents together may enhance the system of relationships throughout the family. Shared time might also allow parents to support and learn from one another's parenting strategies, thus enhancing the environment for children's development.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the idea of shared childcare time in a national U.S. data set, examine its prevalence across a variety of demographic characteristics, and assess whether and how it changes as family size grows with the birth of a sibling.

Theoretical framework: The importance of parental time

Researchers agree that parental time is a useful way to assess investments in children's development. The conceptualization of parents' time as an investment in child development underlies an extensive body of social science literature documenting how much time parents spend with children, how parents differ across families in how they allocate time to children, how childrearing time is divided between mothers and fathers, and how these patterns have changed over time (Bianchi, 2000). An overly simple model of the association between parental time and child development assumes that all that matters to child development is the total time that either parent spends with the child. Research and theory from developmental psychology

suggests, however, that because mothers and fathers influence children in unique ways, mothers' and fathers' time may not relate identically to child outcomes, and that they should, therefore, be examined separately.

What is the basis for this hypothesis? First, fathers appear to engage in different activities with children than mothers. Fathers spend a larger proportion of their parenting time in play and companionate activities like sports, games, roughhousing, and pretending, whereas mothers spend a larger proportion of their time in caregiving and nurturing, particularly with infants and toddlers (Lamb, 2010; Pleck, 1997; McBride and Mills, 1993). The fact that play and companionship characterize fathers' child time in greater proportion to mothers' time suggests that fathers serve a distinct parenting role. Indeed, fathers' parenting has been associated with a distinct set of child developmental outcomes. Verschueren and Marcoen (1999) found that the quality of father-child attachment predicted children's social skills and behavior problems in kindergarten whereas the quality of mother-child attachment did not. Stolz, Barber, and Olsen (2005) similarly found that fathers' supportiveness mattered more than mothers' to children's social initiative in school.

Moreover, this research suggests not only that time with each parent may confer unique benefits to child development, but also that a child's spending some share of her time with each parent – rather than all or most of her time alone with one parent– is optimal for development. Recently, Stafford and Yeung made this point by characterizing mothers' and fathers' time with children as complementary for child development. They argued:

> "The time of both parents may be complementary – so two hours of one parent's time may not be as effective as one hour of time from each. These factors lead child development, especially of young children, to be time intensive and in two-parent households more effectively produced by a balanced time input from each parent rather than one parent being the primary and nearly sole caregiver" (Stafford and Yeung, 2005, "The distribution of children's developmental resources", p. 291-292. In: Hammermesh and Pfann (eds). The Economics of Time Use)

Specifically, three theories from developmental psychology suggest that shared parent time might have a unique benefit to children over and above the benefit of time alone with either parent. First, family systems theory views the family as an emotional unit whose members are interconnected in a complex system of relationships (Cox and Paley, 2003), which includes mothers, fathers, children, and the relationships among them. This theory posits that understood as an organized whole, the family has properties that are not reducible to its constituent parts. Spending time with both parents together, provided that time is spent positively, may enhance the system of relationships throughout the family. For instance, spending time with children can enhance parents' relationships: when children are present, couples are less hostile and coercive in their behavior towards one another (Deal et al., 1999).

Second, social learning theory suggests that shared parent time might serve a unique function (Bandura, 1977). Much research documents that children suffer socio-emotionally after observing parental conflict and tension, re-enacting such observed aggressive behavior in their peer interactions (Cummings and Wilson, 1999). In contrast, children who observe positive parental interactions demonstrate more pro-social behavior with peers than those who do not

(McHale and Rasmussen, 1998). In other words, shared parent time provides children with unique opportunities to learn how adults interact to solve problems and enjoy each others' company, assuming those interactions are positive.

Finally, the literature on co-parenting suggests that shared time might allow parents to support and learn from one another's parenting strategies. Co-parenting is a general concept that reflects the extent to which parents with conjoint responsibilities for children agree on the methods and values for raising them (Van Egeren and Hawkins, 2004). By parenting simultaneously, parents could share ideas about parenting and negotiate any differences in their styles, generating more informed and unified parenting strategies. More specifically, if one parent uses a particularly successful parenting strategy, the other parent could subsequently adopt that strategy. In this way, shared parenting time could enhance each parent's skills through a process of observation and refinement.

It is important to distinguish time in different parental activities because, according to developmental theory, different parental activities are associated with different child outcomes. These different associations may differ even further depending on who is spending that time (mothers alone, fathers alone, or mothers and fathers together). For example, fathers' time spent doing play-related activities may matter more for a child's development than fathers' time spent doing basic care activities, and perhaps may matter even more than the same time spent with the mother. In this particular case, it could be true because fathers develop expertise in play and companionship relative to basic care by virtue of spending more time engaged in those activities. Moreover, it may be during play that the kinds of social skills fathers teach children are best learned. In contrast, mothers' and fathers' time may be equally valuable for teaching and management if these are activities in which neither parent has an "advantage".

One can also speculate that shared time in different parental activities may be more or less valuable to children. Overall, shared time should be more valuable for activities whose quality would be enhanced by the presence of both parents and less valuable for activities for which a second parent would be unnecessary or at worst detrimental. For example, shared parental time in play or companionship activities could be higher quality and thus more beneficial to children's development when mothers and fathers are both engaged. In contrast, personal care tasks such as feeding or bathing a child may be most efficiently executed by one parent.
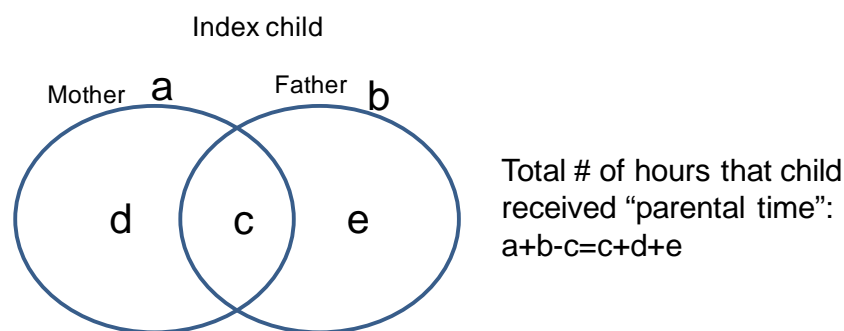
Defining the composition of parental time

We adopt a simple approach to defining the composition of parenting time. It should remain clear that the objective is to measure how much of the time spent by a parent with a child is spent by that parent alone, and not jointly with the other parent; in the same manner, the objective is neither to measure if one parent specializes in the first or the second child, nor to measure if a specific parent invest more or less time compared to the other parent. The objective is to analyze the patterns and determinants of the *composition* of parenting time spent with a particular child in two-parent households (from now on, we will refer to this older child as the

index child), and then analyze how that composition changes under certain key family changes, like the birth of a new baby in the household.

Venn diagrams are useful to illustrate this concept. In Figure 1, we observe how a child spends her time with both her mother and father. Areas a and b represent the *total* amount of time spent with her mother and father, respectively, so that area c represents the amount of time spent by the child with *both* parents at the same time (shared time, but also referred as overlapping time); area d represents the amount of parental time spent by the child with her mother *but not* with the father, and area e represents the amount of time spent with the father *but not* the mother. Therefore, the total amount of parental time received by a child equals a+b-c, or the equivalent c+d+e.

Figure 1

Index child

Mother a   Father b

d   c   e

Total # of hours that child received "parental time": a+b-c=c+d+e

Children who tend to spend most of their parental time with both parents jointly will have larger c areas, while children whose parents tend to spend their parenting time separately will have smaller c areas. If there is no overlapping or shared time at all, then circles a and b will not intersect, which would be the case for parents who are never together spending time with their child.

In order to work within this framework, we need to define the shares of parenting time:

(i)   Mother's time, or maternal time: Share of parenting time spent with the child by the mother and not the father. SM: $d/(c+d+e)$
(ii)   Father's time, or paternal time: Share of parenting time spent with the child by the father and not the mother. SF: $e/(c+d+e)$
(iii)   Shared or overlapping time: Share of parenting spent together with the child by both mother and father. ST: $c/(c+d+e)$

Parents that are more engaged in the bearing of their child will have greater shares, *within* the same family. This clarification is very important because comparisons across families can be misleading: All things constant, a father with a share of 0.2 of the total parenting time is not necessarily less engaged than a father with a share of 0.5, since the 0.2 can represent a much greater investment in terms of absolute number of minutes than the 0.5.

Thus, this set of shares can be summarized as:

- Share of parental time spent by the mother: **SM** = d/(c+d+e)
- Share of parental time spent by the father: **SF** = e/(c+d+e)
- Share of parental time spent together by both mother and father: **ST** = c/(c+d+e)

For some of the reasons explained above, it is our belief that looking at the composition of parenting time is crucial to have a better understanding of how parents allocate, and negotiate, their parenting strategies. Looking at parental time without considering these share structure (or any other composition in particular) can produce misleading and inaccurate conclusions.

Data, sample, and descriptive statistics

We use the waves I and II of the PSID-CDS, with time diaries for around 2,500 children, which describe what the child did in two randomly selected days of the week (one weekday, one weekend day), for 24 hours and by type of activity. The diaries also contain information on who was with the child during those activities (allowing the user to know if the child was with more than one relative, for example). These diaries offer a unique opportunity to answer the questions laid out above since they allow the exploration of changes of specialization patterns on parental time investment for families that did and did not have more children between waves.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the sample; special attention should be given to the row "Had 1/+ siblings 1997-2002", with a 19.4% that represents the proportion of children in the sample who had at least one additional sibling born into their household between waves I and II. This event represent they key variable in our analysis of changing patterns of time use between waves 1 and 2.

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics on parenting time variables for 1997 and 2002, respectively, in hours per day, for weekdays and weekend days. The rows labeled "Mother" and "Father" represent the *total* time invested by each parent (equivalent to areas a and b in graph 1); the row "Shared" represents the amount of time spent by both parents together, also called overlapping time (equivalent to area c in the graph); finally, the rows labeled "mother only" and "father only" represent the time spent by that parent exclusively with the child, without the other parent being present, also called solo time, one-on-one time, or non-shared time (equivalent to areas d and e in graph 1).

Table 2 also sheds some light of how the role of the father differs between weekdays and weekend days: total *paternal* time is more intense during weekend days than during weekdays (from 4 hours each weekend day to 1.6 hours in any weekday), apparently confirming the recent development of the "weekend-fathers" concept, which tells us that fathers make up for a limited involvement in childrearing activities during weekdays with a more active participation on weekends. However, the numbers for father-only time tell a slightly difference story: while the *total* time spent by fathers during weekend days (4 hours) is not small compared to the mothers', the number of hours of father-only time during those days is 1.1 hours; the rest is shared time. While it can be said that it is true that fathers adopt a more active parenting role during the weekends, it seems like that role is contingent on– and maybe even just complementary to- the mother's time.

Fathers and mothers tend to spend different amounts of time with their children depending on their gender, as shown in table 3, confirming the popular belief that, on average, mothers tend to spend more time with their daughters and fathers spend more time with their sons. This type of "indirect gender preference" is prevalent for fathers regardless of the type of day of the week, although it tends to be more obvious during the weekends for father-only time: 1.4 hours per weekend day with sons, and 0.9 hours with daughters; in the case of mothers, this happens only during weekends.

Shares and the composition of parental time

As explained above, simply observing how the numbers of minutes or hours of parental time use change across time, gender, age, etc., can provide an incomplete, and sometimes inaccurate, depiction of the magnitude, structure and composition of parental time, or how they vary across observable characteristics and how they adjust to specific circumstances. In this sense, thinking in terms of composition of parental time can help to provide clear insights for the understanding of how parents allocate of their parenting time.

Tables 6 shows the descriptive statistics of the three time-shares, SM, SF and ST, representing the share of the mother, the father, and both parents together, respectively, for waves I and II. In terms of total parenting time, the greatest workload during weekdays is taken by the mother (57%), share that is greatly reduced during the weekends due to the more active presence of the fathers if the mother is present, which increases the share of time spent together. In terms of solo time, mothers spend double what fathers spend during weekends, and triple during weekdays.

As expected, parents tend to spend more time together with their children during weekends. The tables 6 also shows how the so-called "weekend fathers" are actually not that relevant: while it is true that during weekends, fathers are present 62% of the time a child receives parenting (19% + 43%), the biggest portion of that time (43%) depends on the presence of the mother, reinforcing our initial statement that if there were no weekend-mothers, there would be no weekend-fathers.

Table 6 also shows how the age of a child is positively correlated with the share of time spent by the child with both parents. In other words, it is not just that older children receive less time investment as they grow older (as shown in the previous section), but also that the time they receive is increasingly more shared-time than one-on-one time.

THE IMPACT OF NEW SIBLINGS IN THE COMPOSITION OF PARENTAL TIME IN TWO-PARENT HOUSEHOLDS

The previous sections have specified and analyzed how mothers and fathers allocate their time with their children according to certain observable characteristics, emphasizing how and when they rely more on solo time (one-on-one time) and when to rely more on shared time, in number of minutes but also as a proportion of their total parental time investment.

Across different life-course stages, families experience different sort of transitions, which will then affect the amount, structure and composition of the time spent by the parents with their children. Divorce, disease, parental job loss, sibling birth, among others, are circumstances that can dramatically affect how much time a child spends with both of her parents, whether because time gets more expensive, or because there is less time available. In either case, parents may opt for reallocating their time in order to compensate for any reduction of parental time: namely, each of the parents can opt for spending more one-on-one time with the child, or they can actually adjust to tighter time constraints by prioritizing shared time with the child. If the parents want the child to keep receiving the same amount of parental time, they may opt for more individualized time; if they want the child to see her parents the same number of hours as before, they may opt for more shared time.

Methods and Empirical approach

The main objective of this section is to assess the impact of the birth of an additional sibling on both the amount of parental investment and on the composition or shares of each parent's time investments on their children. In order to be able to explore this, the sample clearly distinguishes between children who did not get any additional siblings between 1997 and 2002 (let's call them group 0) and children who did have one or more new siblings (group 1). For obvious reasons, we can expect *a priori* the parents from those two groups to be different, or to be in different stages of their reproductive cycles. Thus, as explained below, certain issues of selection bias arises, which will be partially addressed by employing a rich set of control variables for the family and the index child.

First, families with children (or one child only) that do not have more children within a five-year period have *most likely* finished their reproductive plans, either because they already have the number of kids they want or because they cannot afford to have more. Thus, we expect families in group 1 to be younger than families in group 0, and to be in earlier stages of their reproductive plans; while fertility decisions are generally not exogenous, it is something that can be partially accounted for by adding the right set of controls.

A second concern regarding selection bias is the fact that families with one child that opted for having an additional child, all else equal, had a first child easier to raise than the first child of the families who did not; in other words, families that decided to have just one child might have made that decision because that child represented a challenge harder than expected (in terms of behavior, time consumption, etc) or even because they realized they had poor or limited parenting skills (CITATION HERE). It can also be the case that some parents opted for having only one child because they were very committed to her and did not want to split their time and resources with an additional child. Unfortunately, dealing with this type of selection bias is much more difficult to address.

Empirical approach

The central purpose of this section of the paper is to assess the impact of the birth of an additional sibling on the composition of parental time; therefore, the main dependent variables are changes in the three shares or components (solo mother, solo father, and shared or time

together) for the parental time variables. The two points in time are 1997 and 2002, which represent the first and second wave of the PSID-CDS.

Thus, the proposed empirical approach is:

$$\Delta SS_{ijld} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Child_{it} + \beta_2 Family_{jt} + \beta_3 Sib_i + u_{ijt} \qquad (1)$$

where ΔSR_{ijmd} represent the change in the shares (SS) for child i from family j; subscript l refers to the subject doing the parenting (mother only, father only, or mother and father); and finally, d represents the type of day (weekend day or weekday).

Child$_i$ is a vector representing child characteristics, including age, gender, number of siblings in household in 1997, birth order, race, and birth weight. Family$_{jt}$ is a vector of family and parental characteristics, including age of the parents, their years of education, employment status, number of hours worked in both years, and household income. Sib$_i$ is a dummy variable equal to one for those children who had one or more siblings being born between waves, and zero otherwise. Finally, u_{ijt} represents the error term.

Preliminary Results

The birth of an additional child can have two types of effects on the index child: the first is on the amount of time that a parent spends with that index child, which we expect would decrease. The second type of effect is on the composition of parental time received by the child. We will focus more on the second type, where the expected direction is not clear: will parents decide to split their time with the index or older child (as in "you take care of her in the mornings, I will take care of her in the afternoons"), or will parents decide to share more of the childrearing responsibilities together? The answers to these questions would give us insights in terms of which children are raised by parents who opt for doing more or fewer childrearing activities together.

Change in the composition of parental time

Table 10 shows the results of running the change on parenting shares between 1997 and 2002 on some child and family covariates, including the HadSib dummy (equal to one only if the family had an additional child between wave I and II). The table illustrates how the birth of an additional child in a household reduces the maternal share by 9.7 percentage points on weekend days and 8.4 percentage points on weekdays; that reduction is compensated with similar increases on shared time, which implies greater participation of fathers together with mothers. Considering the mean ratios in 1997, both coefficients on HadSib represent additional reductions of 19% and 14% in the shares of individualized maternal time, compared to children from similar families that did not have more children between 1997 and 2002; in other words, after the birth of a sibling, an index child gets a smaller proportion of mother solo time on weekends and weekdays.

The results of running the same model but dividing the sample by gender of the index child are presented on table 11. Having an additional child reduces the share of mother solo time spent with sons, both during weekend and weekdays by 12 and 16.4, respectively, without affecting the share of father solo time, but increasing the proportion of time spent by the two parents together. In addition, no major impact occurs during weekend or weekdays in the composition of parental time ratios for girls.

Table 12 presents the results disaggregated in three groups depending on the level of education of the parents. The most interesting result is that in households where the parents have high school education or less, the birth of a sibling is strongly associated with a reduction of 18.8 and 26.4 percentage points in the share of mother solo time during weekend and weekdays, respectively; those reductions are basically entirely absorbed by more overlapped parental time because the share of father solo time remains unchanged. But in households with parents with graduate studies the change comes through the fathers: they increase their solo participation on total parenting time by 25.6 and 22.7 percentage points, accompanied by a strong reduction on the proportion of shared time; this means that in highly educated households, the birth of a sibling is associated with fathers spending a greater portion of time with their old child alone, on a one-on-one basis, and reducing the share of together's time.

We can conclude that, facing the birth of an additional child, on average, it is the case that parents adjust by changing the proportion of shared time invested performing childrearing activities, especially when the older child is a boy, and especially during weekends. In households with parents with low education, parents adjust to the arrival of a new child by prioritizing shared or overlapping time with the older child; in highly educated households, parents adjust by prioritizing specialized time, or time spent with the mother only or with the father only.

Appendix (Preliminary set of tables)

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics, final sample

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Age of child	5.8	3.6	1	13
female	51%			
White	67%			
Black	18%			
Other race	15%			
Birth order	1.8	0.9	1	5
Weight at birth (in pounds)	7.1	1.3	3	15
Number of siblings in 2002	1.4	1.0	0	7
Had 1/+ sibling 1997-2002	19.4%			
Average age of parents	35.6	6.4	18	60.5
Age father	36.0	6.7	19	61
Age mother	33.4	6.2	17	62
Mother's education (years)	13.3	2.7	2	17
Father's education (years)	13.3	2.8	1	17
Average hours worked				
Mother 1997	26.2	18.4	0	98
Father 1997	44.1	12.5	0	96
Mother 2002	28.5	18.4	0	80
Father 2002	45.3	14.1	0	100

The mean values reported in the table are for the year 1997, unless indicated otherwise.

Table 2: Parental time investment (hours per day)

	Wave I (1997)		Wave II (2002)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Weekend day	**6.1**	**6.8**	**4.8**	**6.5**
Mother	4.9	3.1	3.9	3.0
Father	4.0	3.1	3.4	3.1
Shared	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.8
Mother only	2.1	2.2	1.4	2.1
Father only	1.2	1.7	0.9	1.7
Weekday	**3.8**	**4.6**	**2.5**	**3.7**
Mother	3.1	2.5	2.0	1.9
Father	1.6	1.7	1.3	1.7
Shared	0.9	1.1	0.9	1.4
Mother only	2.3	2.3	1.1	1.4
Father only	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.9
Total per week	**31.5**	**36.5**	**21.8**	**31.4**

Table 3: Parental time (hours/day), by gender

	Wave I - 1997		Wave II - 2002	
	Boys	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Weekend day	**5.9**	**6.3**	**4.9**	**4.7**
Mother	4.6	5.2	3.7	4.0
Father	4.0	4.1	3.8	2.9
Shared	2.7	3.0	2.6	2.3
Mother only	1.9	2.2	1.1	1.7
Father only	1.3	1.0	1.2	0.6
Weekday	**3.9**	**3.8**	**2.5**	**2.4**
Mother	3.2	3.1	1.9	2.1
Father	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.2
Shared	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.9
Mother only	2.3	2.2	1.1	1.2
Father only	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3
Total per week	**31.6**	**31.3**	**22.2**	**21.5**

Table 6: Shares of parental time, 1997 & 2002

	Wave I (1997)		Wave II (2002)	
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**
Weekends				
Mother only	0.38	0.33	0.36	0.38
Father only	0.19	0.25	0.18	0.28
Together, shared	0.43	0.33	0.46	0.37
Weekday				
Mother only	0.57	0.34	0.49	0.38
Father only	0.18	0.25	0.17	0.28
Together, shared	0.25	0.28	0.33	0.34

Table 6a: Shares of parental time

	By gender of child		By race of child		
	Boys	**Girls**	**White**	**Black**	**Hispanic**
Weekends					
Mother only	0.36	0.40	0.37	0.46	0.36
Father only	0.22	0.16	0.21	0.12	0.12
Together, shared	0.42	0.44	0.42	0.41	0.52
Weekday					
Mother only	0.55	0.59	0.56	0.59	0.60
Father only	0.19	0.17	0.19	0.16	0.20
Together, shared	0.27	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.20

Table 10: Change in parental time share (mother, father and together), 1997-2002

	Weekend			Weekday		
	ΔSM	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**	**ΔSM**	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**
Had sibling	**-0.096****	**0.004**	**0.092****	**-0.083***	**0.051**	**0.033**
	(0.04)	**(0.03)**	**(0.04)**	**(0.05)**	**(0.04)**	**(0.04)**
Age of child	-0.007	0.004	0.003	0.007	0.004	-0.011**
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Child is a girl	0.101***	-0.024	-0.077***	0.025	-0.061**	0.036
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth order	-0.047**	0.015	0.032	-0.057**	0.057***	-0.001
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Number of siblings	0.036*	-0.01	-0.03	0.039*	-0.047***	0.009
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Mean in 1997	0.45	0.28	0.57	0.66	0.32	0.74

Other controls include: birth order of child, race, birth weight, age and years of education of the parents, number of hours worked per year, household income, among others.

Table 11: Change in parental time share by gender of the child

	Weekend			Weekday		
	ΔSM	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**	**ΔSM**	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**
BOYS						
Had sibling	**-0.120****	**-0.003**	**0.123****	**-0.164*****	**0.048**	**0.116***
	(0.06)	**(0.05)**	**(0.06)**	**(0.06)**	**(0.06)**	**(0.06)**
Mean in 1997	0.43	0.33	0.58	0.64	0.33	0.72
GIRLS						
Had sibling	**-0.047**	**0.004**	**0.043**	**0.003**	**0.051**	**-0.053**
	(0.06)	**(0.05)**	**(0.06)**	**(0.06)**	**(0.05)**	**(0.05)**
Mean in 1997	0.46	0.23	0.56	0.69	0.31	0.75

Other controls include: age, gender, birth order of child, number of siblings, race, birth weight, age and years of education of the parents, number of hours worked per year, among others.

Table 12: Change in parental time share, by parental education

	Weekend			Weekday		
	ΔSM	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**	**ΔSM**	**ΔSF**	**ΔST**
High school or less						
Had sibling	**-0.187****	**0.015**	**0.171***	**-0.261*****	**0.053**	**0.208****
	(0.08)	**(0.06)**	**(0.09)**	**(0.10)**	**(0.05)**	**(0.09)**
College (or some)						
Had sibling	**-0.042**	**-0.05**	**0.092**	**0.005**	**0.053**	**-0.058**
	(0.08)	**(0.05)**	**(0.08)**	**(0.07)**	**(0.07)**	**(0.06)**
College or more						
Had sibling	**0.107**	**0.254****	**-0.361****	**0.231**	**0.229****	**-0.461*****
	(0.14)	**(0.10)**	**(0.14)**	**(0.14)**	**(0.10)**	**(0.13)**

Other controls include: age, gender, birth order of child, number of siblings, race, birth weight, age and years of education of the parents, number of hours worked per year, among others.