EDUCATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN PARENTS' TIME SPENT IN CHILD CARE:

CULTURE, INCENTIVES, OR INCOME CONSTRAINTS?

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PRELIMINARY DRAFT—DO NOT CITE OR QUOTE

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INTRODUCTION

Well educated parents spend more time in child care than their less educated counterparts (Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Bianchi et al. 2006; Bianchi et al 2004; Bryant and Zick 1996; Guryan et al. 2008; Kimmel and Connelly 2007; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001; Sayer et al. 2004). At first glance, this seems puzzling for three reasons. First, the well educated have fewer children (Yang and Morgan 2003), so this might lead them to spend less time on child rearing. Second, women with more education and higher earnings do less housework (Gupta 2007), so, given that both child care and housework are unpaid home production, we might expect that education would affect them similarly. Finally, education increases employment rates among both men and women (Cohen and Bianchi 1999; Cotter et al. 2004; Cotter et al. 2008; England et al. 2004; England et al. 2008), leaving less time for child care, making the extra time the well educated spend in child care especially surprising.

What explains the extra time well educated parents spend in child care? Is it a matter of economic incentives (opportunity costs), income constraints, or class-differentiated culture? Economic incentives would seem to push the opposite way; education increases one's potential wage and thereby encourages more employment, which takes time away from child care. It is possible that the higher income of well educated parents might allow them to outsource more housework, which would free up time for child care, even among those who are employed; if this is true, the lower amount of time in child care by less educated parents would reflect economic constraints. The explanation may also be noneconomic: perhaps, as Laureau (2003) has argued, cultural models of appropriate parenting differ by class, and encourage more time-intensivity among the well educated.

In this paper, we use data from the 2003-2008 American Time Use Study (ATUS) to shed light on these questions. We will show educational differences in the average time spent in child care, and on other uses of time, for married (or cohabiting) mothers and fathers. A series of cross-sectional regression analyses will explore effects of education on mothers' and fathers' time spent in child care (and other uses of time), under a series of economic controls, and for a variety of sub-samples defined by partners' employment status. Through these controls and sample limitations we attempt to ascertain whether income constraints drive time use on child care. If educational differences remain after controls for income, and within subgroups defined by women's level of employment, we will take this as indirect evidence that the force driving the time use is cultural rather than reflecting economic constraints. One distinctive feature of our modeling is that we examine cross-spouse effects; that is, we examine effects of the respondent's own education, as well as the effect of his or her spouse's education, on the respondent's time use.

PAST RESEARCH

Women's Employment and Child Care Time

We often think of stay-at-home moms as the quintessential child care providers. Given this, we expect that the long-term increase in women's employment must have taken parental time away from children, especially since men didn't decrease their hours of work to match women's increases. Consistent with this, in cross-sectional comparisons, employed women do spend less time in child care and less time with children (Bryant and Zick 1996; Sandberg and Hofferth 2001). But the differential is not as great as one might think. This is partly because approximately a quarter of mothers work part-time (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009, Table 5), taking less time away from children than full-time employment would. Another reason for a small differential in time spent in child care between employed and nonemployed mothers is that the latter spend surprisingly few

hours per day actually doing child care as their primary activity, as opposed to housework, shopping, or leisure, some of which may be done while one is with children. Bianchi et al. (2006:218) found that in 2000, mothers who were employed 1.5 hours/day in child care, while the number for nonemployed averaged 2.5.[1] Zick and Bryant (1996a) estimate that the effect of each additional hour of women's employment is about three minutes in lost child care time. Even if we expand "child care" to include all time a child spends with a parent, children with employed mothers spend only 5.5 more hours per week in 1997 with their mother than children whose mothers were not employed, less than an hour per day (Sandberg and Hofferth 2001). Nock and Kingston (1988) found that women's employment takes mothers primarily away from homemaking activities that involve children very little. This is why it is possible for women's employment to have increased vastly across the decades, with no discernible decrease in the time mothers spend with children (Bianchi 2000; Bryant and Zick 1996b). Bryant and Zick (1996b) assembled time use studies from the 1920s to the 1980s and found no change in married parents' time in direct child care during this period, despite the large increase in women's employment. Sandberg and Hofferth (2001) assessed change between 1981 and 1997 in the PSID in how much time children in two-parent families spent with their parents (regardless of what the parents were doing). They found an *increase* of a few hours in time with both mothers and fathers, averaging across all family types, despite increased mother's employment. They conclude that the change was not "structural" (by which they mean explained by changes in average levels of measured variables such as women's employment and education), but rather "behavioral." Bianchi et al. (2006) use several national time use studies from different decades and show that fathers did 3 hours/week of child care in 1965, 1975, and 1985, but increased to 4 in 1995 and 7 in 2000. Mothers' time decreased and then increased across the period, moving from 10 hours/week in 1965 down to 8 hours in 1985, and up to 13 hours/week in 2000.

Past Research on Education and Child Care Time

Because time diary studies are the "gold standard" for accurate measurement of time use, we will limit our review to studies using this method. The finding that well educated parents spend more time in child care appears in literature over three decades old (Leibowitz 1974, 1977; Hill and Stafford 1974, 1980; Timmer et al. 1985). Leibowitz shows that college educated mothers not only spend more time overall in child care, but spend an especially large surplus in enrichment activities such as reading to children (see also Bianchi and Robinson 1997). Examining time spent with children, regardless of whether the activity was child care, Bryant and Zick (1996) used an older dataset from the 1970s and showed that, compared to their less well educated counterparts, well educated mothers spent more time with younger children, while well educated fathers spend more time with older children. Using more recent data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) Child Development Supplement, Hofferth and Sandberg (2001) find that children with well educated mothers spend more time with their mothers. While past literature on an education gradient in time use for fathers is mixed (see review in Bianchi et al. 2004), the national time diary studies that preceded the ATUS showed a positive relationship between the education of both fathers and mothers and time spent in child care (Bianchi et al 2004). Moreover, these authors claim that differences by education did not change between 1965 and 2000 for either sex. Guryan et al. (2008) use the American Time Use Surveys (2003-2006 waves) and analogous datasets for 14 other countries, and cross-sectional regressions including demographic controls to assess educational differences. They find a nearly ubiquitous pattern in which more educated mothers and fathers spend more time in child care. Kimmel and Connelly (2006) use the 2003-2004 ATUS and estimate a four-equation system predicting mothers' time use in housework, leisure, market work, and child care;

[1] Of course, as Folbre and Yoon (2007) point out, such time vastly underestimates the time that a parent must be on call in case a child needs them, and thus is not a good measure of total supervisory responsibility that we might want to call "care."

this approach too shows that well educated mothers spend more time in child care. Using similar datasets, Sayer et al. (2004) examine the education gradient for Canada, Germany, Italy, and Norway, finding consistent educational differences for mothers. For fathers, they find large differences in Canada and Italy, small differences in Germany, and no educational differences in Norway.

Our goal in this paper is to describe educational differences in time use by mothers and fathers, to examine net effects of spouses' own education in models controlling for their spouses' education and other demographic controls, and to examine cross-spouse effects which might capture how spouses influence each other. We also seek to ascertain whether the extra time spent in child care by the well educated is a function of economic constraints, such as the need to work long hours because of a low wage rate, or lack of income with which to purchase substitutes for housework, thus necessitating more time in housework that could take away from time in child care.

DATA AND METHODS

Data and Sample

The analysis is based on American Time Use Survey (ATUS). We have pooled data from 2003 to 2008 surveys. Our sample consists of married (spouse present) or cohabiting[2] men and women aged 21-54 years and who have at least one child in the household. (For convenience, below we use the terms "spouse," "husband," and "wife" to pertain to cohabiting as well as married partners.) This age choice should limit students and retirees to a minimum. We excluded same-sex couples, as well as men and women enrolled in school. The analytic sample is 21659 respondents (9936 males and 11723 females).

The ATUS collected one-day time diaries from respondents; as part of a telephone interview, respondents were asked to recall the primary activity they were doing in each period, starting at midnight and noting a start and end time for each activity. ATUS data can be linked to Current Population Survey (CPS) data to provide other socio-demographic variables; we have utilized this link. While we only have time use data on one member of each couple, we utilize CPS data on the spouse's education, wage, and earnings.

Variables

Dependent Variable: Time Use. Our dependent variables are amounts of time spent in the day of the diary on various categories of time use. Our analysis is limited to what the respondent reported as the primary activity done in each period. (ATUS did not collect data on secondary activities.) Following ATUS conventions, we have grouped activities into seven major categories, each of which is used as a dependent variable in selected analyses: Paid Work (which includes activities in search of a job for the unemployed), Child Care, Housework (which includes repair and yard work), Shopping, Personal Care (which includes sleep, grooming, bathing, and dressing), Eating, and Leisure (including sports). Because a major use of leisure time is television watching, and it relates differently to education than other forms of leisure, we show leisure divided into television and other components in descriptive tables. (There is also a residual "other" category which adds to very little time on average.) Also following conventions in ATUS published reports, we consider travel related to a particular activity within the corresponding activity category, so that travel to work is part of

[2] Our decision to include cohabitors is because, among the less educated, nonmarital births and unmarried cohabiting couples with children are very common, and to exclude them would render the sample of the least educated couples less representative of family life in low SES couples. Overall, however, only 1.6% of our analytic sample are cohabiting.

paid work, taking a child to school or an appointment is child care,[3] and travel to a store is considered part of shopping.

Time-use estimates given in our descriptive tables are presented in hours per day and represent an "average day" with weekend days weighted appropriately as 2/7; alternatively one can multiply by 7 to get weekly time use.

Independent Variable of Interest: Education. Our primary independent variable of interest is education. Respondents have been classified into four categories: Less than High School, High School Graduate with no College, Some College but no 4 year degree, and College Graduate (Bachelors and above). Respondents who reported their educational attainment as "Some college but no degree" and "associate degree-occupational/vocational/academic program" have been put in the category "some college." The same categories were used for spouses' education.

Control Variables: Other variables enter regressions as controls, or are used as a basis for defining subgroups on which we present descriptive statistics. They are detailed below.

Race/Ethnic Composition: We have considered four categories for race and ethnicity: (NonHispanic) White, Hispanic, (NonHispanic) Black, and Others (the largest subcategory of which is Asian). All Hispanics (of any race) form one category; rest of the categories refers to non-Hispanics only. Respondents who reported more two or more races have been put into "Others." In regression analyses, whites are the reference category.

Employment Status: Employed persons are identified by using the labor force status of the respondent. Those who say that they are employed, whether at work or absent, are considered "employed." If the respondents report that they are unemployed – on lay off or looking, or are not in labor force, they are considered "non-employed." We use this variable to create subsamples of household types for separate descriptive or regression analyses.

Age: Age is measured in years and its square is also entered into regressions to allow for nonlinear effects.

Number of Children: This is a continuous variable representing the number of children under 18 in the household. All households have at least one child to be in the sample.

Age of youngest child: This is a continuous variable representing the age of the youngest child under 18 in the household.

Marital Status: A dummy variable codes cohabiting partners as 0 and married as 1. In tables, the term "spouse," "husband," or "wife," refers to married as well as cohabiting partners.

Family Income: This is entered as a set of dummy variables representing the percentile of the family the respondent's reported total family income is in: 1-20% (reference category), 20-40%, 40-60%, 60-80%, 80-95%, 95-100%. So that we are measuring relative income for the specific year, we created family income percentiles for each survey year separately. Because cohabitors are not considered "family" in government statistics, analyses entering family income exclude the 1.6% of the analytic sample who are cohabiting.

Region: This is entered as a set of dummy variables: South (reference category), Northeast, Midwest, West.

[3] However, using ATUS conventions, taking a child to child care services is "shopping."

Metropolitan status: We code non-metropolitan or nonidentified areas as 1 and metropolitan areas as 0. [4]

Year of interview: This is entered as a set of dummy variables to capture period effects: 2003 (reference category), 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008.

Weekly earning of the respondent and spouse: This is a continuous variable representing the amount in dollars earned per week. The weekly earning of non-employed individuals has been put to zero. We have also considered r*elative weekly earning of respondent and spouse* which is the ratio of the respondent's to his/her spouse's weekly earning.

Hourly wage of respondent and spouse: This variable is constructed by CPS staff by dividing weekly earnings by regular hours of worked per week. It is a continuous variable representing the hourly wage rate of the respondent and spouse. The r*elative hourly wage of respondent and spouse* is a ratio of the respondent's to his/her spouse's hourly wage.

Hours of paid work of respondent and spouse: This is a continuous variable representing the regular weekly numbers of hours at paid work reported by the individual in the CPS; this is not the measure of time spend in paid work from the time diary. The value has been put to 0 if the individual is non-employed. This variable enters some of our regressions predicting child care (or other uses of time other than paid work) as a control.

We use ATUS final weights for all descriptive analyses. Regressions are unweighted.

Models and Methods

We start by reporting means for each time use category, separately for each education category (Table 1). We then report these means separately for a number of "household types" defined by men's and women's employment. Limiting ourselves to households in which men are employed full time, we examine those in which the women are not employed, employed part-time (less than 35 hours/week, based on their CPS report of regular weekly hours worked), and employed full-time (over 35 hours/week).

We then perform a number of OLS regression models in which hours spent in each of the time use categories are the dependent variables. (We do not include a model for "other.") In these models, education is the independent variable of intereset, and we always control for race, age (and its square), number of children, and age of youngest child, and, where cohabitors are not excluded from the models, for marital status of the couple. These baseline regressions are reported in Table 3 (men) and Table 4 (women). We then perform another series of OLS regressions predicting child care on various sub-samples with various "economic" controls. These are in Table 5. The subsamples used are: both employed (whether full- or part-time), both employed full-time, full-time employed male with part-time employed female, and full-time employed male with nonemployed female. By "economic" controls we refer to the following; models predicting (men's or women's) child care time are run with controls for each of the following: 1) family income, 2) weekly earnings of respondent and spouse, 3) hours of paid work of respondent and spouse, 4) respondent's weekly earnings as a ratio of spouse's weekly earnings, 5) respondent's hourly wage as a ratio of spouse's hourly wage. Models holding constant wives' employment or controlling for the above factors are

[4] Changes in the CPS definition of "metropolitan" in 2000 were implemented in 2004. We used the definition of metropolitan in force for each given year in the CPS data.

used to discern whether economic constraints or incentives can explain the educational gradient on child care. An important feature of Table 5 is that it shows the effects of respondent's and spouse's education (coefficients for all other variables are so that cross-spouse effects can be discerned. Tables 6-10 are parallel to 5 except in the dependent variable, which is no longer child care time. Since descriptive analysis showed that well educated parents spend more time in child care and paid work, but less time in housework (for women) and (for both men and women) personal care, and leisure, we provide models on various sub-samples and with various economic controls predicting these dependent variables (and, for leisure, we also provide models for television and other leisure).

RESULTS

Education and Time Use: Descriptive Results

Table 1 shows the basic descriptive findings—mean differences in hours per day spent on each activity type, separately for partnered (married or cohabiting) mothers and fathers. Fathers with less than high school spend .8 hour/day, while college graduates spend 1.3 hours on child care; for women the analogous figures are 1.8 and 2.6 hours. (Below if we give only the figures for the lowest and highest group, this means the relationship is monotonic or nearly so.) Moreover, the tendency of well educated men and women to spend more time in child care holds across types of families defined by whether the woman is employed full-time, part-time, or not at all (Table 2). When both partners work full time in the market, men spend .7 of an hour per day in child care compared to 1.2 for college graduates; the analogous figures for women are .9 and 1.9. Men's hours of child care vary little by whether their wives are employed (Table 2), but women's approximately double if they are not employed. Nonetheless, where women are not employed (but men are employed full-time), we still see an educational gradient for women; those with less than high school spend 2.4 hours/day in child care ascending monotonically to 3.7 for college graduates.

This educational difference in child care time is particularly striking because college graduates have fewer children. In our sample of partnered parents (combining men and women), 31% of the college educated but only 25% of those with less than high school have only one child, while 38% percent of those with less than high school have more than 2 children, compared to only 22% of college graduates (results not shown).

Another thing that makes the educational difference in child care time striking is that it is working "against" educational differences in paid work time. Paid work increases monotonically for men and women, but much more so for women. Male high school dropouts average 6 hours a day in paid work, compared to 6.5 for college graduates; the comparable figures for women are 2.1 and 3.4. Importantly, however, these differences in average hours of paid work reflect a greater compositional representation of nonemployed men and women among the less educated, not longer work hours among the well-educated who are employed. This can be seen from the fact that, in Table 2, education has no monotonic relationship to hours in paid work for either full-time employed women (see the "both partners full-time" row) or employed men (since all rows limit to full-time employed husbands here, this can be seen across all rows).

Given that the day has only 24 hours (and ATUS procedures force respondents to answer in such a way that their total hours across activities add to 24), if highly educated parents spend more time in child care and more of them are employed, they must spend less time in some other activity. Where do highly educated parents "take" the time from? While our cross-sectional descriptive analysis cannot clarify causal order—which time use allocations are affecting which others—we can make at least a simple accounting assessment of which activities well educated parents spend less on. Table 1 shows that both men and women spend less on personal care (which includes sleep and grooming)

if their education is higher. For men this ranges from 9.4 for those without high school to 8.5 hours per day for college graduates (Table 1). The analogous figures for women are 9.8 and 8.9 (Table 1). This difference, in itself, is enough to explain all of the child care gap by education for both men and women. Again, these differences by education in personal care, like those in child care, are apparent across all the family types defined by whether and how much women are employed.

Leisure is another candidate for where more educated get the extra time that they put into child care; it ranges monotonically from 4.4 hours per day for men with less than high school to 3.7 hours for college graduates, with the analogous (not quite monotonic) range for women from 4 to 3.3 hours (Table 1). However, upon breaking leisure down into television watching and all other leisure and sports, we see that it is only television that has this negative gradient, going from 2.7 hours/day for men with less than a high school degree down to 1.7 for college graduates, with the analogous figures for women 2.5 and 1.4 (Table 1). The rest of leisure and sports has a positive education gradient, with figures corresponding to those above going from 1.6 to 2.0 for men and 1.5 to 1.9 for women (Table 1). These education gradients—negative for television watching and positive for the remainder of leisure and sports—also hold for all family types, whether the woman is employed full-time, part-time, or not at all (Table 2).

Housework is another category from which well educated women may steal some extra time for child care. Education has little bivariate relationship to housework for men, but women, who do much more housework than men, do less of it as their education increases, from 3.5 hours/day done by those with less than high school to 2.4 hours/day done by college graduates (Table 1). In one sense it is hardly surprising that college educated women do less household work, given that they do more paid work. However, Table 2 shows that even if we limit the average to women working for pay full-time, those with more education do less housework (2.7 hours/day for those with less than high school and 1.9 for college graduates). It is also true in families where women are not employed for pay that the better educated women do less housework than the less educated. This makes it more likely that there is some tradeoff of housework for child care time. Below we will address the question of whether the education gradient in this tradeoff is a function of the income of the well educated, a plausible hypothesis since we know that well educated women are married to higher earning men.

In sum, looking at descriptive statistics to discern where well educated get the extra time they put into paid work and child care, we see that the major activity groups on which they spend less time are personal care, television watching, and, for women only, housework. Also striking is how robust educational differences are across family types defined by whether and how much the woman is employed. Often women's paid work affects their time allocation on other things, as we would expect, but educational differences in child care time are present within families where women are working for pay full time, working for pay part-time, and working as homemakers full-time.

Regression Analyses Predicting Time Use From Education and Selected Controls

We now move to regression analyses predicting child care and other uses of time from education and selected noneconomic controls (Tables 3 and 4 for the whole sample of fathers and mothers, respectively). Then we move to selected regression analyses predicting child care with selected economic control variables, and for various sub-samples of family types defined by women's employment (Table 5). We then examine models predicting time in the categories from which our descriptive results suggested that the time the well educated put into child care may be coming—housework, personal care (including sleep), and leisure and its subcomponents (Tables 6-10). Tables 3 and 4 are interesting because, in addition to standard controls (e.g. age, race, number and age of

children), we assess the effect of the respondents education in a model that includes his or her spouse's education as well.

As far as we know, no past analyses have tried to disentangle effects of his and her education, allowing cross-spouse effects of education. Due to educational homogamy, spouses' education is correlated, but not so highly as to create collinearity. Table 3, with no economic, but many sociodemographic controls, shows that, relative to those with less than high school, men with some college spend .219 hour/day more in child care, and those with a bachelor's degree spend .298 more. Net of these effects, men whose partners are college educated spend slightly (.09 hour/day) more. As in the descriptive statistics, we see that net of other variables, more educated men spend more time in paid work, less time in personal care, and less time in leisure and sports. When their female partners are more educated, this too creates decrements in their personal care and leisure.

For women, Table 4 shows effects on time use categories other than child care consistent with the descriptive results: negative effects of women's education on housework, personal care, and leisure remain significant when controlling for husband's education, as does the positive effect of her education on her own hours of employment. However, surprisingly that women's own education has no net effect on child care in this basic model for the whole sample without economic controls. But a woman's husband's education increases her child care time. At first glance, this makes us question whether the descriptive pattern above was an "artifact" of the correlation of her education with her husband's education, and the effect of his education and income in increasing her child care, perhaps by lowering her paid work.

However, further analyses in Table 5 make clear that economic variables (income, earnings, hours of paid work) serve as surpressors when not controlled, and the effect of women's own education, at least for college graduates relative to those with less than high school, reappears whenever these controls are put in, or whenever we hold women's labor supply relatively constant by limiting the analyses to families with mothers who are similar in paid work hours (full-time, part-time, or nonemployed). For example, taking the sample as a whole, Table 5 shows that when nothing is changed from the model in Table 4 except that family income is added as a control, women with a college degree spend .26/hour per day more in child care than those with less than high school. If, instead of controlling for family income, we simply control for the hours of paid work of the woman and her spouse, the model shows that, compared to women with less than high school, those with some college do .196 hours/day more n child care, while those with a college degree do .455 hour/day more (Table 5). Moreover, even without controls for income or wage, relative or absolute, when both spouses are employed, college educated women do more child care than those without high school by over a half hour a day (Table 5). They effects of women's education are even larger when they are employed part-time. The only family type among which there are no significant net effects of women's own education on her child care time is where she is not employed. In most all the models predicting women's child care, her husband's education also positively affects her child care time. However, these effects are only about half of the size of the own education effects in subsamples constrained to one family type defined by women's employment.

Why does a woman's husband's education affect her child care? This does not appear to be because of his education increasing his income and allowing her to do less paid work and less housework (through outsourcing), because if this were true the cross-spouse effect on women should go away under economic controls for family income or weekly earnings, but they do not (Table 5). Table 6 allows us to see if men's education reduces affects their wives' housework in models without economic controls, which would be consistent with the idea that his income allows her to outsource, spend less time on housework, and thereby more in child care. But we do not see virtually any evidence of cross-spouse education effects on her housework in Table 6, which belies the idea that

his education is affecting her child care through his income reducing her housework. What is striking is how much women's own education reduces her housework in every family type (with the one exception of those in which she is employed part-time), under most economic controls.

Table 5's subsample and economic control analysis shows that the effects of men's education on their own child care time is stronger in the overall sample, but often disappears when women's employment status is held constant. Among men whose wives are not employed, the well educated spend more time in child care, but this is not true where both are employed. Table 5's analysis of men also shows strong cross-spouse effects for men of their wives' education for most family types.

Table 8 shows that in the whole sample, under controls, we see a negative effect of own education on personal care for both men and women, consistent with the idea that this is sacrificed for child care among the well educated. Table 8 takes time watching television as the dependent variable and shows strong and consistent negative education effects on men's television watching, with little cross-spouse effect. For women, it appears to be only among the nonemployed that education is significantly related to television watching. Thus for men, the more highly educated may indeed get some of the time put into child care from not watching television. That they do not get it from other forms of leisure is shown by Table 9, which shows that education is either unrelated to other forms or leisure, or increases time in it. (Table 10's models take all of leisure as the dependent variable.)

CONCLUSION

We have shown that education increases men's and women's time in child care across all families. This is striking since the well educated are also more likely to be employed. The "extra" time for child care appears to be coming from spending less on personal care (including sleep), television watching, and, for women, housework. Moreover, when one's spouse has more education, a man or woman is also likely to spend more time in child care.

The greater time spent in child care is not "explained" by the higher income of households. Economic incentives do not explain these differences, as the highly educated have a greater incentive to spend more time in market work. Nor are they explained by the lower work hours of the well educated, since they persist under controls for regular hours of market work.

Thus, we conclude that the differences are probably cultural, reflecting a different conception of appropriate child rearing, one that is more time-intensive, among the highly educated. Our findings are consistent with Lareau's (2003) suggestion that the upper-middle class are more likely than their working or lower class counterparts to see good parenting as requiring "concerted cultivation." This ideology of investment requires more time in direct care of children.

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Table 1. Average time (in hours) spent per day on various activities by American fathers and mothers aged 21-54 years by their educational attainment (2003-2008)

Activities	Fathers				Mothers			
	Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelors and above	Less than High School	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelors and above
Paid Work	6.0	6.2	6.2	6.5	2.1	3.1	3.4	3.4
Childcare	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.6
Housework	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.3	3.5	2.8	2.7	2.4
Shopping	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.1
Personal Care	9.4	8.8	8.6	8.5	9.8	9.3	9.2	8.9
Eating	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.3
Leisure	4.4	4.3	4.1	3.7	4.0	4.1	3.6	3.3
Leisure-TV	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.7	2.5	2.3	1.8	1.4
Leisure-Other	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.9
Other	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.0
N	**936**	**2565**	**2546**	**3889**	**1014**	**2798**	**3253**	**4658**

Table 2. Average time (in hours) spent per day on various activities by American fathers and mothers aged 21-54 years by employment status of husband and wife and respondent's education (2003-2008)

	Fathers				Mothers			
	<HS	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	<HS	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+
Paid Work								
Both partners full-time	6.6	6.4	6.6	6.4	5.9	5.3	5.6	5.5
Husband full-time, wife part-time	6.4	7.3	6.2	6.7	3.5	3.4	3.0	2.9
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	6.9	7.0	7.0	6.9	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Childcare								
Both partners full-time	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.9	1.2	1.4	1.9
Husband full-time, wife part-time	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.9	2.1	2.8
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.3	2.4	2.7	3.0	3.7
Housework								
Both partners full-time	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	2.7	2.2	2.1	1.9
Husband full-time, wife part-time	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.2	3.1	2.5	2.8	2.6
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.2	4.1	3.8	3.6	3.3
Shopping								
Both partners full-time	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0
Husband full-time, wife part-time	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.0
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.2
Personal Care								
Both partners full-time	9.1	8.8	8.5	8.5	9.5	9.1	9.1	8.9
Husband full-time, wife part-time	9.1	8.4	8.7	8.4	9.5	9.2	9.2	8.9
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	9.3	8.8	8.6	8.5	9.9	9.6	9.3	9.1
Eating								
Both partners full-time	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2
Husband full-time, wife part-time	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.4
Leisure								
Both partners full-time	4.1	4.2	3.9	3.7	2.6	3.6	3.1	2.9
Husband full-time, wife part-time	4.3	3.9	4.0	3.6	3.8	3.9	3.6	3.4
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.5	4.5	4.7	4.3	3.9
Leisure-TV								
Both partners full-time	2.7	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.9	1.6	1.3
Husband full-time, wife part-time	2.5	2.1	2.1	1.6	2.2	2.1	1.7	1.4
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	2.4	2.3	1.9	1.6	3.1	2.7	2.1	1.5
Leisure-Other								
Both partners full-time	1.5	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.1	1.7	1.6	1.6
Husband full-time, wife part-time	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.0
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	1.5	1.7	1.9	2.0	1.5	2.1	2.2	2.4
Other								
Both partners full-time	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.7
Husband full-time, wife part-time	0.6	0.5	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1
Husband full-time, wife non-employed	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.3

Note: Both partners employed full-time (N=8315); Husband employed full-time, wife employed part-time (N=4303); Husband employed full-time, wife non-employed (N=6378)

<HS=Less than High School; HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Table 3. Coefficients from OLS models predicting various activities (hours per day): Americans fathers 21-54 years who have at least one child in the household (2003-2008)

	Paid Work		Childcare		Housework		Shopping		Personal Care		Eating		Leisure	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Education (Ref=<High School)														
High School Graduate	.342	.030	.116	.030	-.008	-.002	.012	.004	-.351	-.073 ***	.097	.042 *	-.169	-.023
Some College	.423	.037 *	.219	.056 **	.054	.011	.015	.005	-.492	-.102 ***	.176	.076 ***	-.438	-.059 **
Bachelors and above	.436	.042 *	.298	.086 ***	-.132	-.029	.050	.018	-.490	-.113 ***	.265	.128 ***	-.550	-.082 ***
Spouse's Education (Ref=<High School)														
High School Graduate	.133	.011	.059	.015	.009	.002	-.181	-.057 **	-.076	-.015	.000	.000	-.060	-.008
Some College	.043	.004	.093	.025	.135	.027	-.105	-.035	-.188	-.040	-.009	-.004	-.076	-.010
Bachelors and above	.024	.002	.311	.090 ***	.181	.040	-.130	-.048	-.246	-.057 *	.099	.048 *	-.342	-.051 *
Age	-.015	-.019	.016	.062 ***	.019	.055 ***	.004	.019	-.019	-.058 ***	.003	.021	-.015	-.030 *
Age squared	.001	.009	-.001	-.016	.000	-.010	.000	-.002	.000	.005	.000	-.016	-.001	-.008
Number of household children <18 years	.025	.005	.072	.040 ***	.056	.024 *	-.031	-.022 *	-.046	-.021 *	-.009	-.009	-.125	-.036 ***
Age of youngest household child <18 years	.018	.017	-.105	-.290 ***	.010	.021	-.004	-.016	.015	.033 **	-.003	-.012	.053	.076 ***
Marital Status (Ref=Cohabiting)														
Married	1.152	.028 ***	-.253	-.018	-.139	-.008	-.045	-.004	-.254	-.015	-.192	-.023 *	-.600	-.022 *
Race/Ethnicity (Ref=White)														
Hispanic	.335	.023 *	-.265	-.055 ***	-.409	-.064 ***	.137	.036 **	.389	.064 ***	.034	.012	-.103	-.011
Black	-.470	-.021 *	-.263	-.034 ***	-.325	-.032 ***	-.022	-.004	.231	.024 *	-.325	-.072 ***	.860	.059 ***
Asian/Others	-.012	-.001	-.113	-.016	-.500	-.052 ***	.104	.018	.391	.043 ***	.120	.028 **	.003	.000
Region (Ref=South)														
Northeast	-.053	-.004	.164	.037 ***	.090	.016	.031	.009	-.035	-.006	.066	.025 *	-.116	-.014
Midwest	-.235	-.021 *	.027	.007	.059	.012	.074	.024 *	-.012	-.002	.017	.008	.165	.022 *
West	-.346	-.029 **	-.057	-.014	.128	.024 *	.110	.034 **	.100	.020	.071	.030 *	.068	.009
Metropolitan Status (Ref=Metropolitan)														
Non-metropolitan/ Non-identified	.120	.009	-.056	-.013	.017	.003	-.042	-.012	-.035	-.006	-.029	-.011	-.001	.000
Year of Interview (Ref=2003)														
2004	-.105	-.008	-.040	-.009	-.033	-.005	-.003	-.001	.036	.006	.077	.028 *	.124	.014
2005	-.109	-.008	.016	.003	-.031	-.005	-.038	-.010	.100	.017	.137	.049 ***	.023	.003
2006	-.088	-.006	.013	.003	.035	.006	-.023	-.006	.032	.005	.070	.025 *	.036	.004
2007	.015	.001	.010	.002	-.068	-.011	-.030	-.008	-.020	-.003	.093	.033 **	.039	.004
2008	-.012	-.001	.000	.000	-.049	-.008	-.136	-.036 **	.091	.015	.061	.021	.032	.003
Diary Day was a weekday (Ref=Yes)														
No	-5.978	-.592 ***	.130	.038 ***	1.104	.246 ***	.438	.164 ***	1.099	.260 ***	.275	.137 ***	2.350	.359 ***
Constant	6.991		.859		.289		.563		9.781		.983		4.872	
Adjusted R Square	.352		.107		.072		.031		.096		.044		.150	

Note: *N* =9890 (excludes 46 cases where the spouse's education is missing); b = unstandardized regression coefficient; Beta = standardized regression coefficient.

*p <=.05; **p <=.01; ***p <=.001, two-tailed tests

Table 4. Coefficients from OLS models predicting various activities (hours per day): Americans mothers 21-54 years who have at least one child in the household (2003-2008)

	Paid Work		Childcare		Housework		Shopping		Personal Care		Eating		Leisure	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Education (Ref=<High School)														
High School Graduate	.616	.068 ***	-.038	-.007	-.427	-.076 ***	-.009	-.002	-.183	-.039 *	-.001	-.001	-.006	-.001
Some College	1.007	.116 ***	-.010	-.002	-.497	-.093 ***	.062	.018	-.341	-.077 ***	.043	.020	-.376	-.061 **
Bachelors and above	1.281	.162 ***	.165	.037	-.747	-.153 ***	.057	.018	-.493	-.121 ***	.112	.056 *	-.499	-.088 ***
Spouse's Education (Ref=<High School)														
High School Graduate	-.086	-.010	.188	.038 *	-.090	-.016	-.039	-.011	-.041	-.009	-.031	-.014	.004	.001
Some College	-.254	-.029	.307	.061 ***	-.154	-.028	.039	.011	-.064	-.014	.027	.012	-.027	-.004
Bachelors and above	-.789	-.099 ***	.538	.120 ***	-.058	-.012	.051	.016	-.034	-.008	.148	.074 ***	-.136	-.024
Age	-.018	-.031 **	.013	.040 ***	.043	.120 ***	.001	.002	-.025	-.083 ***	.000	.002	-.027	-.065 ***
Age squared	-.003	-.034 ***	.000	.000	.000	.005	.000	.002	.000	.012	.000	-.017	.001	.027 **
Number of household children <18 years	-.265	-.065 ***	.127	.055 ***	.244	.097 ***	.000	.000	-.140	-.067 ***	-.028	-.027 **	-.065	-.022 **
Age of youngest household child <18 years	.093	.115 ***	-.200	-.439 ***	-.008	-.015	.014	.044 ***	.027	.064 ***	-.004	-.020	.068	.118 ***
Marital Status (Ref=Cohabiting)														
Married	.140	.005	.059	.003	.088	.005	.041	.003	-.119	-.008	.212	.028 **	-.588	-.027 **
Race/Ethnicity (Ref=White)														
Hispanic	.014	.001	-.407	-.066 ***	.300	.045 ***	.025	.006	.389	.070 ***	.056	.021	-.304	-.039 ***
Black	.881	.046 ***	-.508	-.047 ***	-.590	-.050 ***	-.114	-.015	.493	.050 ***	-.290	-.061 ***	-.071	-.005
Asian/Others	.193	.012	.071	.008	.112	.011	-.099	-.015	.142	.017	.182	.044 ***	-.465	-.039 ***
Region (Ref=South)														
Northeast	.010	.001	.144	.026 **	.151	.025 *	-.068	-.017	-.087	-.017	-.027	-.011	.026	.004
Midwest	.221	.025 **	-.021	-.004	.129	.024 *	-.114	-.033 **	-.092	-.020 *	-.063	-.029 **	.027	.004
West	-.074	-.008	-.114	-.022 *	.134	.023 *	-.094	-.026 *	.091	.019	-.019	-.008	.092	.014
Metropolitan Status (Ref=Metropolitan)														
Non-metropolitan/ Non-identified	.238	.024 **	-.218	-.038 ***	.180	.029 **	-.101	-.025 **	-.036	-.007	-.036	-.014	-.145	-.020 *
Year of Interview (Ref=2003)														
2004	.038	.004	-.018	-.003	.009	.001	.080	.019	-.035	-.006	-.013	-.005	.080	.010
2005	-.072	-.007	-.059	-.010	.027	.004	.047	.011	.030	.006	-.002	-.001	.120	.016
2006	.183	.017	-.124	-.021 *	-.060	-.009	.078	.019	.004	.001	-.010	-.004	.063	.008
2007	.045	.004	-.082	-.013	.006	.001	-.105	-.024 *	.027	.005	-.010	-.004	.195	.025 *
2008	.161	.015	-.081	-.013	-.169	-.025 *	-.023	-.005	-.009	-.002	.020	.007	.176	.022 *
Diary Day was a weekday (Ref=Yes)														
No	-3.123	-.403 ***	-.742	-.170 ***	.446	.094 ***	.304	.100 ***	1.036	.260 ***	.305	.157 ***	1.440	.260 ***
Constant	3.951		2.647		.931		.808		10.310		.878		4.766	
Adjusted R Square	.193		.249		.046		.015		.103		.049		.092	

Note: *N* =11694 (excludes 29 cases where the spouse's education is missing); b = unstandardized regression coefficient; Beta = standardized regression coefficient.

*p <=.05; **p <=.01; ***p <=.001, two-tailed tests

Table 5. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in childcare for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Childcare: Effect of Own Education HS Grad	Effect of Own Education Some Coll	Effect of Own Education BA+	Effect of Spouse's Education HS Grad	Effect of Spouse's Education Some Coll	Effect of Spouse's Education BA+	N	Effects on Women's Childcare: Effect of Own Education HS Grad	Effect of Own Education Some Coll	Effect of Own Education BA+	Effect of Spouse's Education HS Grad	Effect of Spouse's Education Some Coll	Effect of Spouse's Education BA+	N
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	.116	**.219**	**.298**	.059	.093	**.311**	9890	-.038	-.010	.165	**.188**	**.307**	**.538**	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.142	**.233**	**.286**	.030	.069	**.274**	8804	.038	.075	**.264**	**.174**	**.298**	**.527**	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.085	**.173**	**.308**	.103	.120	**.308**	7890	-.006	.009	**.338**	**.188**	**.300**	**.426**	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.131	**.250**	**.359**	.093	.109	**.325**	9451	.117	**.196**	**.455**	**.189**	**.260**	**.389**	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	.080	**.227**	**.240**	.062	.055	**.318**	6113	.225	**.325**	**.556**	.193	**.237**	**.404**	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.014	.132	.148	.147	.115	**.352**	4556	.228	**.277**	**.604**	.199	.223	**.301**	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	.013	.134	.145	.151	.123	**.374**	4544	.222	**.269**	**.550**	.210	**.256**	**.381**	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.002	.146	.133	.183	.120	**.352**	4184	.217	.246	**.539**	.174	.220	**.314**	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.002	.150	.139	.189	.134	**.384**	4170	.219	.253	**.543**	.188	**.245**	**.368**	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.045	.193	.195	.160	.146	**.417**	5797	**.264**	**.359**	**.637**	.173	.192	**.327**	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	.106	**.283**	.241	.164	.144	**.415**	3844	.178	.266	**.526**	.226	**.272**	**.282**	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.058	.205	.150	.156	.141	**.387**	3148	.168	.222	**.529**	.217	.245	.219	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	.058	.212	.162	.160	.144	**.400**	3139	.170	.222	**.530**	.226	**.271**	**.282**	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.072	.243	.161	.210	.163	**.411**	2955	.187	.221	**.537**	.215	.250	.216	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.077	.254	.185	.218	.174	**.442**	2947	.187	.220	**.544**	.223	**.276**	.272	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.103	**.284**	.240	.190	.155	**.425**	3746	.201	.286	**.553**	.235	**.288**	**.294**	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	.012	.103	.228	-.073	-.041	.159	1928	.357	.457	**.829**	.172	.134	.448	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.027	.033	.207	.046	.006	.164	1224	.318	.359	**.713**	.291	.244	.518	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.027	.033	.204	.046	.007	.162	1221	.314	.363	**.720**	.319	.273	**.581**	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.143	-.059	.072	.014	-.038	.076	1081	.268	.294	.613	.235	.248	.557	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.135	-.048	.101	.031	-.016	.120	1078	.273	.312	**.645**	.259	.256	**.565**	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.080	-.022	.119	.093	.145	.356	1871	.356	.429	**.794**	.123	.091	.399	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	**.238**	.241	**.579**	-.051	.078	.146	3087	.034	.095	.262	-.002	.264	**.351**	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.210	.197	**.488**	-.077	.059	.088	2757	.038	.100	.281	.017	.239	.293	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.

Table 6. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in housework for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Housework							Effects on Women's Housework						
	Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education				Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education			
	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	-.008	.054	-.132	.009	.135	.181	9890	**-.427**	**-.497**	**-.747**	-.090	-.154	-.058	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	-.035	-.001	-.217	.003	.116	.156	8804	**-.082**	**-.095**	**-.152**	-.012	-.022	.007	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.036	.081	-.077	.001	.124	.127	7890	**-.307**	**-.252**	**-.371**	-.072	-.178	-.145	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.010	.077	-.022	.010	.115	.132	9451	**-.261**	**-.238**	**-.409**	-.062	-.178	**-.213**	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	.037	.071	-.020	-.232	-.184	-.197	6113	**-.408**	**-.402**	**-.589**	-.154	-.134	-.123	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.020	.068	-.079	-.244	-.173	-.234	4556	-.269	-.164	-.279	-.163	-.175	-.192	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.016	.070	-.084	-.227	-.138	-.160	4544	-.286	-.201	**-.399**	-.168	-.178	-.186	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.027	.049	-.112	-.307	-.227	-.274	4184	**-.368**	-.226	**-.433**	-.209	-.243	-.196	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.015	.064	-.084	-.293	-.201	-.218	4170	**-.366**	-.229	**-.442**	-.219	-.261	-.220	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.020	.015	-.035	-.146	-.108	-.118	5797	**-.367**	**-.343**	**-.502**	-.155	-.135	-.176	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	-.094	-.166	-.136	-.013	.100	.115	3844	**-.401**	**-.419**	**-.525**	.031	-.045	-.075	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.025	-.043	-.024	-.100	.026	-.006	3148	-.287	-.233	-.329	-.002	-.111	-.086	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.025	-.045	-.036	-.084	.053	.047	3139	-.294	-.246	-.391	-.013	-.131	-.120	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.068	-.089	-.082	-.144	-.048	-.089	2955	-.357	-.261	-.384	-.001	-.129	-.089	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.061	-.077	-.060	-.118	-.005	.001	2947	-.362	-.270	-.422	-.011	-.152	-.129	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.118	-.174	-.136	-.016	.087	.110	3746	**-.406**	**-.422**	**-.546**	.039	-.016	-.051	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	.203	.416	.227	-.261	-.352	-.419	1928	-.172	-.046	-.261	**-.695**	-.527	**-.561**	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.103	.286	-.184	-.385	-.422	-.564	1224	-.077	.178	.067	**-.652**	-.381	-.505	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.084	.311	-.123	-.358	-.386	-.500	1221	-.087	.099	-.083	**-.636**	-.367	-.493	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.039	.342	-.172	-.561	-.477	-.620	1081	-.234	-.003	-.227	**-.739**	-.489	-.474	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.026	.367	-.112	-.530	-.440	-.567	1078	-.197	.012	-.225	**-.803**	-.556	-.550	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.132	.318	.173	-.161	-.261	-.329	1871	-.250	-.107	-.352	**-.724**	-.545	**-.633**	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	.017	.225	.059	.058	.270	.280	3087	-.269	-.234	**-.426**	.181	-.187	-.276	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.013	.206	-.074	.059	.249	.247	2757	**-.369**	-.280	**-.502**	.170	-.124	-.154	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.

Table 7. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in personal care for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Personal Care							Effects on Women's Personal Care						
	Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education				Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education			
	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	**-.351**	**-.492**	**-.490**	-.076	-.188	**-.246**	9890	**-.183**	**-.341**	**-.493**	-.041	-.064	-.034	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	**-.315**	**-.403**	**-.332**	.030	-.050	-.077	8804	-.132	**-.306**	**-.415**	-.054	-.088	-.027	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	**-.311**	**-.422**	**-.305**	-.011	-.092	-.107	7890	-.135	**-.283**	**-.330**	-.098	-.113	-.091	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**-.293**	**-.420**	**-.409**	-.076	-.165	-.198	9451	-.115	**-.232**	**-.350**	-.039	-.044	-.049	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	-.167	**-.273**	-.248	-.118	-.154	-.237	6113	-.090	-.182	**-.350**	.111	.083	.120	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.033	-.097	.004	-.137	-.162	-.245	4556	-.102	-.201	-.274	.094	.090	.113	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.044	-.116	-.063	-.157	-.185	-.297	4544	-.119	-.230	**-.369**	.086	.087	.102	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.032	-.020	.052	-.175	-.153	-.266	4184	-.125	-.241	**-.367**	.074	.118	.110	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.020	-.028	.044	-.178	-.168	-.308	4170	-.116	-.238	**-.377**	.066	.118	.113	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.157	-.243	-.232	-.130	-.138	-.209	5797	-.054	-.141	**-.283**	.070	.073	.090	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	-.243	**-.370**	-.296	-.030	-.112	-.204	3844	-.072	-.093	-.248	-.092	-.047	-.068	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.104	-.162	-.014	-.083	-.141	-.255	3148	-.083	-.102	-.229	-.079	-.023	-.005	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.113	-.182	-.091	-.095	-.150	-.284	3139	-.096	-.115	-.291	-.088	-.032	-.033	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.072	-.139	-.037	-.104	-.146	-.247	2955	-.058	-.081	-.274	-.102	-.042	-.023	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.071	-.134	-.028	-.115	-.165	-.291	2947	-.060	-.077	-.282	-.098	-.037	-.016	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.254	**-.378**	-.290	-.017	-.085	-.170	3746	-.041	-.042	-.163	-.080	-.045	-.027	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	-.080	-.096	-.222	-.175	-.113	-.123	1928	-.053	-.273	-.407	.309	.173	.264	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.037	.011	-.151	.032	.133	.165	1224	-.051	-.321	-.248	.286	.184	.234	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.063	-.010	-.220	.003	.096	.089	1221	-.062	-.366	-.332	.281	.185	.227	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.197	.288	.102	-.015	.191	.095	1081	-.069	-.376	-.280	.304	.292	.259	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.185	.277	.079	-.032	.195	.095	1078	-.015	-.366	-.282	.232	.240	.188	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.043	.050	-.102	-.240	-.160	-.173	1871	.015	-.251	-.392	.268	.187	.269	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	**-.528**	**-.587**	**-.601**	.090	-.192	-.115	3087	-.093	-.186	-.276	-.180	-.250	-.314	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	**-.454**	**-.489**	**-.419**	.234	-.079	.039	2757	-.100	-.179	-.234	-.186	-.259	-.307	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.

Table 8. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in Leisure (watching TV) for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Leisure (watching TV)							Effects on Women's Leisure (watching TV)						
	Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education				Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education			
	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	**-.383**	**-.568**	**-.878**	-.050	-.144	**-.361**	9890	-.096	**-.407**	**-.603**	**-.165**	**-.247**	**-.490**	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	**-.396**	**-.549**	**-.832**	-.024	-.071	**-.274**	8804	-.118	**-.372**	**-.522**	-.077	-.130	**-.301**	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	**-.443**	**-.607**	**-.762**	.034	-.077	-.204	7890	-.054	**-.304**	**-.403**	-.151	**-.263**	**-.500**	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**-.316**	**-.470**	**-.728**	-.025	-.116	**-.330**	9451	.004	**-.266**	**-.404**	**-.169**	**-.237**	**-.542**	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	**-.509**	**-.630**	**-.924**	.154	.128	-.029	6113	.204	-.035	-.174	.003	-.051	**-.295**	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	**-.651**	**-.709**	**-.908**	.187	.182	.127	4556	.209	.021	-.051	.052	-.040	-.253	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	**-.675**	**-.762**	**-1.054**	.152	.137	.041	4544	.200	-.005	-.127	.044	-.049	**-.265**	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	**-.580**	**-.627**	**-.902**	.227	.209	.129	4184	.234	.026	-.061	.095	-.002	-.217	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	**-.584**	**-.638**	**-.947**	.195	.157	.041	4170	.230	.012	-.090	.091	-.007	-.210	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**-.519**	**-.650**	**-.912**	.253	.233	.055	5797	**.283**	.030	-.086	-.035	-.054	**-.310**	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	**-.509**	**-.671**	**-.910**	.068	.050	-.054	3844	.245	.020	-.116	.035	.059	-.141	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	**-.569**	**-.623**	**-.895**	.140	.127	.184	3148	.301	.064	-.018	.063	.099	-.121	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	**-.592**	**-.676**	**-1.038**	.102	.073	.061	3139	.295	.050	-.070	.057	.092	-.129	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	**-.649**	**-.705**	**-1.026**	.217	.190	.225	2955	.321	.119	.015	.118	.122	-.065	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	**-.666**	**-.740**	**-1.092**	.184	.139	.108	2947	.321	.113	-.007	.117	.119	-.063	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**-.512**	**-.666**	**-.893**	.155	.141	.031	3746	**.327**	.105	.012	.042	.071	-.120	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	**-.568**	**-.572**	**-.824**	**.543**	.512	.157	1928	-.069	-.302	-.453	.067	-.078	-.411	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	**-1.034**	**-.996**	**-1.023**	.550	**.674**	.330	1224	-.072	-.137	-.248	.154	-.172	-.387	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	**-1.055**	**-1.038**	**-1.105**	.514	.614	.205	1221	-.072	-.180	-.326	.152	-.187	-.414	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.458	-.355	-.427	.547	.637	.242	1081	-.043	-.212	-.286	.180	-.173	-.437	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.455	-.362	-.456	.531	.584	.143	1078	-.044	-.237	-.321	.154	-.202	-.453	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**-.526**	**-.518**	**-.767**	.481	.472	.137	1871	-.076	-.315	-.471	-.061	-.162	**-.497**	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	-.083	-.183	**-.422**	-.178	-.326	**-.561**	3087	-.233	**-.530**	**-.764**	.023	-.242	**-.567**	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	-.137	-.185	**-.389**	-.104	-.255	**-.465**	2757	-.158	**-.410**	**-.604**	-.009	-.263	**-.464**	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.

Table 9. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in Leisure (other than watching TV) for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Leisure (other)							Effects on Women's Leisure (other)						
	Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education				Effect of Own Education			Effect of Spouse's Education			
	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	N
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	.214	.130	**.328**	-.010	.068	.019	9890	.090	.031	.104	.169	**.220**	**.354**	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.244	.101	**.293**	.035	.104	.013	8804	.142	.066	.117	.153	**.244**	**.363**	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.209	.127	**.384**	.058	.120	.099	7890	.047	.019	.153	**.329**	**.383**	**.477**	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	**.287**	.198	**.438**	-.037	.080	.033	9451	.190	.163	**.301**	**.214**	**.245**	**.292**	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	.260	.153	**.349**	.077	.147	.139	6113	.158	.104	.132	.185	**.290**	**.306**	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.235	.071	.262	.189	.256	.248	4556	.217	.146	.151	**.365**	**.457**	**.452**	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	.245	.087	.310	.203	.264	.263	4544	.217	.137	.133	**.368**	**.460**	**.458**	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.058	-.127	.042	.190	.281	.205	4184	.246	.183	.158	**.326**	**.420**	**.384**	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.076	-.099	.138	.231	.326	.293	4170	.249	.188	.184	**.330**	**.420**	**.378**	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.275	.138	**.365**	.047	.146	.142	5797	.179	.123	.202	.170	.229	.194	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	.254	.161	.304	.097	.286	.192	3844	**.438**	.349	.372	.128	.151	.150	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.107	-.061	.165	.249	.438	.258	3148	**.427**	.354	.389	.348	.354	.379	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	.111	-.057	.188	.256	.437	.264	3139	**.422**	.342	.371	.338	.345	.336	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.047	-.134	.059	.184	.437	.210	2955	**.463**	.387	.409	.299	.314	.311	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.062	-.110	.137	.190	.429	.205	2947	**.460**	.379	.403	.290	.306	.266	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.248	.121	.295	.066	.289	.164	3746	**.447**	.360	.418	.160	.168	.156	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	.457	.175	.494	-.086	-.260	-.099	1928	-.310	-.260	-.160	.394	**.587**	.513	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	.792	.512	.745	-.079	-.364	-.063	1224	-.205	-.253	-.303	.526	**.738**	.608	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	**.819**	.540	.797	-.048	-.305	.054	1221	-.180	-.202	-.195	.539	**.754**	.652	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	.319	-.048	.199	.163	-.165	.064	1081	-.238	-.216	-.271	.601	**.811**	.694	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	.337	-.016	.288	.224	-.049	.307	1078	-.253	-.216	-.241	.643	**.824**	**.716**	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.570	.296	.627	-.070	-.271	-.096	1871	-.389	-.309	-.239	.440	**.596**	.529	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	.039	.102	.318	-.058	.033	-.044	3087	.313	.226	**.510**	.196	.146	.318	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.144	.104	.389	-.101	.071	-.053	2757	**.391**	.255	**.497**	.175	.104	.191	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.

Table 10. Unstandardized coefficients from OLS models for effects of fathers' and mothers' education on their hours per day in Leisure for selected subsamples with selected economic controls

SAMPLE AND CONTROLS	Effects on Men's Leisure: Effect of Own Education			Effects on Men's Leisure: Effect of Spouse's Education			N	Effects on Women's Leisure: Effect of Own Education			Effects on Women's Leisure: Effect of Spouse's Education			N
	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+		HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	HS Grad	Some Coll	BA+	
All Married or Cohabiting Respondents with a Child														
No Economic Controls	-.169	**-.438**	**-.550**	-.060	-.076	**-.342**	9890	-.006	**-.376**	**-.499**	.004	-.027	-.136	11694
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	-.152	**-.448**	**-.539**	.011	.033	-.262	8804	.024	**-.306**	**-.405**	.075	.115	.062	10351
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.234	**-.480**	**-.377**	.092	.043	-.105	7890	-.007	**-.285**	-.250	.178	.120	-.023	9166
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.029	-.272	**-.290**	-.061	-.035	-.297	9451	.194	-.103	-.103	.045	.008	**-.250**	11009
W/ Both Employed (Whether Full- or Part-time)														
No Economic Controls	-.250	**-.476**	**-.576**	.231	.275	.110	6113	**.362**	.069	-.041	.188	.239	.011	7332
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.415	**-.638**	**-.646**	.376	.439	.375	4556	**.426**	.168	.100	**.417**	**.417**	.199	5466
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.430	**-.674**	**-.744**	.355	.402	.303	4544	**.417**	.132	.007	**.412**	**.412**	.192	5447
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	**-.522**	**-.753**	**-.860**	.417	.489	.334	4184	**.480**	.208	.097	**.420**	**.417**	.167	5019
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	**-.508**	**-.736**	**-.809**	.426	.483	.334	4170	**.479**	.200	.094	**.421**	**.413**	.167	5001
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.244	**-.511**	**-.546**	.301	.379	.197	5797	**.462**	.153	.116	.134	.175	-.116	6852
W/ Both Employed Full-Time														
No Economic Controls	-.255	**-.510**	**-.606**	.166	.335	.138	3844	**.683**	.369	.256	.162	.210	.009	4439
Control for Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.462	**-.684**	**-.730**	.389	.566	.442	3148	**.727**	.418	.372	**.411**	**.454**	.259	3595
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.481	**-.733**	**-.850**	.358	.510	.326	3139	**.717**	.392	.302	.395	**.437**	.207	3588
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	**-.602**	**-.839**	**-.967**	.401	**.627**	.435	2955	**.784**	**.507**	.425	.416	.436	.246	3358
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	**-.604**	**-.851**	**-.955**	.374	.568	.313	2947	**.780**	.492	.396	.406	.424	.203	3351
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	-.264	**-.545**	**-.598**	.221	.429	.195	3746	**.774**	**.465**	.430	.202	.239	.036	4354
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Part-Time Employed Female														
No Economic Controls	-.111	-.396	-.330	.457	.252	.058	1928	-.379	-.562	-.613	.461	.509	.103	2367
Weekly Earnings of Respondent and Spouse	-.242	-.484	-.278	.471	.310	.268	1224	-.277	-.390	-.551	.680	.566	.221	1589
Control for R's Weekly Earnings/Spouse's Weekly Earnings	-.236	-.498	-.308	.466	.309	.260	1221	-.252	-.382	-.522	.691	.566	.238	1579
Control for Hourly Wage of Respondent and Spouse	-.139	-.403	-.228	.710	.472	.306	1081	-.281	-.428	-.557	**.781**	.638	.257	1453
Control for R's Hourly Wage/Spouse's Hourly Wage	-.118	-.378	-.167	.756	.534	.450	1078	-.297	-.453	-.563	**.797**	.622	.262	1442
Control for Hours of Paid Work of R and Spouse	.044	-.222	-.140	.410	.201	.042	1871	-.464	-.624	-.710	.380	.434	.032	2250
W/ Full-Time Employed Male and Nonemployed Female														
No Economic Controls	-.044	-.081	-.105	-.236	-.293	**-.605**	3087	.080	-.304	-.255	.219	-.097	-.249	3271
Control for Family Income (Cohabiters excluded)	.008	-.082	.000	-.205	-.185	-.517	2757	.233	-.155	-.107	.166	-.159	-.273	2915

Note: R=Respondent

Education effects are relative to reference category of less than high school education.

HS Grad=High School Graduate; Some Coll=Some College; BA+=Bachelors and above.

Bolded coefficients are significant, p<.05, two-tailed test

All models include all variables in Table 3.