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HOW DOES THE AMOUNT OF TIME

MOTHERS SPEND WITH CHILDREN MATTER?*

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Abstract

Does the amount of time children spend with their mothers matter for children's well-being? Although intensive mothering ideology underscores the irreplaceable nature of mothers' time for children's well-being, and social theories posit that mothers' time is important, empirical evidence is scant. In this study, using nationally representative time diary and survey data, we examine how the amount of time mothers spend with children is related to academic, social-emotional, and health outcomes. Two types of maternal time, engaged and accessible, are examined. At younger ages (3-11), the amount of maternal time matters little, especially relative to social status factors. In adolescence, both engaged and accessible time is negatively related to engagement in risky behaviors. The study helps reshape cultural frames regarding maternal time and children's well-being.

Introduction

Many people are surprised to learn that mothers today spend more time interacting with their children than mothers did in the 1960s, despite the dramatic increase in mothers' labor force participation since that time (Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie 2006). Employed mothers appear to protect time with children at the expense of their own leisure time and housework (Bianchi 2000; Monna and Gauthier 2008). Still the majority of them feel as if they are not spending enough time with their children (Milkie et al. 2004), which affects their general well-being (Nomaguchi, Milkie and Bianchi 2005). Mothers may feel anxious and distressed about not spending enough time with their children, but does the amount of time children spend with their mothers actually matter for children's well-being?

The answer, by all accounts, should be yes. Indeed, mothers' time is believed to be especially important, even irreplaceable for children's well-being (Hays 1996; Warner 2006). The idea that mothering should be intensive is central to the spirited debate over whether maternal employment harms children (Bianchi 2000) and is embodied in the "Mommy Wars," an alleged dispute between homemaker and employed mothers in which the former are said to accuse the latter of being selfish and harming their children by being away from home too often (Hays 1996). Assumptions about the centrality of mother time to children's well-being also underlie theoretical arguments in the scholarly literature. Here, too, some social theories posit that greater time investments by mothers should be effectual for children's well-being (Becker 1991; Coleman 1988).

Nevertheless, the assumption that mothers' time is more important than fathers' or anyone else's time for children's well-being is not universal. Some scholars question the sacrosanctity of mothers' time compared to fathers'; Presser (1995) calls this a "double standard

of parenthood," and asserts that "there is little empirical justification to support this view" (p. 300). Indeed, most studies attempting to assess the whole of mothers' time investment in children do not do so directly—they either use indirect measures of mothers' time (e.g., mother's work hours) or examine mothers' participation in certain activities (e.g., reading, eating meals, talking) with children (Leseman and de Jong 1998; Sénéchal and Lefevre 2002; Weinstein 2005). Few studies examine whether the total quantity of time mothers spend with their children relates to children's academic, socio-emotional, and health outcomes. Thus, in part because of a paucity of sophisticated empirical data, our understanding of how the quantity of mother-child time relates to children's well-being is underdeveloped.

We examine whether the amount of time children spend with their mothers is positively associated with children's well-being -- something often taken as "fact" -- by analyzing time diary and survey data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics Child Development Supplement (PSID-CDS) in 1997 and 2002. We examine two types of maternal time—engaged time and accessible time—to assess whether the nature of the time shared is related to well-being. Engaged time refers to the total amount of time the focal child spends participating in activities with his or her mother, whereas accessible time refers to the total amount of time the focal child spends accessible to mother but not directly participating with her. We place the association between maternal time and children's well-being in context, comparing it with how social status resources, such as family income and education, are related to child well-being. Because the importance of maternal time may depend on child's age (Elder 1999), we examine two developmental stages in childhood and adolescence. In addition, as comparisons, we examine whether time spent with father (but not mother) and time with both parents (family time) are related to child well-being. By using data measuring mothers' time with children in

direct and sophisticated ways, this study advances our understanding of how the quantity of mother-child time relates to children's well-being.

Mother-Child Time and Children's Well-Being

Maternal Time Investments as Sacred: The Culture of Intensive Mothering

Cultural beliefs about mothering center on the near sacredness of mothers for children. Mothers' time with children is thought to be unique and irreplaceable, given that they are purportedly more sensitive to children's needs and more selfless in caring for offspring. For children, being with their mothers, strong and central to their families, is thought to be better than time spent with any other adult (Blair-Loy 2003; Collins 1999; Hays 1996; Liss et al. 2012). Popular cultural practices such as professional athletes saying "Hi Mom!" on camera highlight mothers special, revered place in the hearts of daughters and sons.

Intensive mothering ideology posits that mothers should be heavily involved directly with children. Engaged time, or focused, one-on-one shared activities, may transmit love, nurturance and values from mother to child (although conflicts certainly arise during this time of close engagement, it is idealized as among the best facet of maternal time). "Being there" is also a key cultural marker for good mothering (Garey 1999). Accessibility to mothers is thought to assure that children can receive a hug, reassurance or answers to questions because the mother is available in the vicinity to be called upon, a situation purported to provide a child with a unique type of security (Hays 1996; Kurz 2000, 2006; Snyder 2007). Clearly mothers do not easily live up to the expectations of intensive mothering (Christopher 2012); and attempts to do so are exhausting and stressful for mothers (Fox 2009; Rizzo, Schiffrin and Liss 2012). In particular,

employed mothers have difficult time reaching this ideal (Blair-Loy 2003; Christopher 2012; Milkie et al. 2004).

The importance of mothers' time for their children is a central assumption in the debates over the effects of maternal employment on child well-being. Economic theories (Becker 1991) argue that when parents specialize, with mothers investing time in children and fathers providing money, children will be best off because they get adequate amounts of each resource. Social capital theories (Coleman 1988) argue that time mothers spend being around their children at home is valuable for children's well-being, in part because mothers build social networks with neighbors to which their children also belong. Their children can receive a range of support from adults in the social networks such as supervision, advice, and emotional support. Empirical research on maternal employment has shown, however, that there are very few clear negative effects on children (Bianchi 2000; Goldberg et al. 2008; Spitze 1988), with notable exceptions (Gordon, Kaestner and Korenman 2007; Nomaguchi 2006; Waldfogel, Han and Brooks-Gunn 2002).

To understand the lack of a sizable negative effect of maternal employment on children's well-being in prior research, Bianchi (2000) argues that this is in part because employed mothers today spend about the same amount of time in directly interacting with their children as stay-at-home mothers did in the 1960s, although they may be less available during weekdays. She maintains that we may have overestimated time children directly spent with homemaker mothers in the past; and employed mothers today juggle work time to have it coincide with times children are unavailable, such as when they enter formal schooling and during hours they are in school. Here Bianchi implicitly suggests that mothers' "being there" without directly interacting with children—accessible time—may not be so important to children's well-being, but she does not

dismiss the assumption that mother-child engaged time is important for their children's well-being.[1]

Skepticism about the Efficacy of Maternal Time

Some scholars have questioned whether more "mother time" is beneficial to children. Presser (1995) argues that mothers' time is assumed to be more important for children than fathers' time, creating a "double standard of parenthood." Presser also is skeptical about the more fundamental assumption that more time with mothers is beneficial to children, pointing out that we simply do not know the answer to this important question. Hays' (1996) work, too, calls into question the efficacy of mothers' time, claiming that ideology of intensive mothering encourages mothers' to feel that they *should* spend more time with children, but that the persistence and growth in intensive mothering ideology serves the interests of "men, capitalism, the state, the middle class, and whites" (p. xiii). And Christopher (2012) argues that employed mothers reshape intensive mothering ideologies into that of "extensive mothering," or being responsible for children's well-being but without directly "being there" with children many hours a day, thus casting doubt upon the belief that more maternal time is better. Finally, Galinsky's (1999) study of children age 8 to 18 shows that children most want their parents to be free from stress; they do not necessarily want more time with them.

As Presser (1995) noted, little research has actually examined how the amount of maternal time is related to children's well-being. Most research on maternal time assesses time indirectly through questions that ask mothers about activities they do with children. For example, more reading with mothers leads to better scholastic outcomes (Leseman and de Jong 1998; Sénéchal and Lefevre 2002). McHale, Crouter and Tucker (2001) found that mother-child engaged time measured as total time children spent with mothers in particular activities including

hobbies, sports, reading, playing with toys and games, outdoor play, watching television, and hanging out was related to less depression of the child. Little research has examined precise measures of mothers' "being there." Studies have shown the importance of having adolescents supervised by parents or others to ensure they do not stray into problem behaviors (McLanahan 1998). These studies do not completely capture the question of whether more maternal time is better for children and youth because they: 1) focus on the amount of time mothers spend with children in *specific types* of activities, or 2) measure time indirectly (e.g., with mothers' work hours) or 3) measure time through survey questions, which are typically associated with social desirability effects (Robinson and Godbey 1997). The question of whether the amount of time mothers spend with children, measured precisely by time diaries, matters for well-being in childhood and adolescence has not been fully examined.

As a notable exception with a sample of babies, Huston and Aronson (2005) used time-diary data from the NICHD Early Child Care and Youth Development Study to examine the link between maternal time and outcomes for these very young children. They found that maternal time was not related to cognitive and behavioral outcomes for 0 to 2 year olds. Instead, family and maternal characteristics appeared to play a key role in influencing how children were doing. In fact, much research has documented that child well-being is largely influenced by social status factors, such as income or poverty, parental education, and family structure. Children living in poverty are more likely to have emotional and behavioral problems and to perform poorly in school (McLeod and Nonnemaker 2000). Parental education is strongly related to the frequency with which children engage in certain human capital-building activities, such as reading and studying (Bianchi and Robinson 1997; Hofferth and Sandberg 2001). Children living in two-biological-parent families show better academic, behavioral, and emotional well-being than

children living in other family forms (Brown 2010). Compared to these social status factors, maternal time may not be as important as a predictor of child outcomes.

Differences by Developmental Stage

It is possible that the importance of maternal time for child well-being depends on developmental stage, with children in preschool, elementary or adolescent stages differently influenced by maternal time. Elder (1999) argues that the life course is age-graded through institutions and social structures, and it is embedded in relationships that constrain and support behavior. Age or life stage focuses on timing of life experiences as influential for development. It is possible that maternal time in childhood is more important than maternal time in adolescence, because younger children depend more on their mothers than older children do. Alternatively, it is possible that maternal time in adolescence is more important than maternal time in childhood because adolescent years may be more stressful for children than late childhood years (Larson and Ham 1993; Rudolph and Hammen 2003), rendering time spent together more beneficial at this stage. Thus, we examine whether intensive maternal time matters for children's versus adolescents' well-being.

What about Father Time or Family Time?

Although the present analysis focuses on maternal time, motivated by questioning the ideology of intensive mothering with precise measures, it is worth examining whether the quantity of father time or family time matters for child outcomes. The fathers' time perspective argues that father time, because it is viewed as special (Milkie, Simon and Powell 1997), may represent an important boost to children relative to the more ubiquitous, normative time spent with mother (Lam, McHale and Crouter 2012). A handful of studies have shown that father involvement is related to better child outcomes while controlling for mother involvement (Barnes

and Farrell 1992; Kandel 1990, Simons et al. 1994, Wenk et al. 1994). Using the National Survey of Children (NSC), Harris, Furstenberg and Marmer (1998) find that paternal involvement, but not maternal involvement, in childhood is associated with adult children's higher educational achievement, lower delinquency, and lower psychological distress. In these studies, however, father involvement is often measured as child or mothers' reports of the level of fathers' "involvement," "support," and "monitoring" and hence it is unclear how objective father-child time together is linked to children's outcomes. Using time diary data from the PSID-CDS for a sample of children living with two parents, Hofferth (2006) finds that mothers' engagement time, but not fathers' engagement time, relates to children's behavioral problems[2] but not academic outcomes.

What about "family time"? Folbre et al. (2005) argue that mother-father overlapping time may be more beneficial to the child because it is more "dense" with adults. Similarly, several scholars argue that family time—i.e., time spent together as a family group, including parents and siblings—has positive consequences for family members including children, in part because it enhances a sense of closeness and "we-ness" (Crouter et al. 2004). In contrast, Daly (2001) talked about negative effects of the ideology of family time on parents when the ideal of family time conflicts with the actual practice of it given people's busy schedules, leading some parents to feel disillusioned and guilty because their reality does not match their lofty expectations. Again, most research has examined family time in specific activities rather than how much total family time children experience. A study by Barnes and colleagues (2007) showed that more "family time" as measured by the frequency with which adolescents reported spending time in a range of family activities, such as attending family celebrations, eating meals and going on vacations with parents, was related to fewer acts of delinquency among adolescents. Crosnoe and

Trinitapoli (2008) found more shared family activities in physical recreation and cultural events are related to adolescents' better academic achievement. Crouter et al. (2004) found family time, defined as time the focal adolescent child spent with mother, father, and the other target sibling in any of the 63 activities the researchers asked about, was related to psychological adjustment of adolescents, albeit only for the first born.

Summary and Research Questions

In sum, the ideology of intensive mothering insinuates that children's healthy development depends, in large part, on how much time they spend with their mothers, and that mothers are unique and irreplaceable to children (Hays 1996; Liss et al. 2012). Given the paucity of empirical research effectively assessing this relationship, however, it is not surprising that this assumption is treated as "fact." Social theories too posit and assume that more of mothers' time should be better for children's academic, socio-emotional and health outcomes. Yet there is scant empirical evidence regarding whether greater amounts of mother-child focused time or greater amounts of time when mothers are available to children (in the same vicinity but not necessarily doing the same activity), is better for children's socio-emotional, health, or academic outcomes. We contribute to the literature by examining the following research question: Does the amount of time spent with mothers relate to children's well-being?

We examine two types of time (i.e., engaged time and accessible time) in both earlier and later childhood. We show how both types of mother time are associated with offspring well-being at two time points (childhood and adolescence) relative to social status resources. Additionally, to put maternal time with children in context, we also assess how time with father

and time spent jointly with mother and father ("family time") may be related to children and adolescent outcomes.

Sample and Methods

Data come from the Child Development Supplement (CDS) to the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID). The PSID is a nationally representative longitudinal survey of families the University of Michigan launched in 1968 with a sample of 4,800. Because children of sample members become heads and respondents to the survey on their own right once they leave home, the number of families is now more than 7,000. The PSID-CDS surveys are companions to the PSID, providing supplemental data, including time diary data on PSID family unit members who were under the age of 13 in 1997. PSID families who completed the 1997 interview were recruited into the first wave of the CDS if they had at least one child aged 0-12 in 1997. We use two waves of data within the PSID-CDS for this project. Waves 1 (1997) and 2 (2002-3) of the PSID-CDS offer parent, child, and teacher information on the social, psychological, and economic contexts of 3,563 children (Wave 1), 2,907 of whom (82%) are included in Wave 2. Waves 1 and 2 of the PSID-CDS also include time diary data for one weekend day and one weekday, offering time use information for children's activities and the individuals who participated with them in these activities. The decrease in sample size, a difference of 656 cases, between Waves 1 and 2 was due, in large part, to respondent ineligibility and refusal.

The Wave 1 sample in our study (also referred to as the child sample) consists of children ages 3 to 11 years, 11 months who lived with their biological mother at the time of the interview and completed both weekday and weekend time diaries ($N_1 = 1607$). The Wave 2 sample in our study (also referred to as the adolescent sample) consists of participants ages 12 to 18 who lived

with their biological mother at both waves, and completed both weekday and weekend time diaries in both waves ($N_2 = 778$).[3] These children lived with mothers and biological fathers, mothers and stepfathers, mothers alone, or in other family forms.

Dependent Variables: Children's and Adolescents' Outcomes

We measure children's general, emotional, and behavioral health, as well as their self-concept and academic performance in both waves. In addition, in the Wave 2 analyses we include measures of adolescent risky behavior, namely drug use, antisocial behavior (e.g., lying), and sexual activity.

Children's general health is mother-reported in both waves and is measured with the following: "In general, would you say CHILD's health is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?" Reponses were reverse coded so that higher values indicate better health.

Children's behavioral health is measured in both waves with a mother-reported scale of children's externalizing behavior problems (alpha = 0.87 in Wave 1 and 0.86 in Wave 2). The scale ranges from 0 to 15 in Wave 1 and 0 to 17 in Wave 2. Examples of externalizing behavior problems assessed include child's level of argumentativeness, disobedience, and impulsivity.

Children's emotional health is measured in both waves with a mother-reported scale of internalizing behavior problems (alpha = 0.82 in Wave 1 and 0.83 in Wave 2). The scale ranges from 0 to 13 in Wave 1 and 0 to 14 in Wave 2. Examples of internalizing behavior problems assessed include child's level of anxiety, dependency, and withdrawn affect.

Children's global self-concept is constructed by the CDS with child-reported measures in both waves (but for only those ages 8 and over in Wave 1). Self-concept in Wave 1 is an 8-item self-esteem scale (alpha = 0.74) querying the child's level of agreement to the following statements: "I do lots of important things; I like being the way I am; overall, I have a lot to be

proud of; I do things as well as most people; a lot of things about me are good; I am as good as most other people; other people think I am a good person; when I do something, I do it well." The Wave 1 scale ranges from 1 to 7. Self-concept in Wave 2 is a 6-item self-esteem scale (alpha = 0.82), identical to the Wave 1 items with the exception of the "I do lots of important things" and "I like being the way I am" items. The Wave 2 scale ranges from 1.17 to 5.

We also measure academic performance in both waves with scores from subtests of the Woodcock-Johnson Psycho-Educational Battery-Revised (WJ-R). In both waves, we use the child's score on the Reading Comprehension subtest as an indicator of reading ability; scores range from 44 to 186 in Wave 1 and from 0 to 194 in Wave 2. To measure math ability, we use scores from the Calculations subtest in 1997 (scores range from 18 to 184) and the Applied Problems subtest in Wave 2 (scores range from 49 to 168). These variables are only measured for children age 6 and older in both waves.

Finally, we measure risky behavior among adolescents with three indicators: drug use, anti-social behavior, and sex. Drug use is a scale, ranging from 0 to 3, that was created by summing three dummy variables that ask whether respondents have ever tried cigarettes, marijuana, and alcohol. Anti-social behaviors is a 10-item index adapted from the 1997 National Longitudinal Survey of Youth that measures participation in delinquent or disobedient behavior such as lying to parents, skipping school, and stealing. The antisocial behavior index ranges from 0 to 185 (alpha = 0.82). Finally, our measure of sexual activity is a dichotomous variable which indicates whether the adolescent reports ever having had sex (1=yes, 0=no). These variables are asked only of children 12 and older in Wave 2.

Key Independent Variables: Engaged and Accessible Time with Mother

We examine two types of time with mothers using the child's time diary data: engaged and accessible time. Both types of time were defined by the social context of the reported activity, that is, "with whom" the child's activities occurred. Social context was recorded in the diary as another person (i.e., mom, dad, friend, sibling) *participating* with the child in the activity or as another person *present* but not participating in the activity. We refer to all time mothers spend participating in activities with the child as "engaged time" or "focused time" and all time mothers spend in the presence of *but not participating* with the child as "accessible time."

Children's activities were recorded in one weekday and one weekend diary in both waves. We excluded all cases that did not have both a weekday and weekend diary. To arrive at weekly estimates of engaged and accessible time, we summed the duration of all weekday and weekend activities where a mother was reported to be participating with the child (for engaged time) and present but not participating (for accessible time) and multiplied the weekday sum by five and the weekend sum by two. The week and weekend totals were summed to create a full week's worth of time to arrive at weekly estimates of the number of hours per week children spent either accessible to or engaged with their mother. This technique has been used in previous studies using this and other data sets (Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie 2006; Hofferth 2006). The mother time variables were not calculated exclusively. That is, we summed all time increments children were said to be participating or in the presence of their mother regardless of the presence or absence of others.[4]

We exclude extreme time cases. We define "extreme time" as those respondents reporting more hours of engaged or accessible time with mother than there are in an average child's waking week, 112 hours by our calculations.[5] Four cases were dropped from the sample

based on the extreme time criterion. Figures 1 and 2 show the sample distribution of the mother time variables by wave. Figure 1 shows that the majority of children in Wave 1 are engaged with or have mothers accessible to them between 11 and 30 hours per week. A minority of the sample (under five percent) reports spending no time (0 hours) or very high amounts of time (51+ hours) with their mother during the week. Figure 2 shows a similar distribution for the Wave 2 sample but with a greater proportion of the respondents spending fewer hours with their mother, an unsurprising finding given the older average age of respondents in Wave 2. The greatest proportion of Wave 2 adolescents spends 11 to 20 hours per week with their mother. Although adolescents in Wave 2 are more likely than children in Wave 1 to report having spent zero hours with their mother during the diary week, approximately the same proportion, under five percent, reports spending more than 50 hours with their mother either engaged or accessible.

[Figures 1 and 2 about here]

Social Status Resources

We operationalize social status using mother's educational attainment and family income. Mothers' education is a linear variable measured in years, ranging from 0 to 17, where 0 to 16 represent mother's actual number of years of schooling and 17 indicates "at least some post-graduate work." Family income is measured as a continuous variable in both waves, ranging from \$0 to \$350,000 in Wave 1 and \$2,400 to \$256,500 in Wave 2. We top-code family income at the 95th percentile in both waves to exclude high income outliers. The log of family income is used in the regression analysis. We measure family structure with three dichotomous variables: whether the child lives with both biological parents (1=yes, 0=no); whether the child lives with a single mother (1=yes; 0=no); and whether the child lives with his/her biological mother and a stepfather or father figure (1=yes; 0=no).

Time Comparisons: Father Time and Family Time

For comparative purposes, we constructed two additional types of time and examined their relationship with child and adolescent well-being. We show results for time in which biological father is present or participating ("father time") and combined biological mother and father time ("family time"). We calculate these time variables for use in supplemental analyses using the same method articulated above. For father time, we summed all time increments children were said to be participating or in the presence of their father but *not mother* regardless of the presence or absence of others.[6] The family time variable summed all time increments children were said to be participating or in the presence of both their mother *and* father regardless of the presence or absence of others.

Control Variables

In regression analyses we control for the focal child's age, gender, and race, mother's work hours and age, family structure, the number of children in the household, typicality of both the weekday and weekend diaries, and who completed the weekday diary.

Child's age ranges from 3 to 11 in Wave 1 and from 12 to 18 in Wave 2. Child's gender is coded as a dummy variable (female=1; male=0). Three dummy variables were constructed to measure child's race/ethnicity including non-Hispanic white (reference), non-Hispanic Black, and Other (including Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, and Other).

Mother's work hours is a continuous variable measuring her reported total weekly work hours on all main jobs in the previous year and ranges from 0 hours to 50 hours in Wave 1 and 0 to 60 hours in Wave 2 (this variable was top-coded at the 95th percentile in each wave). Mother's age is a continuous variable ranging from 18 to 58 years in Wave 1 and from 23 to 60

years in Wave 2. The number of children in the household ranges from 1 to 9 in Wave 1 and 1 to 8 in Wave 2.

Finally, we include controls at each wave for the typicality of the diary days and who reported completing the weekday diary. The typicality variables ask how typical the weekday or weekend diary day was for that day of the week. Responses ranged from (1) very typical to (5) not at all typical. This was reverse coded such that higher scores indicated greater typicality. We also control for who completed the weekday diary in each wave. We constructed this into a series of dummy variables: Mother completed the diary alone (1=yes, 0=no), mother and child completed the diary together (1=yes, 0=no), child completed the diary alone (1=yes, 0=no), and someone else completed the diary (1=yes, 0=no).

Table 1 provides descriptive statistics for all variables in the analysis by wave.

[Table 1 about here]

Analytic Approach

We present zero-order correlation coefficients between accessible and engaged time with mother and each outcome measure by wave in Table 2. In Tables 3 through 5, we use ordinary least squares (OLS) and logistic regression models to examine how amount of time children and adolescents spend with mother is related to the outcome measures controlling for child, mother, family demographic, and time diary characteristics. We examine engaged and accessible time separately per outcome measure. All outcome variables, with the exception of sexual activity, are continuous measures and examined using OLS regression models. We use logistic regression models to assess the relationship between maternal time and adolescent sexual activity because it is a dichotomous measure. We use the same analytic procedure to examine the relationship between father time and family time on the outcome variables in Tables 6 and 7, though we

summarize the results of this supplemental analysis and do not present the full models with covariates (available upon request).

The CDS collected data on siblings within the same household, a non-independence sampling design which requires a statistical correction to account for standard error inflation. We were able to do so using the *cluster* command in Stata, but this command precludes the production of standardized regression coefficients. In the interest of interpreting standardized coefficients, we ran the identical models with and without the clustering correction and found the results to be comparable. Thus, we report standardized coefficients from unclustered regression models.

Results

How does the amount of time children spend with their mothers matter for children's well-being? Table 2 shows how time and outcomes are related before the addition of controls. Mothers' accessible time is positively related to children's reading scores and engaged time is inversely related to children's internalizing problems in Wave 1. In Wave 2, accessible time continues to be positively related to adolescent reading scores and engaged time is inversely related to externalizing problems and positively related to adolescent math scores. Strong associations exist between both types of mother time and adolescent risky behaviors.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 3 shows the relationship between time and children's outcomes when controlling for demographic and time diary characteristics. Once control factors are added to the models, there are no statistically significant associations between time and children's outcomes. Social class, on the other hand, as measured by mother's education and family income, has a stronger

relationship with children's well-being. Family income is positively associated with children's general health (p<0.001) and math achievement (p<0.01) and negatively associated with children's behavioral and emotional problems (p<0.01). Mothers' education is positively associated with children's health (p<0.05) and self-concept (p<0.001) as well as their performance in reading (p<0.001) and math (p<0.001).

[Table 3 about here]

Table 4 reports the same analysis for adolescents who are ages 12 to 18 in Wave 2. Once controls are added, the only statistically significant association is between engaged time with mother and adolescents' externalizing behavior problems (p<0.01).[7] Consistent with results shown in Table 3, the association between social class and well-being is stronger than that between time with mother and well-being for the adolescents in our sample. Mother's education is significantly positively associated with adolescents' self-concept (p<0.05) as well as their performance in reading (p<0.001) and math (p<0.001). Family income in Wave 2 is significantly positively associated with adolescents' general health (p<0.001) and inversely associated with externalizing and internalizing problems (p<0.05).

[Table 4 about here]

Table 5 examines how accessible and engaged time with mother is related to risky behavior in adolescence. We find that mother time is strongly negatively related to these behaviors even with all controls in the model. Specifically, both the amount of accessible and engaged time with mother are negatively related to adolescents' drug use (p<0.001). More time spent engaged with mother is related to less engagement in antisocial behavior (p<0.001). Finally, both accessible and engaged time with mother are inversely related to the likelihood that an adolescent reported having ever had sex (p<0.05).[8]

[Table 4 about here]

Overall, we find that the quantity of time with mother—both time accessible to children and time spent engaged with them—is not strongly associated with the well-being of younger children (ages 3 to 11), or for the emotional well-being or academic performance for adolescents either. We do, however, find evidence which suggests that mother time may be importantly connected to adolescents' engagement in certain risky behaviors. That is, there may be something special about mother time when it comes to adolescent risky behavior. Interestingly, the intensive mothering ideology is not typically focused on this age group.[9]

Considering Father Time, Family Time, and Offspring Well-Being

We present results from a supplemental analysis that shows how time with father (without mother) and time with mother and father together (family time), relate to offspring well-being. Tables 6 and 7 show the associations between these time variables and child and adolescent outcomes, respectively. We show only main effect coefficients from the full models including all control factors. Table 6 shows only one statistically significant relationship between father time or family time and children's outcomes. Only accessible family time is positively associated with internalizing problems among the Wave 1 sample.[10] As with mother time, social status resources, namely mothers' education and family income, remain more strongly related to children's outcomes than either father or family time (results not shown). Table 7 summarizes the results from the adolescent sample; it shows that more engaged father time is associated with poorer health and more accessible time related to poorer math scores. Family time appears a more beneficial type of time for adolescents; more accessible family time is associated with better self-concept and decreased drug use and more engaged family time is associated with fewer behavioral problems and better self-concept and math performance.

[Tables 6 and 7 about here]

In all, results from the comparative analysis shows us that, consistent with results from the mother time analysis, amount of time with father or family is not strongly related to childhood outcomes, especially compared to social status resources. During adolescence, time may become more important. The mother time analysis shows a strong relationship between engaged mother time and risky behaviors (Table 5), and family time, not necessarily just mother time, appears linked to other adolescent outcomes, including better self-concept and academic performance.

Discussion

Questions about the amount of time mothers spend with their children and how it matters for their offspring are fraught with tension. As part of political ideology and "the mommy wars" --- how much time mothers spend with children, and should spend with them --- is contested terrain. The ideology of intensive mothering, prominent in the culture over recent decades, underscores the idea that mothers are unique and their time irreplaceable to children. And implicit in social theories on maternal employment and children's development is the belief that more time is better for children, particularly younger children. Yet, in part because precise measures of the total amount of time children spend with mothers have been unavailable, a careful empirical examination of how the amount of mothers' time with children relates to well-being has been an important void in the literature.

The findings are perhaps, surprising. We show that overall, the amount of maternal time with children matters little across key domains during childhood and adolescence. Over several aspects of children's lives, and over key developmental periods, the sheer amount of maternal

time, whether we are thinking of time directly engaged with children or time mothers are "there" for children, has relatively little power. To the extent that we do see a relationship between more maternal time and offspring well-being, it occurs well into the child's life course, during adolescence. Other research has shown that maternal monitoring is negatively related to adolescents' risk-taking behavior (Barnes and Farrell 1992; McLanahan 1998). Qualitative studies have documented that mothers with teenage children today feel the increasing need of monitoring their children (Nelson 2010), believing that if they are at home after school, it will prevent their children from getting involved in drugs, sexual activities, or with delinquent friends (Kurz 2000, 2006). Why mothers' accessibility to children matters as they grow older, protecting them from the risks of engaging in smoking, drinking and sex could involve their blocking of children's opportunities to do so or through engaging them in more pro-social thinking and actions during their time in the same physical space. It is ironic that most of the cultural pressures on mothers center upon being there for young children and quietly ignore adolescents. Furthermore, the maternal employment literature, with dozens of studies coming up empty handed when focused on how (assumed) time away is detrimental to children, rarely focuses on adolescents, with some exceptions (e.g., Muller 1995). Supplemental analyses show that family time, time spent with mother and father jointly, may be important during adolescence, as well. It is interesting to note that mothers' being "accessible" to adolescents is operationalized as being in the vicinity physically, but with dramatic change in technologies families use such as cell phones, accessibility may be taking on new forms over the past decade. The importance of physical versus "electronic accessibility" is an interesting avenue for further research.

There are limitations to this study. First, issues of causality are always paramount. We are cautious in the articulation of the few connections we do find between mother time and children's well-being. For example, mothers' time engaged with adolescents is negatively related to sexual activity. This could mean that the amount of this form of time with mothers dampens teens' ability to engage in intimate relations with partners. Alternatively, it could mean that teens who are unlikely to form such intimate relationships with partners want to or are available to spend more time with mothers; and mothers may want to be engaged with this kind of teen more often too. However, most of our findings are in a sense, "non-findings," that is, there is no association between greater quantities of maternal time and children's or adolescents' well-being across the bulk of measures here. Therefore, causality issues are muted to some degree.[11]

It is important to underscore what this study does not say, which can be examined in further research. First, although we examine engaged time, in which children and mothers are directly interactive with each other, we do not focus on the amount of time in particular activities with children such as reading or talking with them. Researchers should further develop work investigating whether and how the amounts of special kinds of activities mothers do with children matter for children's well-being. Second, as some scholars note, the quality of mothers' interaction with children—warmth, sensitivity, or focus—may be more important than the amount of time mothers spend with children (Galinsky 1999; Huston and Aronson 2005). Third, time diaries cannot easily measure mothers' planning and organizing of children's lives, which takes time (maternal time that is not necessarily when they are accessible to children), and which may be quite important to children's success (Lareau 2003). Mothers accessing social networks to gain resources for children, or through planning and organizing children's lives and

intervening in institutions (Lareau 2003; Walzer 1998) which may not be well captured in diary research (Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie 2006; Budig and Folbre 2004).

This study shows that mother time may be less efficacious than assumed as "fact" in that more does not translate easily into better outcomes. Yet it is not the definitive study that trumpets: "Mothers Do Not Matter." It is clear that mothers' behaviors matter in myriad of ways, many positively. But given the general set of findings here, it is incumbent upon other researchers to show how and why the *amount of mother time* does matter for children. From the best available data from a nationally representative sample of children ages 3 to 18, we show that for the most part, it matters little. And the study does put the relative lack of findings into the context of very important factors that do matter for children's health, like socioeconomic status. It points to the need to question conventional wisdom about what is important for children's well-being, with findings here underscoring the critical importance of supporting families socioeconomically. Furthermore, when mothers who do practice more intensive mothering end up exhausted from attempts to make this happen (Fox 2009; Wall 2010), it is vital to their health and well-being to emphasize the facts about time. Indeed the employed mothers interviewed by Karen Christopher (2012) describe being a good mother as occurring not through intensive, but through "extensive mothering"— that is, being in charge of children's well-being regardless of the total amount of time spent with children. They appear to be on the mark.

Notes

1. Actually, Bianchi (2000) begins to question the assumption that more maternal time is beneficial for children, but does not pursue that line of thinking. She states, "Perhaps the time mothers spend with children does not matter [all that much] ....but if that is the case, then why wouldn't removal of mothers' time, especially among the highly educated mothers now increasingly employed outside the home, ultimately harm children? " (p. 402). Rather than continue pursuing the question of whether mothers' time with children matters for well-being (which she then goes on to assume), she questions whether children actually receive less time from parents today. The point of her paper is that children receive about the same amount of focused time from mothers, and more time from fathers, but she continues to assume that maternal time matters positively for children.

2. Hofferth (2006) shows that although father engagement is not statistically significantly related to total behavior problems (a combined index of internalizing and externalizing problems) when controlling for mother engagement, it is independently and significantly related to fewer externalizing problems.

3. We examine but do not formally present findings from analyses showing maternal time in Wave 1 and children's outcomes in Wave 2, because maternal time's effects are thought to be important for concurrent experiences children have in the world of school and peers. Existing research also indicates a lack of long-reaching influence (see also Hsin 2009).

4. We present results using the most inclusive version of mother time (all time spent with mother regardless of the presence or absence of others). However, we also ran the

analysis using a more restricted version of mother's time that summed all time segments in which mother but *not father* was accessible or participating. Results are very similar regardless of the version of mother time used in the analysis. We note in the results section any variation based on the version of mother time used.

5. 112 hours is our calculation of a "waking week" – 24 hours per day minus 8 hours of sleep = 16 hours of waking time per day. 16 hours * 7 days = 112 hours in a waking week.

6. Unlike mother time, we present results for the more exclusive version of father time (that is, father *without* mother) because fathers are less likely than mothers to spend time alone with children without the other parent (Bianchi, Robinson and Milkie 2006; Craig 2006). Again, the results are very similar whether we use the inclusive (all father time) or exclusive (father without mother) version of the variable, and we note the few discrepancies in the results. Nevertheless, we present findings using the exclusive version of father time given the argument that father time is expected to be important because it is special and different from mother time (Milkie, Simon and Powell 1997).

7. This relationship remains negative but loses statistical significance when using the exclusive version of mother time (time with mother but not father) (results not shown). As shown in Table 7, family time – time with mother *and* father – is significantly inversely associated to behavioral problems in adolescence. Although inclusive mother time is not, exclusive mother time is negatively associated with physical health in adolescence (b=-0.10, p<0.05) (results not shown).

8. When we use the exclusive version of mother time (time with mother but not father), only engaged time with mother remains significantly negatively related to all three risky behavior measures. The exclusive measure of accessible mother time is not significantly related to risky behavior (results not shown).

9. Given the robust associations between social class and children's and adolescents' outcomes shown in Tables 3 and 4, respectively, we examined interaction analyses (not shown) to see whether the relationship between time with mother and children's/adolescents' well-being varies by social class status (operationalized as mother's years of education). We find little evidence that the relationship between mother time and child/adolescent well-being varies by social class. Of the 30 interactions examined (2 types of time * 6 outcomes in Wave 1 and 9 outcomes in Wave 2), only four of these are statistically significant; for those outcomes whose relationship to time varies by social class, we observe that time is beneficially related to outcomes only for offspring with better educated mothers (more than 12 years of schooling).

10. When we use the inclusive (mother may be present) rather than the exclusive (mother cannot be present) version of father time, we observe a positive and statistically significant relationship between mother inclusive father time and internalizing problems (data not shown). The fact that family time and inclusive father time, but not exclusive father time, are significantly associated with internalizing problems suggests that the driving force behind the relationship between inclusive father time and internalizing problems is not father specifically but the additional presence of mother.

11. There is an important case to consider, however, in our non-findings. We cannot measure the possibility that mothers who are spending more time with children are somehow

different and negatively selected into being with them more often, possibly as non-employed mothers. In other words, if say, less competent or organized mothers do not obtain employment as easily so are with children more, and also do not as effectively channel their time with children into positive outcomes for those offspring, an association might be masked. That is, perhaps mothers' unmeasured qualities that keep them out of the workforce and instead spending the greatest amounts of time with their children also relate to how they interact with and influence their children; thus, we may observe the non-associations we do because it could be that the mothers spending the most time with their children are not exerting the most positive influence on them, obscuring the analysis and driving the observed null results.

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Figure 1. Sample Distribution of Mother Time Variables, Wave 1
(N = 1607)
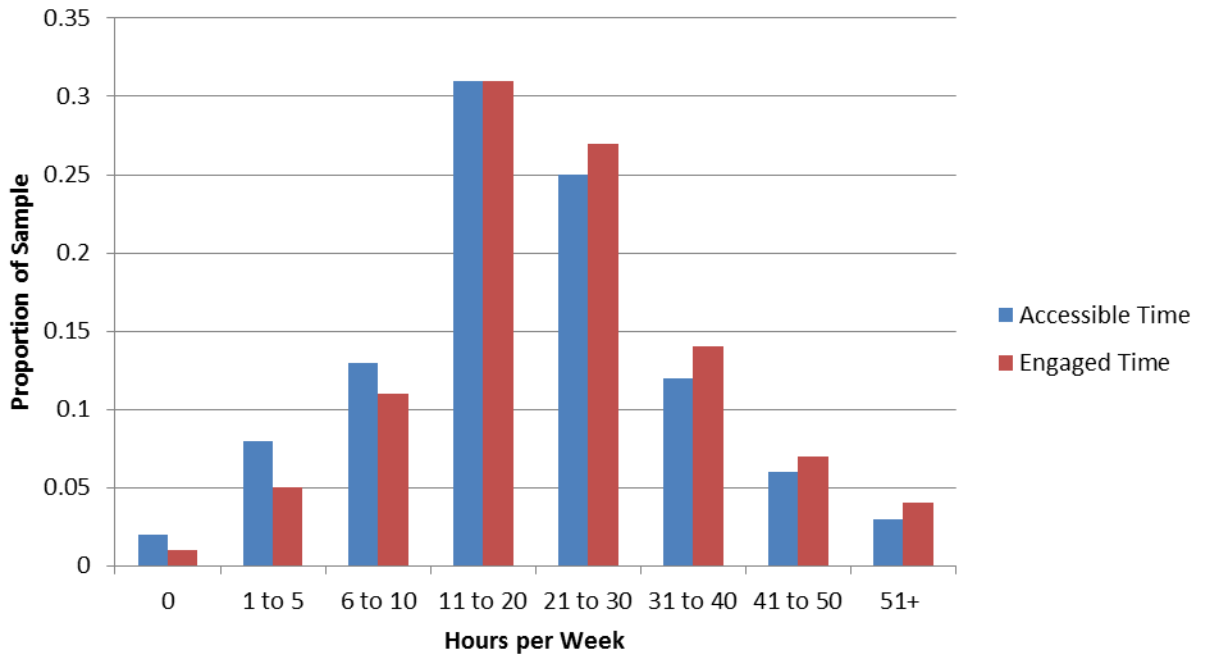
Figure 2. Sample Distribution of Mother Time Variables, Wave 2 (N = 778)
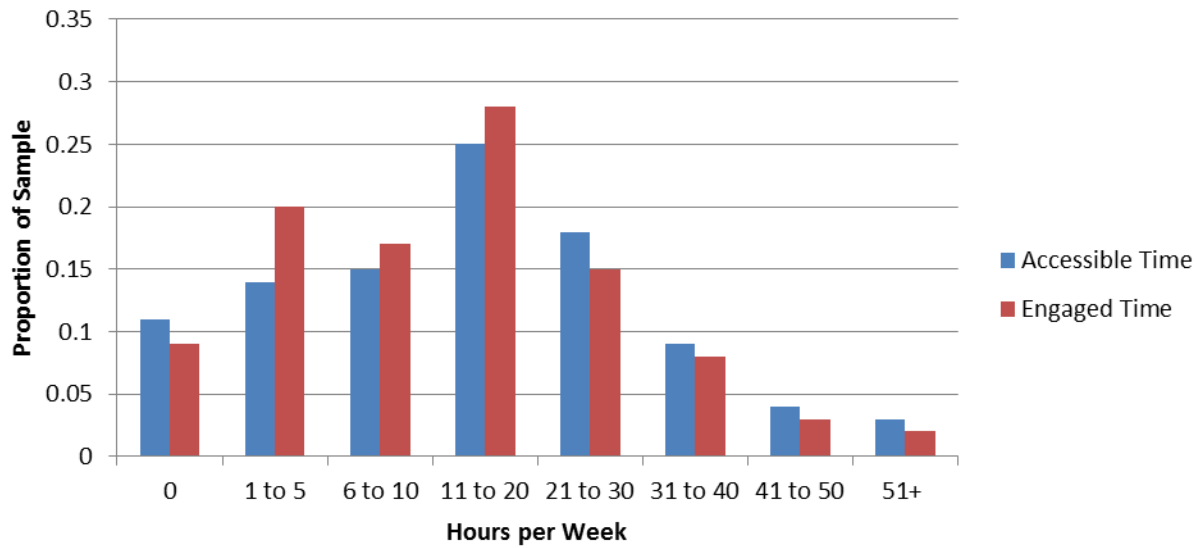
Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics for Children's Outcomes, Time with Mother, Father, and Family, Demographic Controls, and Diary Characteristics, CDS of the PSID*

	Wave 1 N=1607			Wave 2 N=778		
	M	*SD*	Range	*M*	*SD*	Range
Dependent Variables						
General Health	3.59	0.55	1 - 4	4.41	0.81	1 - 5
Externalizing Problems	5.52	3.72	0 - 15	5.58	4.23	0 - 17
Internalizing Problems	2.46	2.49	0 - 13	3.41	3.35	0 - 14
Self-Concept[1]	5.61	0.87	1 - 7	4.02	0.62	1.17 - 5
Reading Score[2]	107.65	17.73	44 - 186	105.19	20.23	0 - 194
Math Score[2]	108.40	18.53	18 - 184	105.40	16.90	49 - 168
Drug Use[3]				0.80	1.03	0 - 3
Anti-Social Behavior[3]				4.34	11.60	0 - 185
Sex[3]				0.16	0.37	0 - 1
Time with Mother						
Accessible Mother Time	20.97	13.11	0 - 77.67	17.29	14.31	0 - 79.33
Engaged Mother Time	22.71	13.81	0 - 92.67	14.84	12.95	0 - 92.5
Time with Father						
Accessible Father Time	2.10	4.92	0 - 47.83	1.57	4.70	0 - 42.33
Engaged Father Time	4.51	7.00	0 - 58.83	3.37	6.08	0 - 41.75
Time with Mother and Father						
Accessible Family Time	6.49	7.85	0 - 55.67	9.10	11.88	0 - 67.67
Engaged Family Time	7.51	7.98	0 - 54.5	6.78	10.06	0 - 88.5
Demographic Characteristics						
Child Age	7.51	2.56	3 - 11.9	14.73	1.60	12 - 18
Child Gender (female=1)	0.49	0.50	0 - 1	0.49	0.50	0 - 1
Child Race						
White	0.68	0.47	0 - 1	0.68	0.47	0 - 1
African-American	0.14	0.35	0 - 1	0.14	0.35	0 - 1
Other	0.17	0.38	0 - 1	0.17	0.38	0 - 1
Mother Characteristics						
Mother Education	12.91	2.79	0 - 17	12.99	2.83	2 - 17
Mother Work Hours	25.55	18.17	0 - 50	29.00	18.95	0 - 60
Mother Age	34.84	5.95	17 - 58	40.69	5.42	26 - 57
Family Structure						
Married Biological Parents	0.75	0.43	0 - 1	0.77	0.42	0 - 1
Single Mother	0.19	0.40	0 - 1	0.14	0.35	0 - 1
Stepfamily	0.06	0.23	0 - 1	0.09	0.29	0 - 1
Family Income (in 1000's)	52.36	43.02	0 - 305.00	76.17	53.77	2.4 - 257.00
No. Children in Household	2.43	1.06	1 - 9	2.39	1.15	1 - 8
Diary Characteristics						
Typicality of Weekday Diary	4.02	1.19	1 - 5	3.82	1.34	1 - 5
Typicality of Weekend Diary	3.63	1.23	1 - 5	3.42	1.24	1 - 5
Who Completed the Diary						
Mom Alone	0.70	0.46	0 - 1	0.19	0.39	0 - 1
Mom and Child Together	0.12	0.33	0 - 1	0.27	0.45	0 - 1
Child Alone	0.06	0.23	0 - 1	0.53	0.50	0 - 1
Other	0.12	0.32	0 - 1	0.01	0.09	0 - 1

Note: Percentages and means are weighted.

[1] Asked only of children age 8 and older in Wave 1 and 10 and older in Wave 2

[2] Asked only of children age 6 and older in both waves

[3] Asked only of children age 12 and older in Wave 2

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Table 2. *Correlation Coefficients between Mother Time and Outcome Variables by Wave, PSID of the CDS*

	General Health	Externalizing Problems	Internalizing Problems		Self-Concept	Reading Score		Math Score		Drugs		Antisocial Behavior		Sex	
Wave 1															
Accessible Time	0.05	0.02	0.00		0.02	0.08	*	0.04							
Engaged Time	0.02	-0.04	-0.09	***	0.06	0.05		0.02							
Wave 2															
Accessible Time	-0.01	-0.06	-0.03		0.04	0.09	*	0.04		-0.18	***	-0.05		-0.13	***
Engaged Time	0.00	-0.10 **	-0.01		0.01	0.03		0.08	*	-0.18	***	-0.16	***	-0.17	***

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 3. *Children's Outcome Variables Regressed on Time with Mother, Demographic Controls, and Diary Characteristics, Wave 1, CDS of the PSID*

	General Health				Externalizing Problems				Internalizing Problems			
	Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged	
	b	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Time with Mother												
Accessible Time with Mother	0.03	(.00)			-0.01	(.01)			0.01	(.00)		
Engaged Time with Mother			-0.04	(.00)			-0.04	(.01)			-0.03	(.01)
Demographic Characteristics												
Child Age	-0.03	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.02	(.04)	-0.03	(.04)	0.26	(.03) ***	0.25	(.03) ***
Child Gender (female=1)	0.02	(.03)	0.03	(.03)	-0.12	(.18) ***	-0.12	(.18) ***	-0.04	(.12)	-0.04	(.12)
Child Race (white excluded)												
African-American	-0.14	(.03) ***	-0.15	(.03) ***	-0.08	(.23) **	-0.08	(.23) **	-0.15	(.15) ***	-0.15	(.15) ***
Other	-0.03	(.05)	-0.03	(.05)	-0.06	(.32) *	-0.06	(.32) *	-0.05	(.22)	-0.04	(.22)
Mother Characteristics												
Mother Education	0.06	(.01) *	0.06	(.01) *	0.02	(.04)	0.01	(.04)	0.01	(.03)	0.01	(.03)
Mother Work Hours	0.02	(.00)	0.01	(.00)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.04	(.01)	-0.05	(.00)	-0.05	(.00) *
Mother Age	-0.02	(.00)	-0.02	(.00)	-0.09	(.02) **	-0.09	(.02) **	-0.06	(.01) *	-0.06	(.01) *
Family Structure (Two-Bio excl.)												
Single Mother Family	0.00	(.04)	0.00	(.04)	0.08	(.27) *	0.07	(.27) *	0.08	(.18) **	0.08	(.18) **
Stepfamily	-0.03	(.06)	-0.03	(.06)	0.10	(.37) ***	0.10	(.37) ***	0.09	(.25) **	0.09	(.25) **
Log of Family Income	0.12	(.02) ***	0.12	(.02) ***	-0.11	(.12) **	-0.11	(.12) **	-0.11	(.08) **	-0.11	(.08) **
No. Children in Household	-0.01	(.01)	-0.02	(.01)	0.00	(.09)	-0.01	(.09)	-0.04	(.06)	-0.05	(.06)
Diary Characteristics												
Typicality of Weekday Diary	0.09	(.01) **	0.08	(.01) **	-0.03	(.08)	-0.03	(.08)	-0.02	(.05)	-0.02	(.05)
Typicality of Weekend Diary	-0.02	(.01)	-0.02	(.01)	0.01	(.08)	0.01	(.08)	-0.03	(.05)	-0.03	(.05)
Who Completed Diary (Mom excl.)												
Mom and Child Together	0.04	(.04)	0.03	(.04)	-0.03	(.28)	-0.03	(.28)	-0.01	(.19)	-0.01	(.19)
Child Alone	0.03	(.05)	0.02	(.05)	0.03	(.35)	0.03	(.35)	0.04	(.24)	0.04	(.24)
Other	-0.03	(.05)	-0.03	(.05)	0.04	(.34)	0.04	(.34)	0.04	(.23)	0.04	(.23)
N	*1636*		*1636*		*1599*		*1599*		*1612*		*1612*	
Adjusted R-squared	0.06		0.06		0.06		0.06		0.09		0.09	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 3. Contd.

	Self-Concept				Reading Score				Math Score			
	Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Time with Mother												
Accessible Time with Mother	-0.02	(.00)			0.02	(.05)			-0.02	(.05)		
Engaged Time with Mother			0.06	(.00)			-0.01	(.05)			-0.01	(.06)
Demographic Characteristics												
Child Age	0.02	(.02)	0.02	(.02)	-0.01	(.37)	-0.01	(.30)	-0.02	(.32)	-0.02	(.32)
Child Gender (female=1)	-0.02	(.06)	-0.03	(.06)	0.04	(1.15)	0.04	(1.06)	-0.05	(1.11)	-0.05	(1.13)
Child Race (white excluded)												
African-American	0.02	(.08)	0.02	(.08)	-0.18	(1.39)***	-0.18	(1.25)***	-0.21	(1.32)***	-0.21	(1.32)***
Other	0.03	(.12)	0.02	(.12)	-0.06	(3.13)*	-0.06	(2.78)	-0.05	(2.90)	-0.05	(2.90)
Mother Characteristics												
Mother Education	0.22	(.01)***	0.22	(.01)***	0.25	(.32)***	0.25	(.28)***	0.27	(.30)***	0.27	(.30)***
Mother Work Hours	-0.06	(.00)	-0.06	(.00)	-0.07	(.03)*	-0.07	(.03)*	-0.05	(.04)	-0.05	(.03)
Mother Age	0.00	(.01)	0.00	(.01)	0.02	(.11)	0.02	(.11)	0.04	(.11)	0.04	(.11)
Family Structure (Two-Bio excl.)												
Single Mother Family	-0.01	(.09)	0.00	(.09)	-0.02	(1.53)	-0.02	(1.53)	0.01	(1.62)	0.00	(1.63)
Stepfamily	0.02	(.12)	0.03	(.12)	-0.06	(2.00)	-0.06	(2.00)	-0.05	(2.15)	-0.05	(2.15)
Log of Family Income	-0.03	(.04)	-0.03	(.04)	0.08	(.80)	0.08	(.67)	0.10	(.71)**	0.10	(.71)**
No. Children in Household	-0.05	(.03)	-0.03	(.03)	-0.15	(.58)***	-0.15	(.53)***	-0.05	(.55)	-0.05	(.56)
Diary Characteristics												
Typicality of Weekday Diary	0.06	(.03)	0.07	(.03)	-0.08	(.47)*	-0.08	(.43)*	-0.03	(.46)	-0.03	(.46)
Typicality of Weekend Diary	-0.03	(.03)	-0.03	(.03)	0.02	(.48)	0.02	(.43)	0.02	(.46)	0.02	(.46)
Who Completed Diary (Mom excl.)												
Mom and Child Together	-0.01	(.08)	-0.01	(.08)	0.04	(1.41)	0.04	(1.41)	0.05	(1.48)	0.05	(1.49)
Child Alone	0.01	(.09)	0.01	(.09)	0.08	(1.80)*	0.07	(1.80)*	0.03	(1.92)	0.03	(1.92)
Other	-0.06	(.14)	-0.06	(.14)	-0.05	(2.21)	-0.05	(2.21)	-0.10	(2.33)**	-0.10	(2.34)**
N	745		745		962		962		956		956	
Adjusted R-squared	0.04		0.04		0.23		0.23		0.23		0.23	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 4. *Adolescent Outcomes Regressed on Time with Mother, Demographic Controls, and Diary Characteristics, Wave 2, CDS of the PSID*

	General Health Accessible			General Health Engaged			Externalizing Problems Accessible			Externalizing Problems Engaged			Internalizing Problems Accessible			Internalizing Problems Engaged		
	b	SE		b	SE		b	SE		b	SE		b	SE		b	SE	
Time with Mother																		
Accessible Time with Mother	-0.03	(.00)					-0.03	(.01)					0.01	(.01)				
Engaged Time with Mother				-0.06	(.00)					-0.11	(.01)	**				-0.07	(.01)	
Demographic Characteristics																		
Child Age	-0.02	(.02)		-0.03	(.02)		-0.08	(.11)		-0.09	(.10)	*	0.00	(.08)		-0.01	(.08)	
Child Gender (female=1)	-0.06	(.06)		-0.05	(.06)		-0.04	(.32)		-0.02	(.32)		0.05	(.24)		0.06	(.25)	
Child Race (white excluded)																		
African-American	-0.08	(.08)		-0.09	(.08)	*	-0.01	(.38)		-0.03	(.38)		-0.12	(.29)	**	-0.13	(.30)	**
Other	-0.04	(.11)		-0.05	(.11)		0.05	(.57)		0.04	(.57)		0.07	(.44)		0.06	(.44)	
Mother Characteristics																		
Mother Education	0.05	(.02)		0.05	(.02)		0.03	(.08)		0.02	(.08)		0.01	(.06)		0.00	(.06)	
Mother Work Hours	0.05	(.00)		0.05	(.00)		-0.05	(.01)		-0.05	(.01)		-0.05	(.01)		-0.05	(.01)	
Mother Age	-0.05	(.01)		-0.06	(.01)		-0.08	(.03)		-0.10	(.03)	*	-0.05	(.02)		-0.05	(.02)	
Family Structure (Two-Bio excl.)																		
Single Mother Family	0.01	(.10)		0.01	(.10)		0.13	(.48)	**	0.12	(.48)	**	0.03	(.37)		0.03	(.37)	
Stepfamily	-0.09	(.11)	*	-0.09	(.11)	*	0.08	(.56)	*	0.07	(.56)		0.06	(.43)		0.05	(.43)	
Log of Family Income	0.23	(.05)	***	0.23	(.05)	***	-0.11	(.26)	*	-0.11	(.26)	*	-0.14	(.20)	*	-0.14	(.20)	**
No. Children in Household	0.05	(.03)		0.05	(.03)		0.02	(.17)		0.01	(.17)		0.00	(.13)		-0.01	(.13)	
Diary Characteristics																		
Typicality of Weekday Diary	0.01	(.02)		0.01	(.02)		0.00	(.12)		0.00	(.12)		0.03	(.09)		0.02	(.09)	
Typicality of Weekend Diary	0.05	(.03)		0.04	(.03)		-0.05	(.13)		-0.05	(.13)		-0.08	(.10)		-0.08	(.10)	
Who Completed the Diary (Mom excl.)																		
Mom and Child Together	0.07	(.10)		0.07	(.10)		-0.08	(.48)		-0.08	(.48)		-0.08	(.37)		-0.08	(.37)	
Child Alone	0.02	(.09)		0.01	(.09)		-0.07	(.45)		-0.09	(.45)		-0.12	(.34)	*	-0.13	(.35)	*
Other	0.01	(.37)		0.01	(.37)		0.00	(1.84)		0.00	(1.83)		-0.03	(1.41)		-0.03	(1.41)	
N	680			680			677			677			677			677		
Adjusted R-squared	0.09			0.09			0.07			0.08			0.04			0.04		

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 4 Contd.

| | Self-Concept | | | | Reading Score | | | | Math Score | | | |
| | Accessible | | Engaged | | Accessible | | Engaged | | Accessible | | Engaged | |
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Time with Mother												
Accessible Time with Mother	0.05	(.00)			0.06	(.05)			0.02	(.04)		
Engaged Time with Mother			0.02	(.00)			-0.01	(.06)			0.04	(.05)
Demographic Characteristics												
Child Age	0.10	(.02) *	0.10	(.02) *	-0.01	(.49)	-0.02	(.49)	-0.12	(.38) **	-0.11	(.38) **
Child Gender (female=1)	0.05	(.05)	0.05	(.05)	0.06	(1.48)	0.06	(1.50)	-0.10	(1.14) **	-0.10	(1.15) **
Child Race (white excluded)												
African-American	0.16	(.06) **	0.16	(.06) **	-0.25	(1.78) ***	-0.25	(1.81) ***	-0.32	(1.37) ***	-0.31	(1.39) ***
Other	0.02	(.09)	0.02	(.09)	-0.05	(2.66)	-0.05	(2.68)	-0.06	(2.04)	-0.06	(2.05)
Mother Characteristics												
Mother Education	0.13	(.01) *	0.13	(.01) *	0.25	(.36) ***	0.25	(.36) ***	0.29	(.28) ***	0.29	(.28) ***
Mother Work Hours	-0.06	(.00)	-0.06	(.00)	-0.07	(.04)	-0.08	(.04) *	-0.11	(.03) **	-0.11	(.03) **
Mother Age	-0.07	(.01)	-0.07	(.01)	0.07	(.15)	0.06	(.15)	0.08	(.12) *	0.09	(.12) *
Family Structure (Two-Bio excl.)												
Single Mother Family	-0.06	(.07)	-0.05	(.07)	0.00	(2.23)	0.00	(2.23)	0.03	(1.71)	0.03	(1.71)
Stepfamily	-0.01	(.09)	-0.01	(.09)	-0.02	(2.63)	-0.02	(2.64)	-0.04	(2.02)	-0.03	(2.02)
Log of Family Income	0.01	(.04)	0.01	(.04)	0.07	(1.22)	0.07	(1.22)	0.09	(0.94)	0.10	(0.93) *
No. Children in Household	-0.01	(.03)	-0.01	(.03)	-0.02	(.81)	-0.02	(.81)	0.00	(.62)	0.01	(.62)
Diary Characteristics												
Typicality of Weekday Diary	0.02	(.02)	0.02	(.02)	0.03	(.56)	0.03	(.57)	0.01	(.43)	0.02	(.43)
Typicality of Weekend Diary	-0.04	(.02)	-0.04	(.02)	-0.01	(.60)	-0.01	(.60)	-0.03	(.46)	-0.03	(.46)
Who Completed the Diary (Mom excl.)												
Mom and Child Together	0.08	(.08)	0.08	(.08)	0.02	(2.29)	0.02	(2.29)	0.05	(1.76)	0.05	(1.76)
Child Alone	0.01	(.07)	0.01	(.07)	0.11	(2.14) *	0.11	(2.16) *	0.13	(1.64) **	0.13	(1.66) **
Other	0.03	(.31)	0.04	(.31)	0.00	(8.46)	0.00	(8.48)	0.00	(6.49)	0.00	(6.49)
N	651		651		659		659		656		656	
Adjusted R-squared	0.03		0.03		0.21		0.20		0.32		0.32	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 5. *Risky Behavior Variables Regressed on Time with Mother, Demographic Controls, and Diary Characteristics, Wave 2, CDS of the PSID*

	Drugs				Antisocial Behavior				Sex[1]			
	Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged		Accessible		Engaged	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
Time with Mother												
Accessible Time with Mother	-0.15	(.00) ***			-0.04	(.04)			-0.02	(.01) *		
Engaged Time with Mother			-0.14	(.00) ***			-0.15	(.05) ***			-0.03	(.01) **
Demographic Characteristics												
Child Age	0.39	(.03) ***	0.39	(.03) ***	0.12	(.37) **	0.10	(.37) *	0.69	(.09) ***	0.70	(.09) ***
Child Gender (female=1)	0.00	(.08)	0.03	(.08)	-0.09	(1.10) *	-0.06	(1.10)	-0.10	(.22)	0.01	(.23)
Child Race (white excluded)												
African-American	-0.03	(.09)	-0.05	(.09)	-0.03	(1.34)	-0.06	(1.34)	1.17	(.25) ***	1.06	(.26) ***
Other	0.01	(.14)	0.01	(.14)	0.11	(2.00) *	0.10	(1.98) *	0.41	(.41)	0.37	(.41)
Mother Characteristics												
Mother Education	-0.02	(.02)	-0.02	(.02)	-0.01	(.27)	-0.01	(.27)	-0.04	(.05)	-0.04	(.05)
Mother Work Hours	0.06	(.00)	0.06	(.00)	-0.02	(.03)	-0.02	(.03)	0.00	(.01)	0.00	(.01)
Mother Age	-0.01	(.01)	-0.02	(.01)	0.01	(.11)	-0.01	(.11)	-0.03	(.02)	-0.04	(.02)
Family Structure (Two-Bio excl.)												
Single Mother Family	0.03	(.12)	0.02	(.12)	0.07	(1.67)	0.06	(1.65)	-0.19	(.31)	-0.22	(.31)
Stepfamily	0.12	(.14) **	0.10	(.14) **	0.04	(2.01)	0.03	(1.99)	0.02	(.38)	-0.14	(.39)
Log of Family Income	-0.10	(.06)	-0.12	(.06) *	-0.10	(.91)	-0.10	(.90)	-0.47	(.18) **	-0.53	(.18) **
No. Children in Household	0.00	(.04)	-0.01	(.04)	0.03	(.59)	0.01	(.59)	-0.23	(.13)	-0.27	(.13) *
Diary Characteristics												
Typicality of Weekday Diary	-0.05	(.03)	-0.06	(.03)	-0.05	(.42)	-0.06	(.42)	0.02	(.09)	0.02	(.09)
Typicality of Weekend Diary	0.04	(.03)	0.03	(.03)	0.03	(.45)	0.03	(.44)	0.03	(.09)	0.02	(.09)
Who Completed the Diary (Mom excl.)												
Mom and Child Together	-0.05	(.12)	-0.04	(.12)	0.02	(1.71)	0.02	(1.70)	-0.13	(.41)	-0.20	(.41)
Child Alone	-0.04	(.11)	-0.06	(.11)	0.05	(1.60)	0.03	(1.60)	0.25	(.36)	0.07	(.36)
Other	0.02	(.43)	0.03	(.44)	0.01	(6.76)	0.01	(6.69)	1.88	(1.17)	1.94	(1.12)
N	641		641		617		617		643		643	
Adjusted R-squared	0.20		0.19		0.04		0.06		0.25		0.25	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

[1]Showing unstandardized coefficients in logit results

Table 6. *Summary Table of Child Outcome Variables Regressed on Father Time and Family Time, Wave 1,*
CDS of the PSID

	General Health	*Extern. Problems*	*Intern. Problems*		*Self-Concept*	*Reading Score*	*Math Score*
Father Time							
Accessible Time with Father	0.02	0.00	-0.02		-0.06	-0.06	-0.05
Engaged Time with Father	0.03	-0.04	-0.02		0.00	-0.02	0.01
Family Time							
Accessible Time with Mother and Father	0.03	0.01	0.05	*	0.01	0.06	0.04
Engaged Time with Mother and Father	0.01	-0.03	0.00		0.07	-0.01	0.00

Note: Standardized beta coefficients. Coefficients come from full models with all controls.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

Table 7. *Summary Table of Adolescent Outcome Variables Regressed on Father Time and Family Time, Wave 2, CDS of the PSID*

	General Health		Extern. Problems		Intern. Problems		Self-Concept		Reading Score		Math Score	
Father Time												
Accessible Time with Father	-0.02		0.01		0.02		-0.07		-0.04		-0.07	*
Engaged Time with Father	-0.09	*	0.06		0.02		0.01		-0.06		0.02	
Family Time												
Accessible Time with Mother and Father	-0.05		-0.04		0.03		0.09	*	0.06		0.00	
Engaged Time with Mother and Father	0.02		-0.11	**	-0.07		0.08	*	0.04		0.10	**

	Drugs		Antisocial Behavior		Sex	
Father Time						
Accessible Time with Father	0.03		0.02		-0.01	
Engaged Time with Father	0.01		-0.02		-0.02	
Family Time						
Accessible Time with Mother and Father	-0.17	***	-0.02		-0.02	
Engaged Time with Mother and Father	-0.08		-0.08		-0.01	

Note: Standardized beta coefficients. Coefficients come from full models with all controls.

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.