



**THE CAUSAL EFFECT OF FAMILY SIZE ON
CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION**

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ABSTRACT

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KEY WORDS

Child labor, education, fertility, instrumental variables

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The Causal Effect of Family Size on Child Labor and Education

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Abstract

This paper investigates the causal relationship between family size and child labor and education among Brazilian children. More specifically, it analyzes the impact of family size on child labor, school attendance, literacy and school progression. It explores the exogenous variation in family size driven by the presence of twins in the family. The results are consistent under the reasonable assumption that the instrument is a random event. Using the nationally representative Brazilian household survey (*PNAD*), detrimental effects are found on child labor for boys. Moreover, significant effects are obtained for school progression for girls caused by the exogenous presence of the young siblings in the household.

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1 Introduction

The economic literature has discussed the relationship between family size and child quality for quite some time. It has been argued that there is a trade-off between quantity and quality of children (Becker and Lewis (1973), Becker and Tomes (1976), and Hanushek (1992)). In general, child quality is understood as any child outcome that is valued by the parents. In practice, authors have in mind the wellbeing of the child or her accumulation of human capital. Becker and Lewis (1973) developed a model which introduces a theoretical framework to analyze this issue. They assume that the cost of an additional child (holding quality constant) is greater as the number of children increases. Similarly, the cost of increasing the average quality of a child rises (holding quantity constant) as quality increases. An important implication of such models is that family size becomes an input in the production of child quality.

In principle, the impact of family size on child quality can be harmful or beneficial. One can imagine a situation where the larger the family is, the more the resources are diluted. For instance, in an environment where credit markets are imperfect, families with many children would invest less in each child than if they have fewer children. However, it is possible that having more children decreases maternal labor supply (Angrist and Evans (1998)). Thus, as argued by Blau and Grossberg (1992) this reduction could increase the probability that the mother spends more time parenting which could improve the child quality.

Child labor is a common phenomenon in developing countries. It is often used by the families to complement their total resources (see Basu (1999), Edmonds and Pavcnik (2005), and Edmonds and Pavcnik (2006) for surveys on child labor). Child labor is typically associated with lower human capital formation (Beegle *et al.* (2006), Emerson and Souza (2006)). The theoretical literature emphasizes the trade-off between child labor and human capital accumulation. The main channels are time constraints (the child has less time to acquire education) as well as the physical and psychological constraints (the child is less capable of learning after hours of work) (e.g. Baland and Robinson (2000)). Therefore, child labor can be characterized as an important determinant of

child quality as long as human capital formation is an attribute valued by the parents. However, some economists argue that child labor can be a resource to finance the child education (e.g. Psacharopoulos (1997)). In this case, an extra child would raise the family income required to invest in child quality.

Measuring the impact of family size on child quality outcomes is an empirical endeavor. An important feature to be taken into account is that child quality and quantity are jointly determined by the parents. For instance, in the Becker and Tomes (1976) model, families decide how many children to have and how much to invest in each child. Given the nonlinear constraints, an exogenous increase in the number of children raises the per child cost of quality. Thus, the model implies that there is a negative causal relation between quantity and quality.

However, a negative association between quality and quantity could be driven by other factors. For example, parents' endowment (such as ability, wealth, education, and cultural factors) affects the child quality by intergenerational transmission mechanisms. Low-endowed parents may produce low-endowed children who benefit less from an extra investment in their quality compared to high-endowed children. If this is the case, parents with low endowments would optimally decide to have more children and lower quality per child compared to high-endowed parents. Again, one would observe a negative correlation between quantity and quality but now not driven by an exogenous change in the family size. Therefore, this correlation would not be causal.

By the same token, child labor and fertility are ambiguously related. It is possible to show in the Baland and Robinson (2000) model when fertility is exogenous that an increase in family size decreases the amount worked by each child. This occurs because having more children may increase the total family income reducing the required labor intensity per child. However, if fertility and child labor are jointly determined, the direction of causality is not clear. On one hand, increasing child labor reduces the net cost of a child, raising the demand for children. On the other hand, increasing fertility increases the total cost of all children and requires more child labor to generate the extra income. Additionally, Cigno and Rosati (2005) illustrate a model where wealth and fertility are negative correlated through birth control costs. In this case, the relationship between

fertility and child labor and education would be driven by a third factor. The causal effect of the former on the latter would not be necessarily present.

Any empirical exercise which tries to estimate the causal effect of family size on child quality must take into consideration the endogeneity of fertility. The empirical literature concerned with industrialized countries that deals with this endogeneity problem focuses on educational outcomes. The results are mixed. Black *et al.* (2005) find no impact of family size on children's educational attainment in Norway. Haan (2005) finds no significant effect of the *number of children* on educational attainment in US and Netherlands. Angrist *et al.* (2005) and Angrist *et al.* (2006) do not find any causal impact of family size on completed educational attainment and earnings in Israel. Conley and Glauber (2005) using the 1990 US PUMS estimate that children living in larger families are more likely not to attend private school and be held back in school. And Goux and Maurin (2005) show that children living in larger families perform worse in school than children in smaller families in France. They claim that the mechanism is due to overcrowded homes. For developing countries, using data from India between 1969 and 1971, Rosenzweig and Wolpin (1980) estimate that households with higher fertility had lower levels children's schooling. Lee (2004) finds negative impacts of family size on per child investment in education for South Korean households.

To the best of our knowledge, the literature lacks studies on the determinants of child labor that correctly take into account the endogeneity of family size. For instance, Psacharopoulos and Patrinos (1997) find that having more young siblings is associated with less schooling, more age-grade distortion, and less child labor among Peruvian children in 1991. Cigno and Rosati (2002) studying the determinants of child labor and education in rural India find a significantly positive effect of the number of children aged 6-16 on the time used to work and a negative effect on the time used to attend school. Although these works are an important step for understanding the determinants of child labor, the potential endogeneity of fertility can bias their results and mislead the conclusion they found. The only attempt made to deal with endogeneity problem of the relationship between child labor and fertility is in Deb and Rosati (2004). They use the gender of the first-born child, the ages of the parents and the village-level mortality rate as instruments

for fertility. They find a positive effect of *number of children* on the probability of work when the endogeneity is taken into account. This result is different from the case when fertility is assumed to be exogenous. In this case, they find an insignificantly negative effect on child labor. Although their study is a valid attempt to deal with the endogeneity of fertility, we doubt that the instruments have the indispensable characteristic of being orthogonal to the unobservables. It is very likely that the instruments, especially the parents' ages and the village mortality rate, are correlated to wealth, ability and others unobservable variables that could be jointly related with child labor and fertility, jeopardizing their results and conclusions.

The objective of this paper is to gauge the causal effect of family size on child labor and educational outcomes in a developing country context. More specifically, we obtain the impact of family size on child labor, school attendance, literacy rate, and school progression among Brazilian children. In order to consistently estimate these causal effects we make use of instrumental variable technique. We explore the exogenous variation of family size driven by the presence of twins in the family. We believe that our results are consistent under the reasonable assumption that this instrument is a random event. We use the nationally representative household surveys (*PNAD*) for 2001 to 2004. We find that this exogenous increase in family size has different effects on outcomes for boys and girls. For boys, increase in sibship size are positively related to child labor and negatively related to school progression. For girls, we only find significant effects on school progression caused by the exogenous presence of young siblings in the household. Moreover, we examine whether these impacts marginally differ with family size. The results suggest that the greatest impact lies on the exogenous change from one to two children.

Correctly estimating the causal effect of family size on child quality outcomes is important for a developing country public policy perspective. It is well known that the majority of larger families are poorer and our results suggest that the size of the family has a direct impact on important social outcomes for children. This discussion can better inform the public debate about how to understand and address poverty, education, and child labor in developing countries.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 discusses the data set and the sample selection used.

The identification strategy is presented in section 3. The results are discussed in section 4. Section 5 concludes.

2 Data

The data used here come from the *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD)* database. The *PNAD* is an annual household survey, with sample size equal to 1/500 of the Brazilian population (about 100,000 households) and is designed to produce a picture of the social-economic conditions of the Brazilian population. It covers all urban and almost all rural areas, except the Amazon region. It has been conducted in regular basis since 1981 by *IBGE* (Brazilian Census Bureau) except in years in which census data were collected (1991 and 2000) and a year with budget constraint (1994). *PNAD* also contains extensive information on personal and household characteristics. For each person, information about age, schooling attendance, literacy, years of completed schooling, migration, labor participation, retirement, income sources (including values), etc. is available. We used the 2001, 2002, 2003 and 2004 *PNAD*'s. We pooled these four surveys in order to obtain sufficient number of observations for our instrument, since the birth of twins is a rare event.

Our entire sample consists of children between seven and fifteen years old. Seven years old is the mandatory school entry age in Brazil¹. We restrict the children's age to be at most fifteen, since at fifteen the individual is expected to have completed the middle school cycle (*ensino fundamental*) and above this age they are more likely to live outside their parent's household and are allowed to work by the Brazilian law. For analyzing child labor, we only include children between ten and fifteen since *PNAD* does not have the information about labor participation for children younger than ten.

PNAD allows us to identify who the mother of each child in the family is, as long as the mother lives in the same household. Therefore, in order to identify the twins we use year and month

¹it changed for Six years old recently and will be gradually implemented in the coming years

of birth for children with the same mother². We exclude from the sample all families in which the mother was dead or not present. We also excluded families with triplets, quadruplets, and quintuplets. To identify the twins and number of siblings we use all children younger than sixteen. Our instrumental variable for the number of children is the presence of twins in the family.

Additionally, the sample is restricted to only include families with two adults (the mother and her husband) to avoid dealing with the potential endogenous decision about the number of adults living together in the same family. Therefore, we are just looking at families composed of two adults and their children aged between zero and fifteen³. Thus, the variation of the family size will come from the *number of children* between zero and fifteen years old in the family.⁴

In order to check possible channels through which family size impacts child quality, a sub-sample is created additionally. Now, we narrow our sample only to families with children ten years or older and estimate the impact of the number of younger siblings (six years old or less) on them and investigate if the channel through which family size impacts child quality operates from the younger to the older siblings.

Note that our sample includes some children that were born after the birth of twins in the family. One possible critique of this sample selection is that the presence of twins in families that have children after the birth of twins is not correlated with family size. The family could have stuck with the previously chosen number of children. For those families, the number of siblings would still be endogenous.

In an attempt to overcome this potential problem, we create three more sub-samples for robustness checks. First, we exclude from our original sample families that the twins are not last born and all families with a single child. In other words, this sub-sample encompasses families with two or more children and no twins or families with last-born twins. In this sub-sample, we also

²We did not use day of birth to avoid losing observation of those twins who were born before and after midnight. Nevertheless, we found just four cases like this in our sample

³Restricting to two-parent families could lead to a selection bias problem. However, we do not believe that this is a serious problem to our analysis, since of all families with children aged fifteen or less only 16% are not two-parent families

⁴Hereafter, the expressions family size and *number of children* will be used interchangeably referring to the same variable.

exclude the twins themselves. Moreover, in order to analyze whether the marginal effects of *number of children* differ along the family size distribution, we create, secondly, a sub-sample of families with a single child or first-birth twins; and thirdly, we restrict to three-children families where the oldest child in families with two non-twins is compared to the oldest child in families in which the non-twin first-born is followed by second-born twins.

For the sake of completeness, we compare our findings using the presence of twins as instruments with the results obtained using another instrument also commonly present in the literature, the sibling-sex composition, that is, the occurrence of the first and second born siblings being of the same gender. We construct a sample including only first-borns of families with two or more children and instrument the family size by the variable that indicates if the gender of the first two children is the same.

A final caveat should be added. The number of children calculated is the number of observed children living in the household in the week of reference. It is possible that there are more siblings living outside the households. Thus, these figures might be underestimated. We believe that this problem is attenuated because we only use two-adult families with children aged at most fifteen. Children older than eighteen is more likely to live outside and families with young children are less likely to have eighteen-year-old or more children. Therefore, we think this problem is minor. Nevertheless, this measurement error is attenuated by the IV approach if the presence of twins is uncorrelated with the measurement error.

3 Empirical Strategy

The main problem regarding estimating the impact of family size on social-economic indicators is the potential endogeneity of fertility. The decision about how many children a couple will have and how much to spend in quality outcomes is likely jointly determined. Both could be correlated with unobserved variables. It is possible that unobserved endowment characteristic such as *ability*, and cultural and taste factors not captured by the controls have influence on both quantity and quality.

Having Cigno and Rosati (2005), Baland and Robinson (2000) and Becker and Tomes (1976) models as a guide, one can conjecture the possible channels that fertility would be endogenous in regressions involving child labor and quality outcomes in general. For instance, it is known that some culture traditions are associated with having bigger families than others, and if families with different traditions also have unequal perception of the value of education, a simple OLS estimator relating family size and educational outcomes will be biased. By the same token, wealth and ability are determinants of affording and the correctly understanding of the use of anticonceptional methods. If they are also correlated with the children educational and labor outcomes, the OLS will not capture the causal impact of family size on those quality indicators. Depending on the correlation between unobservables and family size and also with the dependent variables, the OLS estimator could be upward or downward biased. If the example above about the relationship between *ability* and value of education perception and anticonceptional measures is true, we would expect that a naive approach would overestimate the actual impact of family size on education. On the other hand, one can imagine that the parent's decision of having another child is made after a positive income shock or expectation of increase in future resources, which could offset part of the extra burden. In this case, the OLS estimator would underestimate the effect of having the extra child in the family.

Thus, we need a source of variation of family size orthogonal to any unobserved characteristic of the households that is also related with the dependent variables. The IV approach will be able to generate a consistent estimator as long as the excluded instrument is uncorrelated with the unobserved characteristics but also has an important role in the explanation of the endogenous variable.

The presence of twins in a family has the two desired characteristics for being a good IV. It is clearly correlated with the family size and, since it is very likely to be a random occurrence, tends to be orthogonal to the error term in the main regression. A potential flaw of our strategy rises if there is any independent effect of the presence of twins on quality that does not operate through quantity. For instance, it is possible that breastfeeding twins may physically exhaust the mother

which may affect the raising of the other children in the family. If that is the case, the impact of family size on quality would be overestimated.

Our benchmark strategy consists in a 2SLS regression, where, in the first step, we regress *number of children* (N_{ij}) on the presence of twins (PT) and other predetermined variables (W):

$$N_j = \alpha + \beta PT_j + \gamma' W_{ij} + \epsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

The second step follows⁵:

$$Y_{ij} = \alpha + \beta \hat{N}_j + \gamma' W_{ij} + v_{ij} \quad (2)$$

where Y_{ij} is the outcome of interest of children i living with family j , i.e., school attendance, literacy, school progression - defined as $(years\ of\ schooling)/(age - 6)$ - and participation in the work force. W is a vector of control variables such as: age; squared age; gender; family head's years of schooling and gender; mother's age; dummies indicating if the child is white, lives in a urban and metropolitan area, is a twin herself; and year dummies capturing any ongoing trend on the dependent variables. We also check if there are different impacts on boys and girls by running separate regressions for each gender.

Additionally, we investigate whether the presence of an extra sibling younger than 7 years old has similar effects on quality of older children (ten and above) compared to the presence of an extra sibling regardless of age⁶. We replace the presence of any pair of twins as the IV by the presence of twins younger than seven.

In order to avoid possible endogeneity brought by families that have children after the birth of twins, we narrow our sample only to families with twins that have not had any children after the birth of twins. In other words, we check the impact of the number of siblings on those who were born before the random event.

⁵When calculating the variance and covariance matrices of ϵ and v we allow for correlation of residuals within the family unit.

⁶We focus on siblings younger than 7 because this is the age that children are required to attend school by the Brazilian law

Furthermore, in order to examine if the impact of the increase in the family size is uniform along family size, we measure two different local average treatment effects (*LATE*), gauging the impacts of having one extra or a third sibling on the oldest child. Two sub-samples are created: one composed of families with only one pair of twins (Treatment) or singletons (Control) - *LATE 1*; and a second with a non-twin oldest child with a pair of twins' siblings (Treatment) or two non-twins' siblings - *LATE 2*. The coefficient of family size in *LATE 1* regression measures compare the quality outcomes among first-born twins against a singleton. On the other hand, *LATE 2* compares the impacts on first-born quality in families with two children against first-borns in families with three children where the twins are second birth. These comparisons are obtained by running OLS regressions.

Following the literature (Angrist and Evans (1998), Conley (2000) and Conley and Glauber (2005)), we extend our analysis by using the presence of same sex of the first and second children as instrument. As argued by Black *et al.* (2005), it is questionable whether sex composition affects child quality only through family size. Nevertheless, we present the results comparing families with two children against three children, using the sex composition of the first and second born as instrument.

4 Results

Endogeneity is the main concern of any study trying to estimate the causal effect of family size on socio-economic outcomes. Thus, one must be sure that the variation of the explanatory variable comes from an exogenous source. Our approach consists in using the presence of twins in the family as an instrument for family size. Although, the birth of twins seems to be a random event, some important endogeneity issues must be addressed. Has the surge in fertility treatments (In Vitro Fertilization Pre-Embryo Transfer - IVF) jeopardized the randomness of a twin's birth?⁷ IVF

⁷The medical literature estimates that 25% of pregnancies with IVF are twins when multiple pre-embryos are transferred. Triplets are seen in approximately 2-3% of pregnancies.

treatments became available in the mid 80's,⁸ but only popularized in Brazil after the mid 90's (Borlot and Trindade (2004)). A relative increase in the age of twin's mothers would suggest an influence of IVF on the instrument, since, in general, older women are the majority of the ones searching for fertility treatments. We found no evidence about that in the data. The evolution of two variables are displayed in figure 1: the ratio of the mother's age at birth and the ratio of the proportion of mothers older than thirty-five at birth (mothers of twins/ mothers of non-twins). The first thing to be noticed is that mothers of twins are on average older than others. However, there is no evidence that this ratio has increased after IVF treatment became popular in Brazil. The same can be said about the proportion of mothers older than thirty-five. The fluctuation is due to the small number of mothers of twins in this age group in our sample (around twenty five each year). Nevertheless it does not seem to have a clear positive trend or break in the series after the mid 90's. This evidence suggests that the relation between IVF treatments and birth of twins does not invalidate our instrument.

Table 1 shows the main characteristics of the children in the sample. Five different pairs of groups are compared: children in families with twins (including themselves) against children in families without twins; twins against non-twins; girls against boys; singletons against a pair of first-born twins; and the first child in the family with a non-twin sibling against the first child in the family (non-twin) with two second-born twins. Those who live with twins are significantly more likely to work and are behind in school progression. The same occurs with twins against non-twins, but the difference is only statistically significant in the case of school progression. Neither attendance nor literacy seems to be related with the presence of twins in the family. These results are not surprising, since Brazil has rapidly increased the school attendance rate after a massive governmental effort to enroll all children in school reaching 95% of the children between seven and fifteen years old in 2000 (Souza and Fernandes (2006)). Consequently, the same occurred with literacy which attained slightly lower indices (89% in 2000). Surprisingly, twins themselves are significantly more likely to attend school. Families with twins are significantly larger than the

⁸The first world case of IVF succeeded in 1978 in England. The first case in Brazil occurred only in 1984.

others. The average number of children in family with the presence of twins is 3.70, while this average is 2.51 children (32.2% smaller) in the other families.

Columns *1b*, *2b*, *3b* and *4b* in table 3 have the OLS regressions for attendance, literacy, school progression and child labor, respectively. All of them show a strongly significant coefficient of family size, indicating that children in bigger families are less likely to go to school, to be literate, are more behind in the school grade and are more likely to work. In general, these figures suggest a strong detrimental effect of family size in the child quality outcomes.

Are those results reliable? First of all, we check if our IV has a strong correlation with the potential endogenous variable. Table 2 displays the first stage of the IV regressions. The results corroborate the figures shown in table 1, the coefficient of presence of twins on family size is positive and significant for the entire sample and also for boys and girls (for both age groups: seven to fifteen and ten to fifteen years old). The IV regressions displayed in columns *1a* to *4a* show that the impact of family size is significant and harmful for the children at least for school progression and child labor. One extra child in the family increases, on average, 1.9% the likelihood of child labor and increases by 1.4% the school delay. The same cannot be said about school attendance and literacy. We are unable to reject that the IV results are significantly different from zero. Comparing the IV with the OLS regressions, we see that for all outcomes but child labor, the OLS bias seems to overestimate the actual impact of family size. In the case of school progression, the OLS coefficient is more than two times bigger than the IV one. However, for child labor, using the *Wu-Hausman* test, we cannot reject that the OLS estimator is significantly different from the IV one.

Table 4 compares the results for the IV regressions for samples only with girls (columns *a*) or boys (columns *b*). The coefficients of family size are not significantly different from zero for any of the quality outcomes in the sample only with girls⁹. On the other hand, for child labor, family size is significantly detrimental for boys and we are able to reject that the IV results are statistically equal to the OLS. Looking at the baseline differences between girls and boys in table 1, we observe that girls on average have higher attendance, literacy, school progression levels and

⁹Although for school progression, the impact of family size is almost significant at 10% .

work less often.¹⁰ A possible explanation for these results is that an exogenous change in family size has a direct impact on the resource available per child. Previous studies have shown that boys seem to be more affected when there are sudden changes in the family budget constraints, while girls are somehow “immune” to those variations. Preferences revealed by intra-household allocation decisions could be the key factor in this case. Studying the impact of a social security reform on educational outcomes in Brazil, Ponczek (2006) found results leading in the same direction: boys benefited significantly more than girls from the extra income source brought by the reform, specially if the pensioner is a male. Similarly, Emerson and Souza (2007) show that father’s education is strongly correlated with son’s school attendance and child labor compared to girls.

We investigate possible channels of family size effects on child quality outcomes. Unexpected presence of younger children may affect the quality outcomes of older siblings. For instance, older girls might have to stay at home to take care of younger siblings. Or older boys are more likely to work to help providing for the family because he can command more resources. To check this, we use the presence of younger twins ($< \text{seven}$) as instrument for number of siblings also younger than seven and estimate its impact on quality outcomes for older siblings. Table 6 displays the first-stage and of this exercise. The results are similar from the previous ones. Including boys and girls in the sample (7), there is a strong effect of family size on school progression. Splitting the sample between boys and girls (table 8), we find significantly detrimental effect on boys for child labor at 5% level of significance and also a significant impact on school progression for girls. This last result is consistent with the idea that older daughters have to take care of younger siblings, stealing time and attention from studying.

All these results may not be consistent if the fertility decisions after the birth of twins are endogenous. For instance, the number of children who were born after the twins could be not correlated with our instrument. In this case, family size would not be not affected by the presence of twins weakening the instrument. So, we also test whether the impact of an extra sibling is

¹⁰In the case of child labor, it is also possible that the surveys are not fully capturing home services which could underestimate the actual number of children engaged in a working activity and this is potentially more problematic for girls than for boys.

different for families that have already concluded their reproductive cycle after the birth of twins. Therefore, we narrow our sample to children with one or more sibling in families with no twins or that the youngest children are twins¹¹. We can see in tables 10 and 11 the results for the entire sub-sample and separated for girls and boys, respectively. We find a significant result on child labor for boys. The first stage of these regressions are displayed in table 9.

We also address the following question: Is the impact of family size constant over the number of children in the family? To answer it, we further run two different *LATE*'s regressions. One comparing the outcomes of singletons against a pair of first-born twins (*LATE 1*); and a second one comparing the outcomes of the oldest child with only one non-twin sibling against the first-born non-twin child with second-born twins (*LATE 2*). Table 5 displays both OLS regressions. We observe that the (*LATE 1*) shows a significant effect of *number of children* on child labor. Unexpectedly, we also find a significantly positive effect on school attendance and literacy. However, it important to keep in mind that these regressions compare twins against non-twin children. It is likely that at least part of the estimated impact of family size might be due to underlying differences in the characteristics of twins vs. non-twins.

The *LATE 2* results show that the effect of the third extra sibling only have a significant impact on the school progression of the first-born. However, it is important to notice that the number of observations diminishes considerably after narrowing our sample in the *LATE 2* regressions (117 children) which is the main cause of the imprecision of our results. This occurs because the great majority of twins are first-born children. Few families have a non-twin oldest child followed only by a pair of twins.¹² Regardless of the precision issue, the *LATE 2* coefficient of *number of children* is absolutely smaller than *LATE 1* for child labor suggesting that the largest part of the family size influence on this outcome may come from the division of resources between first and second children.

¹¹We only observe actual births in a point in time. Since it is not possible to know for sure if the family will have another child or not, this procedure relies on the assumption that the families with last-born twins will not have another children after the last birth

¹²Graph 2 shows the frequency of birth order of twins. Around 70% of the pair of twins are first (and second) born, 21% are second (and third) born, 7% are third (and fourth) and less than 2.3% are born after third birth.

Finally, using the sex composition of the two first children as instrument for *number of children*, we could not find any significant detrimental effect of family size on child labor. However the IV results are more than ten times larger than the OLS for child labor on first-born boys, suggesting that is likely that the sex composition has independent effects on the quality outcomes undermining the required exogeneity of the instrumental variable. Table 12 shows the first-step regressions and displays a significant effect of the instrument on the total *number of children*.

All regressions and robustness checks are also estimated using a *probit* model for the dichotomic variables (attendance, literacy and child labor). The results (not shown) are very similar to those using a linear probability model suggesting that our findings are robust to the function form of the empirical model.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, we measure the causal impact of family size on child labor and education. The main empirical problem in measuring such effect is the potential endogeneity of fertility, since it is a choice variable and unobservables could influence both the family size choice and the child quality outcome. To overcome this problem, we use the instrumental variable estimation approach. We use the presence of twins in the household as the instrumental variable for family size. We show that this variable is strongly correlated with the *number of children* and since the birth of twins is very likely to be a random event and orthogonal to the unobservables, we believe that it has the required properties for a good instrumental variable. We also verify a potential endogeneity channel of the presence of twins in the family by IVF treatments. We find no suggestion that the surge of IVF treatments in the 90's significantly changed the age of the mothers of twins which we would expect if the treatments had an impact on the twins fertility.

A simple OLS approach shows a strong detrimental relationship between family size and child labor and education. The IV estimators corroborate this findings for school progression and child labor, specially for boys. The IV results show smaller impacts of family size on school progression

compared to OLS, and greater impact for child labor.

Investigating the channels through which family size affects quality outcomes, we find that an exogenous variation on the *number of young children* has the same qualitative effects on child labor for older boys and a significantly negative effect on school progression for older girls.

We also find suggestive evidence that the negative effect of an extra child on child labor is stronger for an exogenous change from one to two children compared to variation from two to three children on first-borns.

It is an empirical fact that the majority of larger families are poorer and our results suggest that the size of the family has a direct impact on child labor and education. In developing countries where credit markets are imperfect, parents cannot easily smooth the family consumption and resource allocation over time. Our findings corroborate the idea that an unexpected additional child harms the human capital formation of the child herself and her siblings, thus perpetuating intergenerational poverty traps.

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Figures and Tables

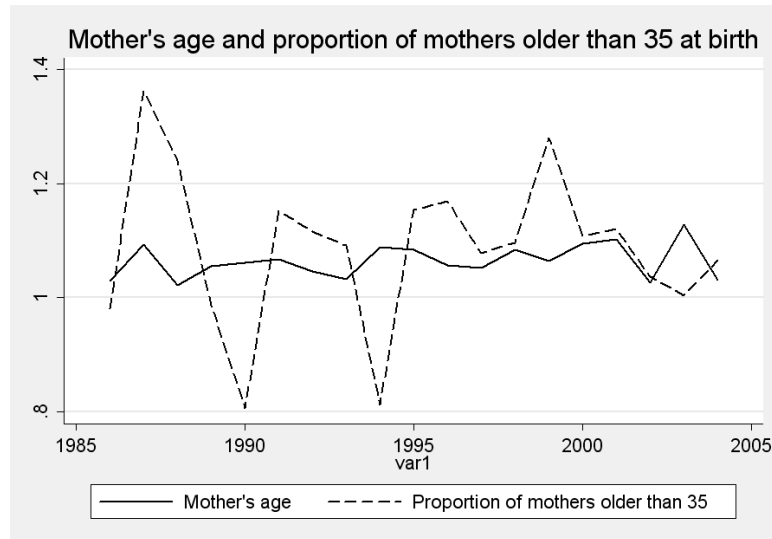


Figure 1: The ratio of mother's age at birth and the ratio of the proportion of mothers older than 35 (mothers of twins/mothers of non-twins)

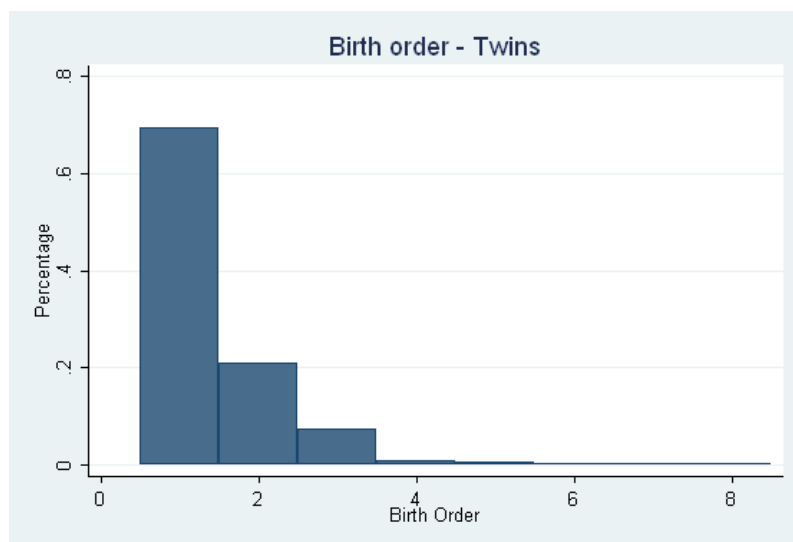


Figure 2: Birth Order - Twins

Table 1: Descriptive Statistic

	Presence of twins		Twins		Gender		LATE 1		LATE 2	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	Girls	Boys	Control	Treatment	Control	Treatment
<i>Attendance (%)</i>	96.98	97.28	96.98	98.12**	97.40**	96.6	97.25	99.02**	98.59	99.49*
<i>Work (%)</i>	3.60	4.57**	3.62	3.90	2.36	4.84**	3.03	4.34	1.63	2.54
<i>School Progression (%)</i>	87.68**	84.79	87.64*	86.15	90.58**	84.75	91.7*	90.55	93.80*	90.33
<i>Literacy (%)</i>	90.79	90.86	90.79	91.15	92.23**	89.39	95.04	96.36**	92.38	94.92**
<i>Age</i>	10.67	10.73	10.68	10.63	10.65	10.7**	11.04	11.08**	9.58	9.77
<i>Head's schooling</i>	7.34	7.13	7.33	7.38*	7.71*	7.29	8.81	8.86**	8.07**	8.02
<i>Head's male (%)</i>	78.31	78.49	78.34**	75.97	78	78.61**	67.91	68.26**	79.2	81.54*
<i>Mother's age at birth</i>	25.18	26.43**	25.18	26.95**	25.25	25.17	25.37	26.74**	27.20	28.27
<i>Prop. of boys (%)</i>	50.83**	48.80	50.82**	47.84	—	—	50.48	49.16	50.49	47.21
<i>White (%)</i>	45.87**	43.02	45.8	46.2	46.45**	45.18	54.82	58.54**	50.61	51.78**
<i>Urban area (%)</i>	68.24*	66.59	68.21	67.71	68.32	68.10	70.63	68.91	70.03	71.57
<i>Metropolitan area (%)</i>	18.20	18.13	18.18	19.27	18.35	18.04	20.54	19.75	18.82	21.83**
<i># children in the family</i>	2.51	3.70**	2.53	3.15**	2.53	2.54	1	2**	2	3**
<i># of observations</i>	168,309	3,828	169,951	2,180	84,714	87,417	33,287	714	22,640	197

Children $\in [7,15]$

** Greater with 1% of significance

* Greater with 5% of significance

Table 2: First-Stage Regressions

Dependent Variable: # of children in the family						
	Age $\in [7,15]$			Age $\in [10,15]$		
	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys
<i>Presence of twins</i>	1.71408 (37.77)	1.66634 (26.05)	1.76628 (27.49)	1.68776 (29.84)	1.68231 (20.90)	1.69261 (21.39)
<i>Twins</i>	-1.04540 (-17.21)	-0.953666 (-11.19)	-1.12482 (-13.02)	-1.08222 (-14.05)	-0.977574 (-8.98)	-1.16130 (-10.70)
N	71,371	35,220	36,151	44,394	21,786	22,608

T-statistic in parenthesis

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 3: Linear Regressions - Entire sample

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS
<i># of children</i>	-0.00112 (-0.32)	-0.00613 (-9.44)	0.00654 (1.14)	-0.02388 (-24.19)	-0.01439 (-2.01)	-0.03311 (-31.10)
<i>Twins</i>	0.00084 (0.14)	0.00410 (0.78)	-0.02123 (-2.20)	-0.00142 (-0.16)	-0.03101 (-2.59)	-0.01886 (-1.58)
<i>Head's schooling</i>	0.00298 (10.83)	0.00266 (15.50)	0.01043 (23.19)	0.00847 (31.54)	0.01581 (28.26)	0.01461 (41.63)
<i>Head's gender</i>	0.01194 (3.95)	0.01131 (3.50)	0.01494 (3.03)	0.01112 (2.49)	0.02875 (4.69)	0.02638 (4.42)
<i>Mother's age</i>	0.00011 (1.13)	0.00002 (0.30)	0.00086 (5.26)	0.00029 (2.37)	0.00091 (4.51)	0.00057 (1.98)
<i>Gender</i>	-0.00499 (-4.12)	-0.00496 (-4.11)	-0.02509 (-12.67)	-0.02491 (-12.74)	-0.05257 (-21.36)	-0.05247 (-21.37)
<i>Age</i>	0.05126 (21.69)	0.05205 (19.70)	0.20256 (52.55)	0.20733 (49.49)	-0.10839 (-22.61)	-0.10545 (-18.34)
<i>Age squared</i>	-0.00247 (-22.82)	-0.00251 (-20.39)	-0.00792 (-44.69)	-0.00815 (-45.16)	0.00383 (17.40)	0.00369 (14.95)
<i>White</i>	0.00383 (2.28)	0.00224 (1.78)	0.04383 (15.94)	0.03414 (17.12)	0.05697 (16.69)	0.05104 (19.69)
<i>Urban area</i>	0.00996 (4.61)	0.00817 (3.83)	0.07375 (20.94)	0.06289 (17.86)	0.05131 (11.72)	0.04465 (11.74)
<i>Metropolitan area</i>	0.00036 (0.27)	0.00012 (0.09)	0.00982 (4.37)	0.00832 (4.20)	-0.01047 (-3.75)	-0.01138 (-4.20)
<i>Constant</i>	0.68449 (38.68)	0.70203 (47.74)	-0.49515 (-17.15)	-0.38848 (-15.59)	1.40412 (39.11)	1.4696 (42.71)
N	71,371	71,371	71,371	71,371	71,212	71,212

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of twins in the family

Sample: Children living with two adults (the mother and her husband)

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child laborSchool Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Table 3: Linear Regressions - Entire sample (cont.)

	Child labor	
	(4a)	(4b)
	IV	OLS
<i># of children</i>	0.01851 (2.32)	0.01235 (9.38)
<i>Twins</i>	-0.00502 (-0.37)	-0.00140 (-0.11)
<i>Head's schooling</i>	-0.00447 (-7.63)	-0.00483 (-15.14)
<i>Head's gender</i>	-0.00582 (-0.86)	-0.00663 (-1.08)
<i>Mother's age</i>	0.00088 (2.97)	0.00070 (2.39)
<i>Gender</i>	0.07254 (26.34)	0.07255 (26.55)
<i>Age</i>	-0.08971 (-6.46)	-0.08916 (-6.31)
<i>Age squared</i>	0.00492 (8.82)	0.00489 (8.44)
<i>White</i>	0.00211 (0.55)	0.00015 (0.06)
<i>Urban area</i>	-0.20689 (-41.18)	-0.20925 (-37.74)
<i>Metropolitan area</i>	-0.03862 (-12.37)	-0.03890 (-14.76)
<i>Constant</i>	0.55432 (6.02)	0.58070 (6.77)
N	44,394	44,394

Table 4: Linear IV Regressions - Girls \times Boys

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
<i># of children</i>	0.00038 (0.08)	-0.00255 (-0.50)	0.00773 (0.99)	0.00515 (0.62)	-0.01687 (-1.63)	-0.01197 (-1.21)
<i>Twins</i>	-0.01071 (-1.35)	0.01303 (1.48)	-0.04450 (-3.47)	0.00384 (0.27)	-0.03899 (-2.29)	-0.02210 (-1.30)
<i>Head's schooling</i>	0.00292 (7.66)	0.00305 (7.71)	0.00934 (15.14)	0.01149 (17.71)	0.01478 (18.12)	0.01681 (21.93)
<i>Head's gender</i>	0.00856 (2.12)	0.01509 (3.34)	0.01366 (2.09)	0.01715 (2.32)	0.02923 (3.39)	0.02969 (3.39)
<i>Mother's age</i>	0.00017 (1.66)	-0.00003 (-0.16)	0.00066 (3.84)	0.00130 (3.73)	0.00058 (2.54)	0.00170 (4.10)
<i>Age</i>	0.04811 (15.10)	0.05426 (15.54)	0.19662 (38.17)	0.20870 (36.47)	-0.11444 (-16.80)	-0.10312 (-15.26)
<i>Age squared</i>	-0.00229 (-15.66)	-0.00264 (-16.56)	-0.00777 (-32.72)	-0.00809 (-30.91)	0.00414 (13.21)	0.00354 (11.47)
<i>White</i>	0.00226 (0.97)	0.00538 (2.23)	0.03456 (9.17)	0.05289 (13.40)	0.04700 (9.46)	0.06643 (14.27)
<i>Urban area</i>	0.01111 (3.79)	0.00885 (2.79)	0.05962 (12.60)	0.08755 (16.81)	0.03676 (5.89)	0.06559 (10.66)
<i>Metropolitan area</i>	-0.00172 (-0.93)	0.00237 (1.17)	0.00720 (2.41)	0.01178 (3.53)	-0.01235 (-3.13)	-0.00901 (-2.29)
<i>Constant</i>	0.69430 (29.55)	0.67283 (24.71)	-0.42187 (-11.11)	-0.60162 (-13.48)	1.47378 (29.40)	1.27164 (24.09)
N	35,220	36,151	35,220	36,151	35,157	36,055

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of twins in the family

Sample: Children living with two adults (the mother and her husband)

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child laborSchool Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Table 4: Linear IV Regressions - Girls \times Boys (cont.)

	Child Labor	
	(4a) Girls	(4b) Boys
<i># of children</i>	0.0074 (-0.76)	0.04080 (3.29)
<i>Twins</i>	0.00661 (0.40)	-0.01731 (-0.83)
<i>Head's schooling</i>	-0.00410 (-5.61)	-0.00498 (-5.58)
<i>Head's gender</i>	-0.00893 (-1.09)	-0.00034 (-0.03)
<i>Mother's age</i>	-0.00007 (-0.26)	0.00254 (3.81)
<i>Age</i>	-0.07467 (-4.40)	-0.10528 (-4.87)
<i>Age squared</i>	0.00395 (5.79)	0.00585 (6.73)
<i>White</i>	-0.00072 (-0.15)	0.00369 (0.64)
<i>Urban area</i>	-0.12662 (-20.86)	-0.28063 (-35.22)
<i>Metropolitan area</i>	-0.02638 (-6.89)	-0.05029 (-10.37)
<i>Constant</i>	0.55384 (4.91)	0.61672 (4.27)
N	21,786	22,608

Table 5: Linear Regressions - Local Average Treatment

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.		Child Labor	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)	(4a)	(4b)
	LATE 1	LATE 2	LATE 1	LATE 2	LATE 1	LATE 2	LATE 1	LATE 2
<i># of children</i>	0.01918	0.00582	0.02419	0.01118	-0.01916	-0.08714	0.04162	0.00742
	(4.02)	(0.64)	(2.74)	(0.50)	(-1.01)	(-2.62)	(2.02)	(0.22)
N	18,874	12,450	18,874	12,450	18,844	12,439	12,556	6,029

T-statistic in parenthesis

LATE 1: Effect of having 2 children compared to 1

LATE 2: Effect of having 3 children compared to 2 on the oldest child

School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 6: First-Stage Regressions - Effect of young siblings (≤ 6) on older children (≥ 10)

Dependent Variable: # of children in the family			
	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys
<i>Presence of twins</i> $\in [0,9]$	2.01484 (40.84)	2.02536 (28.37)	2.0060 (29.40)
<i>Twins</i>	-0.19622 (-7.21)	-0.15263 (-4.02)	-0.24377 (-6.23)
N	59,071	29,104	29,967

T-statistic in parenthesis
Same control variables as in table 2

Table 7: Linear IV Regressions - Effect of young siblings (≤ 6) on older children (≥ 10)

	Attendance	Literacy	School Prog.	Child Labor
<i># of children</i>	-0.00060 (-0.10)	-0.00018 (-0.03)	-0.01978 (-2.59)	0.01254 (1.34)
N	59,071	59,071	58,943	59,071

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of young twins $\in [0,6]$ in the family

Sample: Children $\in [10,15]$ living with two adults (the mother and her husband)

School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 8: Linear IV Regressions - Effect of young siblings (Girls \times Boys)

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.		Child Labor	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)	(4a)	(4b)
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
<i># of children</i>	-0.00194 (-0.24)	0.00107 (0.12)	0.00522 (0.70)	-0.00496 (-0.53)	-0.02602 (-2.37)	-0.01241 (-1.18)	-0.00673 (-0.59)	0.03001 (2.07)
N	29,104	29,967	29,104	29,967	29,065	29,878	29,104	29,967

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of young twins $\in [0,6]$ in the familySample: Children $\in [10,15]$ living with two adults (the mother and her husband)School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 9: First-Stage Regressions - Families that the youngest children are twins

Dependent Variable: # of children in the family						
	Age $\in [7,15]$			Age $\in [10,15]$		
	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys
<i>Presence of twins</i>	1.20533 (22.40)	1.24693 (16.54)	1.16224 (15.13)	1.13451 (17.31)	1.17225 (12.75)	1.09621 (11.73)
N	58,807	28,888	29,919	36,061	17,654	18,407

T-statistic in parenthesis

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 10: Linear IV Regressions - Families that the youngest children are twins

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS
<i># of children</i>	-0.00029 (-0.04)	-0.00811 (-10.13)	0.01063 (0.97)	-0.02782 (-22.23)	-0.00975 (-0.74)	-0.03752 (-29.50)
N	58,807	58,807	58,807	58,807	58,671	58,671

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of twins in the family

Sample: Children living with two adults (the mother and her husband)

and one or more sibling and who were born before the birth of twins

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child laborSchool Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Table 10: Linear IV Regressions - Families that the youngest children are twins (cont.)

	Child labor	
	(4a)	(4b)
	IV	OLS
<i># of children</i>	0.01368 (0.91)	0.01421 (8.88)
N	36,061	36,061

Table 11: Linear IV Regressions - Families that the youngest children are twins (Girls \times Boys)

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
<i># of children</i>	-0.00031 (-0.04)	-0.00021 (-0.02)	0.01441 (1.03)	0.00665 (0.39)	-0.00258 (-0.14)	-0.01766 (-0.91)
N	28,888	29,919	28,888	29,919	28,836	29,835

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: presence of twins in the family

Sample: Children living with two adults (the mother and her husband)

and one or more sibling and who were born before the birth of twins

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child laborSchool Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$ Table 11: Linear IV Regressions - Families that the youngest children are twins (Girls \times Boys)

	Child Labor	
	(4a)	(4b)
	Girls	Boys
<i># of children</i>	-0.02554 (-1.43)	0.05749 (2.33)
N	17,654	18,407

Table 12: First-Stage Regressions - Same sex as instrument

Dependent Variable: # of children in the family						
Age $\in [7,15]$				Age $\in [10,15]$		
	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys	Entire Sample	Girls	Boys
<i>Same Sex</i>	0.04012 (3.89)	0.06005 (4.12)	0.02116 (1.45)	0.05159 (3.97)	0.08166 (4.43)	0.02344 (1.28)
N	32,330	15,817	16,513	23,459	11,412	12,047

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: First two children with the same sex

Sample: First-born children living with two adults and one or more siblings

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child labor

School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Same control variables as in table 2

Table 13: First two children with the same sex as instrument

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a)	(1b)	(2a)	(2b)	(3a)	(3b)
	IV	OLS	IV	OLS	IV	OLS
<i># of children</i>	-0.02685 (-0.55)	-0.01158 (-7.91)	-0.09335 (-1.40)	-0.01425 (-8.81)	-0.01118 (-0.13)	-0.04021 (-24.22)
N	32,330	32,330	32,330	32,330	32,249	32,249

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: First two children with the same sex

Sample: First-born children living with two adults and one or more siblings

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child labor

School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Table 13: First two children with the same sex as instrument (cont.)

	Child Labor	
	(4a) IV	(4b) OLS
<i># of children</i>	0.07711 (0.99)	0.01738 (7.30)
N	23,459	23,459

Table 14: First two children with the same sex as instrument (Girls \times Boys)

	Attendance		Literacy		School Prog.	
	(1a) Girls	(1b) Boys	(2a) Girls	(2b) Boys	(3a) Girls	(3b) Boys
<i># of children</i>	-0.06222 (-1.36)	0.06119 (0.43)	-0.07403 (-1.27)	-0.14169 (-0.71)	-0.04536 (-0.56)	0.07376 (0.29)
N	15,817	16,513	15,817	16,513	15,791	16,458

T-statistic in parenthesis

Instrumental variable for IV regressions: First two children with the same sex

Sample: First-born children living with two adults and one or more siblings

Age $\in [7,15]$ for attendance, literacy and school prog. and $\in [10,15]$ for child labor

School Progression $\equiv education/(age - 6)$

Same control variables as in table 3

Table 14: First two children with the same sex as instrument (Girls \times Boys) (cont.)

	Child Labor	
	(4a) Girls	(4b) Boys
<i># of children</i>	-0.04967 (-0.81)	0.56105 (1.14)
N	11,412	12,047