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## Who Matters Most? The Effect of Parent's Schooling on Children's Schooling

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## **Who Matters Most? The Effect of Parent's Schooling on Children's Schooling**

by

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### Abstract

This paper examines the differential effects of mother's schooling and father's schooling on the acquisition of schooling by their offspring. It does this in a "cross-cultural" context by comparing results across three countries: Germany, Hungary and the Former Soviet Union. It looks within these countries, by gender, at different ethnic subgroups. Evidence is found, generally, that father's schooling is more important than mother's, but this does vary by ethnic group. Mother's schooling plays a relatively larger role for females.

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Who Matters Most?  
The Effect of Parent's Schooling on Children's Schooling

## **Introduction**

This paper looks at the effect of parents' schooling on the schooling attainment of their children. We examine the differential effects of mother's schooling and father's schooling on the acquisition of schooling by their offspring. Schooling is examined in a "cross-cultural" context by comparing results across countries, as well as within a country by looking at these effects by ethnic group and gender.

The study makes use of three household level data sets: the German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP), the Hungarian Household Panel Survey (HHPS), and the Soviet Interview Project (SIP). Each of these data sets contains information on various subgroups of the population: the GSOEP consists of Germans and immigrants into Germany and their families, the HHPS makes it possible to distinguish Gypsies and Hungarian, non-Gypsies, and the SIP allows us to identify by Republic of the former Soviet Union (FSU) each persons' place of birth, and for Russians, whether the person was Jewish or not. We use these data to analyze demographically comparable groups; in particular we examine the schooling attainment of those born after World War II (approximately) and relate it to the schooling attainment of their parents. Of course, the idiosyncracies of each data set do not allow perfectly comparable samples.

Why should parent's schooling attainment matter in determining children's schooling attainment? Parental schooling may be a proxy for a host of unobservable determinants, such as parental preferences for education, children's ability, and assistance given by parents in school work [Gertler and Glewwe (1992)].

If parent's education matters, it is natural to ask which parent's education matter's more? The conventional wisdom is that the mother's education is more important than the father's education in children's attainments, including schooling. This arises from a large number of studies in developing economies and in the United States [for example, Schultz (1984), Chiswick (1988), Arai (1989), Thomas (1991), and Gertler and Glewwe (1992)]. Recently, Haveman and Wolfe (1995) examined the large literature on the determinants of children's attainments in the United States, and conclude that the (page 1855) "human capital of the mother is usually more closely related to the attainment of the child than is that of the father."<sup>1</sup>

Why is mother's schooling is more important than father's? One explanation rests on with the economists time allocation model.<sup>2</sup> Time spent in child care and time spent in the labor market both contribute to high quality children, e.g., children's schooling attainment. This raises the question of the role of non-market versus market inputs in children's educational attainments. If we assume that non-market inputs are more important, then the parent who engages in relatively greater non-market activity will exert a greater influence on children's schooling. Alternatively, if the contribution through market work is more important in determining children's education than is the input through non-market work, it is the spouse who is relatively more engaged in market activity who will have the greater influence.

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<sup>1</sup>The evidence is not unambiguous; Haveman and Wolfe are making a judgement based on the preponderance of evidence. This is true in the development literature as well. For example, Tansel (1992) finds for Ghana and the Cote D'Ivoire that father's literacy was more important than mother's in children's schooling attainments.

<sup>2</sup>Alternative, complementary models are the socialization/role model perspective, the life-span development approach, and stress theory and coping strategies. See Haveman and Wolfe (1995) for a discussion of these models and how they relate to the time allocation model.

The implication of the above argument is that to the extent, for example, that women may spend relatively more time than men at home versus in the labor market, their influence is expected to be greater. However, we might expect to see variations in this influence 1) across countries and subgroups which face different relative prices of market versus non-market activity, and 2) across countries and subgroups that have differing elasticities of child-rearing activity with respect to labor force activity. These two elements might lead us to expect a different effect of mother's versus father's schooling on children's schooling by country, by subgroups within a country, and by gender.

What is the evidence on country and subgroup effects? Work by Gang and Zimmermann (1996) finds that in comparing the schooling attainments of Germans and comparable second generation immigrants (the children of the guestworkers), both father's and mother's education was important to Germans, with father's being more important, while for most of the second generation immigrant subgroups neither parent's educational background substantially influenced children's schooling. These results do, however, vary by origin country. Schultz (1984) finds that in the United States native-born parent's schooling affects their offsprings educational attainments, with the effect of mother's schooling about twice that of father's. Among immigrants, the mother's effect was less and the father's was more, but generally the relationship was weaker than for the native-born. Here too the results varied by origin country.

## **Data**

This study uses data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP), the Hungarian

Household Panel Survey (HHPS), and the Soviet Interview Project (SIP). The GSOEP is described in Wagner et. al. (1993). The first wave of the GSOEP was drawn in 1984, from which most of our information is taken. In 1986 a question was asked on parent's education, and that was matched to the 1984 respondents. The GSOEP contains two subsamples, the Germans and the foreigners. The foreigner sample contains representative households from the five largest groups of immigrants (Turks, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Italians and Spaniards) that came under the guestworker system in the early 1960s. From the sample of the foreigners we keep those who were born in Germany or who arrived before the age of 16, and who in 1984 were 17-38 years old. These are considered to be the second generation migrants [Kossoudji (1989, p. 497)]. From the German sample we examine the same age cohort. The subsample used here is described in greater detail in Gang and Zimmermann (1996).

The first wave of the HHPS was drawn in 1992, and is described in Sik (1995). In 1993 a question on parents' education was asked, and we draw our data from the 1993 wave. The interviewers were asked whether they thought the respondent was a Gipsy or not, and we use this to identify Gipsies versus those Hungarians who are not Gipsies. We restricted our sample to those who were 17 to 47 years old in 1993. This leaves us with a sample of 2031 individuals.

The SIP data provides us with a contemporary sample of émigrés who moved from the Soviet Union to the United States in the period from January 1, 1979 to April 30, 1982 and provides us with detailed background information on those who emigrated.<sup>3</sup> The SIP data

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<sup>3</sup> The initial SIP consisted of 2,793 respondents aged 21-70 years at time of emigration. A detailed discussion of the original materials can be found in Millar et. al. (1987). The first major studies from the data base including commentary on the data can be found in Millar (ed.) (1987) while recent analysis of the household can be found in Ofer and Vinokur (1992), Linz (1995) and Gang and

was collected in 1983 and reports on a variety of aspects of household behavior of respondents during their lifetime in the Soviet Union through the end of their last normal period (LNP), the date on which they declared their intention to emigrate from the Soviet Union.<sup>4</sup> Our study is based upon a subsample of 919 (the Blue supplement) for whom both basic and extended household characteristics are known, and who were born in the various republics of the Former Soviet Union.<sup>5</sup> Of these, we further restricted the sample to the 519 participants who were between 25 and 50 years old in 1983.

Each data set has its own definition of each variable; we tried to make the variables comparable. The critical variables of the study are children's and parent's schooling. For children's schooling, we translated the different degrees into years of schooling for all three data sets. GSOEP provides data for each individual on the type of school attended. To convert these into years of schooling we followed the procedure outlined in Gang and Zimmermann (1996). Instead of just adding the standard years for the various educational degrees, we use a more conservative measure that adjusts for "duplicate" degrees and discounts alternative post-schooling degrees (vocational training, university and the like) by one year. A similar procedure was employed in translating the degrees in the HHPS and the SIP into years of schooling. For parent's schooling, using the HHPS and the SIP, we also

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Stuart (1996a,b).

<sup>4</sup>The concept of LNP is important. It was assumed that once a family declared its intention to emigrate its circumstances would change, possibly dramatically, due to official hostility.

<sup>5</sup>How representative is our sample? The ethnic composition of the original SIP database is known such that weights could be derived to make any sample representative of the entire Soviet population. We did not weight our observations to obtain a representative picture of the entire Soviet population. This does not affect the slope coefficients in our regressions.



directly translated degrees into years of schooling. Though there were significant changes in the structure of schooling in the Soviet Union and Hungary, in balance parents went through the same general type of school system as the children [see Dobson (1984)]. However, it is difficult to compare schooling in Germany with the schooling levels acquired by migrants in their home countries. For the non-Germans in the GSOEP, the parent's human capital dummy variable takes value 1, if its education is at least "mandatory with degree". In the case of a German, the dummy takes value 1, if the parent has at least a high school degree (Realschule or Abitur).

Below we perform separate analyses for each subgroup of the population. For the GSOEP, this means we analyze Germans, Turks, Italians, Spaniards, Greeks and Yugoslavs; for the HHPS, Gipsies and Hungarian, non-Gipsies; for the SIP, Russians (by place of birth), Ukrainians, people born in the Baltics, Belarus and Moldava, Caucasus and Central Asia. We further break down the analysis into males and females, and for Russians into Jews and non-Jews. This allows us a complete set of interactions of ethnicity and gender with our explanatory variables, rather than forcing everything into the intercept term. The gain is a better picture of the effect of parent's schooling on children's schooling by ethnicity and gender. The cost is that some of analyses are performed on very few observations. This suggests that we should be generous in interpreting our results in terms of statistical significance, looking instead for general patterns. What is perhaps surprising is that even with small samples we get reasonably strong results.

## **Empirical Results**

The analysis is performed using OLS with children's schooling on the left hand side, and mother's and father's schooling and other control variables on the right hand side. The exact specification varies by data set, and is given in the notes to Tables 1, 2, and 3. Tables 1, 2, and 3 have the same structure, with Table 1 from the analysis of the GSOEP, Table 2 from the analysis of the HHPS, and Table 3 from the analysis of the SIP. The tables summarize the results of the analysis, giving the means of children's, mother's and father's schooling and the estimated elasticities of children's education with respect to mother's schooling and father's schooling. The elasticity estimates are shaded if significant at the .10 level for ease of presentation. In addition, the tables present the results of two tests 1) whether parent's education matters at all in children's schooling, and 2) whether mother's and father's effects on the child are significantly different from each other. Recall that for some subgroups the sample size is very small, and this should be taken into account in interpreting the results.

Let us examine the results using the GSOEP in Table 1. First notice that, with regard to years of schooling in Germany, German children have more years than do non-German children. For Germans, the mean is 12.1 years, while for non-Germans it ranges from 7.6 for Turks to 9.3 for Spaniards. Recall that these numbers are for the same post-World War II cohort. As for parents schooling, the numbers mean something different for Germans and non-Germans. For Germans, recall that our measure of German's parents education is whether or not parents have at least a high school education. This level of education was achieved by 12 percent of the parents. For non-Germans they mean having completed the basic mandatory degree in their country of origin; we find this ranges from 9 percent of the

Turks to 21 percent of the Yugoslavs. Note that what is "mandatory" varies from country to country.

What about the effects of parent's schooling on children's schooling? For Germans, the estimated elasticities are very small, but significantly different from zero. Children's education is very inelastic with respect to parent's schooling. Father's schooling is more important than mother's, on the order of three times as important for males and twice as important for females.

This pattern is not maintained among Germany's second generation immigrants. For Greeks, parent's education plays no role in children's schooling. For Turks, no role is found for women, while for men father's education plays a significant role. Mother's schooling plays a role for Italian females; for males mother's schooling actually seems to lower their educational achievement. Father's schooling matters to male Spaniards, but not mother's; for females there is no parental effect. Yugoslavs are very different. Mother's schooling is three times more important for females over males; and the effect of father's schooling is to lower children's schooling for both males and females.

Parental schooling has an effect on the schooling attainment of the next generation in varying degrees. For Germans, father's education is a more important influence on educational attainment than mother's education. For Yugoslavs the opposite is true. For the other groups parent's schooling has a weak relationship, certainly a weaker relationship to children's schooling attainments. Schultz (1984) also found, for the United States, that there is a weaker link between the second generation and their parents than between the children of the native-born and their parents. The shock of immigration weakens the inter-generational

transfer of human capital through this mechanism.

Let us now turn to the results from using the HHPS. The average non-Gipsy Hungarian born after 1945 had 10.7 years of schooling, while the Gipsy has a much lower 7.5 years. The level of Gipsy education is more compatible to the parental generation of Hungarians. Gipsy mothers averaged 3.6 years, and fathers 4.6 years of schooling. For Hungarians, parent's schooling matters to children, very slightly more so for females. Mother's and father's schooling have the same effects on children. It is a different matter for Gipsies. For females, parent's schooling has no effect. For males, father's does and mother's does not. The effect of father's is quite strong (though inelastic). Hypothetically, if the Gipsy father had twice their average level of education, the Gipsy son would have approximately 1.5 additional years of schooling.

For the cohort we analyze from the Former Soviet Union (FSU), the year of birth may have been as early as 1933. This was necessitated by the age structure of the sample. Still, we find the mean level of schooling quite high across all of the Republics, though clearly it is highest among Russians, and it is higher among males than females. Even parents schooling is relatively high, though it is as low as 6.9 years for females from Belarus and Moldova. The greatest gains in schooling has occurred outside of Russia and among females.

Examining the Former Soviet Union (FSU) results, it is quite clear that, except in the Baltic Republics (where we only have 22 observations), parent's education matters. Furthermore, the effect of mother's and father's schooling on children's are not significantly different from one another. However, examining the estimated elasticities presents a slightly different story, especially considering our small sample sizes. For Russians, father's education

is more important, about 1.5 times than mother's (except for Jewish females, for whom mother and father exert the same influence). For Ukrainians, mother's education is about 2 times more important than father's. Father's matter about twice as much for those from Belarus and Moldava; while mothers 1.5 time for those from the Caucasus. For those from Central Asia, mother's education is extremely important, father's not at all. Indeed the elasticity estimate for Central Asians of children's education with respect to mother's schooling is the largest in all three data sets. Finally, in comparing non-Jewish Russians to Jewish Russians, we find the effect of parental schooling on children's schooling attainment stronger for non-Jews, particularly with respect to father's schooling attainment.

## **Conclusions**

We have examined the effects of mother's and father's schooling on children's schooling. Though the conventional wisdom argues that mother's schooling is more important than father's in determining children's schooling, our findings show a different result.

We have found, contrary to the conventional wisdom, that overall the evidence indicates that father's education is more important than mother's, and that mother's schooling is relatively more important for females. However, this varies quite a bit for different ethnic groups, and there is a lot of evidence within this study that contradicts this general statement. The effect of parent's schooling is generally less for second generation immigrants in Germany, and for Gipsies in Hungary. This may be because of the low schooling attainments of the parents, and the institutionalization of schooling in the children's generation.

Note that all of the results, even while for the most part statistically different from

zero, are small, i.e., children's schooling is very inelastic with respect to parent's schooling. Perhaps this is because of the average parent's low educational attainment relative to their children, or the institutionalization and increased egalitarianism of the educational systems in all of the countries in the second half of this century. This would tend to place factors other than parent's schooling attainments as important actors in the determination of children's schooling attainment. It is, perhaps, most surprising that we find parental influences, and that they vary so widely across countries, subgroups and gender.

We must raise the point that these three data sets encompass countries that loosely can be termed Central Europe. In the context of the discussion of why one might expect mother's or father's schooling to matter more, we much raise the question: "Is there a Central European phenomenon that is different than what we witness in the United States or in the developing economies?".

This paper raises many questions. It tells us that we need to further explore the underlying socio-economic settings that determine the link between children's schooling attainment and that of their parents. Understanding this link and what it responds to may become especially important in light of changes in developing and in the transition economies, and the commensurate changes in family settings, economic opportunities and politics.

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TABLE 1  
INFLUENCE OF PARENT'S SCHOOLING ON CHILDREN'S FOR THOSE LIVING IN GERMANY

	Sample Size	Means			Estimated Elasticities		Mother's and Father's Education Jointly Significant	Mother's and Father's Education Significantly Different from One Another	Adjusted R-Squared
		Children's Education (years of schooling)	Mother's Education	Father's Education	Children's Education with respect to Mother's Education	Children's Education with respect to Father's Education			
Germans									
All	3840	12.1 (2.5)	.08 (.28)	.12 (.32)	.006* (.001)	.014* (.001)	yes	yes	.29
Male	1920	12.3 (2.5)	.08 (.28)	.11 (.32)	.005* (.002)	.015* (.002)	yes	yes	.35
Female	1920	11.9 (2.4)	.09 (.28)	.13 (.33)	.007* (.002)	.013* (.002)	yes	yes**	.23
Turks									
All	293	7.6 (4.2)	.04 (.19)	.09 (.29)	.017 (.011)	.006 (.014)	no	no	.13
Male	161	8.3 (3.8)	.04 (.19)	.06 (.24)	-.021** (.012)	.022* (.009)	yes	yes	.05
Female	132	6.7 (4.4)	.05 (.22)	.13 (.33)	-.020 (.017)	-.008 (.028)	no	no	.14
Yugoslavs									
All	73	7.9 (4.8)	.16 (.37)	.21 (.41)	.218* (.034)	-.173* (.032)	yes	yes	.33
Male	30	8.9 (4.1)	.10 (.31)	.13 (.35)	.121* (.029)	-.093* (.032)	yes	yes	.10
Female	43	7.2 (5.2)	.21 (.41)	.26 (.44)	.342* (.049)	-.281* (.042)	yes	yes	.40
Greeks									
All	116	8.9 (4.4)	.09 (.28)	.10 (.31)	-.005 (.023)	.031 (.022)	no	no	.13
Male	62	9.3 (4.3)	.08 (.27)	.06 (.25)	-.010 (.025)	.031** (.018)	no	no	.26
Female	54	8.3 (4.5)	.09 (.29)	.15 (.36)	.016 (.047)	.007 (.054)	no	no	-.05

Italians									
All	159	8.1 (4.5)	.10 (.30)	.13 (.34)	-.003 (.026)	-.002 (.031)	no	no	.18
Male	91	8.2 (4.6)	.08 (.27)	.09 (.28)	-.044* (.016)	.001 (.021)	yes	no	.31
Female	68	8.1 (4.3)	.13 (.34)	.19 (.39)	.088** (.051)	-.053 (.070)	yes	no	.15
Spaniards									
All	113	9.3 (3.6)	.12 (.33)	.17 (.38)	.006 (.019)	.036 (.022)	yes	no	.17
Male	68	9.3 (3.6)	.18 (.38)	.21 (.41)	-.024 (.029)	.087* (.032)	yes	yes	.11
Female	45	9.1 (3.8)	.04 (.21)	.11 (.32)	.001 (.006)	.005 (.018)	no	no	.25

Source: Author's calculations from German Socio-Economic Panel (Wagner et. al., 1993). Calculations are made using SHAZAM 7.0 (White et. al., 1990).

Notes: The OLS regressions have children's schooling in years on the left hand side. The children are between 17 and 38 years old in 1984. On the right hand side is: mother's schooling, father's schooling, child's age and age-squared, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child is still in school, and, where appropriate, a dummy variable taking on the value of 1 if the child is male. Note that the measure of mother's and father's schooling differs for Germans and non-Germans in the analyses done with the GSOEP. For Germans, the variables take on the value of 1 if at least Realschule or Abitur has been earned, 0 if not. For the non-Germans, the variables take on the value of 1 if at least the mandatory degree in the home country has been earned, 0 if not.

Notation: yes\*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10; otherwise yes indicates a p-value below .05; \* indicates a p-value below .05; \*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10. For ease of reading, elasticities are shaded if p-value is below .10.

TABLE 2  
INFLUENCE OF PARENT'S SCHOOLING ON CHILDREN'S FOR THOSE LIVING IN HUNGARY

	Sample Size	Means			Estimated Elasticities		Mother's and Father's Education Jointly Significant	Mother's and Father's Education Significantly Different from One Another	Adjusted R-Squared
		Children's Education (years of schooling)	Mother's Education (years of schooling)	Father's Education (years of schooling)	Children's Education with respect to Mother's Education	Children's Education with respect to Father's Education			
Hungarians									
All	1925	10.7 (2.3)	7.9 (3.0)	8.6 (3.3)	.119* (.016)	.120* (.016)	yes	no	.25
Male	935	10.5 (2.1)	8.0 (3.1)	8.6 (3.3)	.101* (.023)	.118* (.024)	yes	no	.25
Female	990	10.9 (2.4)	7.9 (3.0)	8.5 (3.2)	.138* (.022)	.124* (.020)	yes	no	.25
Gipsies									
All	106	7.5 (2.4)	3.6 (3.3)	4.6 (3.2)	.023 (.041)	.100** (.055)	yes**	no	.16
Male	54	7.8 (2.1)	3.7 (3.3)	4.9 (3.2)	-.025 (.054)	.183* (.087)	yes	no	.18
Female	52	7.1 (2.7)	3.6 (3.3)	4.3 (3.2)	.029 (.063)	.103 (.069)	no	no	.20

Source: Author's calculations from the Hungarian Household Panel Survey (1995). Calculations are made using SHAZAM 7.0 (White et al., 1990).

Notes: The OLS regressions have children's schooling in years on the left hand side. The children are between 17 and 47 years old in 1993. On the right hand side is: mother's schooling in years, father's schooling in years, child's age and age-squared, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child is still in school, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child is now in an urban environment, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child is now the head of a household, and, where appropriate, a dummy variable taking on the value of 1 if the child is male. Note that Hungarian means the non-Gipsies in the sample.

Notation: yes\*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10; otherwise yes indicates a p-value below .05; \* indicates a p-value below .05; \*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10. For ease of reading, elasticities are shaded if p-value is below .10.

TABLE 3  
INFLUENCE OF PARENT'S SCHOOLING ON CHILDREN'S  
FOR THOSE BORN IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

	Sample Size	Means			Estimated Elasticities		Mother's and Father's Education Jointly Significant	Mother's and Father's Education Significantly Different from One Another	Adjusted R-Squared
		Children's Education (years of schooling)	Mother's Education (years of schooling)	Father's Education (years of schooling)	Children's Education with respect to Mother's Education	Children's Education with respect to Father's Education			
Russians									
All	248	13.1 (2.3)	10.3 (3.7)	10.8 (4.0)	.074* (.038)	.126* (.035)	yes	no	.20
Male	105	13.6 (2.1)	10.7 (3.9)	11.1 (4.1)	.086 (.053)	.139* (.047)	yes	no	.17
Female	143	12.7 (2.4)	10.0 (3.6)	10.6 (3.9)	.083 (.051)	.100* (.050)	yes	no	.20
Female, not Jewish	63	12.8 (2.3)	9.9 (3.4)	11.3 (4.0)	.110 (.069)	.147* (.065)	yes	no	.28
Female, Jewish	80	12.6 (2.5)	10.1 (3.7)	10.1 (3.8)	.080 (.074)	.070 (.079)	yes**	no	.17
Male, not Jewish	37	13.4 (2.2)	10.1 (4.1)	11.3 (4.3)	.126** (.071)	.179* (.072)	yes	no	.33
Male, Jewish	68	13.8 (2.1)	11.1 (3.7)	11.0 (4.0)	.072 (.073)	.101** (.060)	yes	no	.07
Ukrainians									
All	181	11.9 (2.5)	8.9 (3.6)	9.3 (3.8)	.122* (.045)	.063 (.042)	yes	no	.16
Male	101	12.3 (2.5)	8.9 (3.4)	9.4 (3.8)	.151* (.059)	.069 (.055)	yes	no	.21
Female	80	11.6 (2.4)	8.9 (3.8)	9.2 (3.9)	.111 (.073)	.042 (.064)	yes**	no	.03
Baltics									
All	22	11.5 (2.3)	9.5 (3.5)	9.5 (3.10)	.057 (.234)	.019 (.175)	no	no	-.04

Belarus and Moldava									
All	71	10.9 (2.7)	7.5 (3.4)	7.8 (3.9)	.114** (.062)	.176 (.068)	yes	no	.20
Male	36	10.4 (2.8)	8.2 (3.7)	7.6 (4.0)	.088 (.085)	.151 (.092)	yes	no	.24
Female	35	11.4 (2.6)	6.9 (3.0)	8.0 (3.8)	.093 (.096)	.221** (.109)	yes	no	.14
Caucasus									
All	28	12.9 (2.6)	10.4 (4.0)	11.4 (3.9)	.151 (.104)	.107 (.120)	yes**	no	.11
Central Asia									
All	41	11.5 (6.1)	8.5 (3.6)	9.2 (4.3)	.339* (.081)	-.022 (.073)	yes	yes	.28

Source: Author's calculations from the Soviet Interview Project (Millar et. al., 1987). Calculations are made using SHAZAM 7.0 (White et. al., 1990).

Notes: The OLS regressions have children's schooling in years on the left hand side. The children are between 25 and 50 years old in 1983 and living in the United States. On the right hand side is: mother's schooling in years, father's schooling in years, child's age and age-squared, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child is still in school, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child was born in a city, a dummy variable taking on the value 1 if the child migrated within the Former Soviet Union, and, where appropriate, a dummy variable taking on the value of 1 if the child is male, and a dummy variable taking on the value of 1 if the child is jewish.

Notation: yes\*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10; otherwise yes indicates a p-value below .05; \* indicates a p-value below .05; \*\* indicates a p-value between .05 and .10. For ease of reading, elasticities are shaded if p-value is below .10.