

2020–2022 Child Support Policy Research Agreement Task 6:

Shared Placement in Paternity Cases: An Initial Look

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INTRODUCTION

Shared placement, a living arrangement in which children whose parents do not live together spend significant time living with both, has become increasingly common following divorce in recent decades (Bartfeld, 2011; Cancian et al., 2014; Meyer, Carlson, & Alam, 2019); estimates using court record data from Wisconsin indicate that shared placement comprised half of all placement arrangements in divorce cases coming to court in 2010 (Meyer, Cancian, & Cook, 2017). While the rise in shared placement in divorce cases has been documented, less is known about whether nonmarital cases have also experienced an increase in shared placement in recent years. Because shared placement in nonmarital, or paternity, cases has historically been uncommon, with nearly all children being placed solely with their mother, there has been less attention to shared placement in these cases. One exception is a series of reports from researchers at the Institute for Research on Poverty (IRP) exploring the prevalence of shared placement in paternity cases in Wisconsin (Brown & Cook, 2012; Cook & Brown, 2006). The most recent of these reports considers paternity cases that came to court through 2007. Building on these previous reports, this report provides an updated look at shared placement in nonmarital cases in Wisconsin through 2013 and expands previous analyses to evaluate descriptive differences between shared placement and mother sole placement cases. In the report that follows, we examine the prevalence of shared placement in paternity cases over the last two decades and present a comparison of case characteristics and child support and economic well-being measures in shared and mother sole placement cases.

BACKGROUND

Until recently, following traditional caregiving norms, it was typical for children of unmarried or divorced parents to live primarily with their mother (Cancian et al., 2014; Grall,

2020). Following research suggesting that the involvement of both parents is beneficial to children’s well-being, there has been a concerted policy effort to encourage shared parenting time among families (DiFonzo, 2014). In Wisconsin, state statute specifically details that courts should determine placement “that allows the child to have regularly occurring, meaningful periods of physical placement with each parent” (Custody and Physical Placement, Wis. Stat. 767.41(4)(a)2). This applies to divorce cases as well as nonmarital cases that may come to court to establish paternity in conjunction with child support orders and placement, or, in cases of voluntary paternity acknowledgement (VPA), child support orders and placement arrangements.

Definition

Broadly, shared placement refers to an agreement in which children of parents who do not live together spend significant amounts of time living with each parent. In Wisconsin, shared placement is defined as spending a minimum of 25% of the time with each parent (Wis. Admin. Code DCF 150.04(2)). Prior to 2004, the threshold for determining child support orders was 30%; earlier research reflects the previous threshold.¹ In the research literature regarding Wisconsin, shared placement is often also categorized as *unequal shared*, in which the child lives with the primary caregiver between 50% and 75% of the time *or equal shared*, in which the child lives with each parent half of the time. In this report we use the term “shared placement” to refer to both mother primary unequal shared placement—that is, where the child lives primarily with the mother, but spends between 25% and 50% of her time with the father—and equal shared

¹The Wisconsin legislature first recognized shared placement in 1977, and, in 1999 passed legislation that encouraged and supported shared placement by requiring placement to include significant time with both parents as warranted and possible (Melli & Brown, 2008). The state incorporated shared parenting time into the child support guidelines beginning in 1987. The threshold for determining shared placement was 30% until 2003. For further information about the history of shared placement legislation in Wisconsin, see Bartfeld (2011) and Melli & Brown (2008).

placement, where a child spends half time with both parents. A very small number of nonmarital cases are father primary with unequal shared placement, meaning that the child lives with the father 50–75% of the time and spends at least 25% of her time with her mother; given that these cases are extremely rare and may be atypical, we exclude these cases from our shared placement sample. Because mother sole placement has been the most common placement in paternity cases, we use these cases as a comparison.² We are interested in shared physical placement rather than joint legal custody. Joint legal custody is distinct from placement arrangement and refers to the legal right to make decisions for and about a child's life.³

Implications

Children's placement arrangements have important implications for children and families. A recent review of the international literature on divorced families by Steinbach (2019) suggests that, overall, shared placement is often associated with positive impacts on the well-being of children and families. However, because families who make use of shared placement are likely to differ in significant ways from families with sole placement, it is difficult to draw conclusions about whether well-being outcomes can be attributed to placement (e.g., Braver & Vortuba, 2018). This follows similar findings suggesting that the impacts of shared placement are on balance often positive and may vary for children based on their age, parental relationship, and other factors (Bauserman, 2012; Berman & Daneback, 2020; Nielsen, 2014; Nielsen, 2018).

Though understudied, shared placement may be particularly important for children in nonmarital cases. Typically, nonresident father involvement with children born outside of

²Other arrangements are also possible, including father sole placement, split placement, and third-party placement. We show prevalence of these arrangements though do not include them in our main analysis.

³See Chen & Meyer (2017) for a review of joint legal custody in paternity cases in Wisconsin.

marriage may decline once the father and mother's relationship ends (Carlson & Berger, 2013; Tach, Mincy, & Edin, 2010). In one study, just one-quarter of nonresident fathers were highly involved in their child's life between the child's first and third birthdays (Ryan, Kalil, & Ziol-Guest, 2008). Despite this potential instability, there is increasing evidence that nonresident father involvement, including through shared parenting time, can have beneficial impacts on child well-being (e.g., Adamsons & Johnson, 2013; Choi et al., 2018; Gold et al., 2020). Understanding the prevalence of shared placement in nonmarital cases, and for whom shared placement is more or less common, can provide insights into how policy may encourage greater father involvement for children born to unmarried parents.

Additionally, placement arrangements have important financial implications for children and parents. With sole placement, the costs of parenting are borne by the custodial parent (with the noncustodial parent contributing child support). However, when the child spends significant time living with both parents, parenting costs are shared across both households. Though some costs associated with parenting are fixed and must then be duplicated across both households, other costs decline with time the child spends outside of the household, including costs associated with caring for the child. Thus, custodial parents who share placement with another parent are likely to incur fewer parenting costs than sole placement custodial parents (Brown & Brito, 2007; Brown & Cancian, 2007). On the other hand, most states' child support guidelines explicitly account for shared placement by offsetting some of the child support due, and therefore received by the custodial parent, resulting in lower order amounts for shared placement arrangements than for sole placement (Brown & Brito, 2007). Thus, while custodial parents with shared placement may have lower parenting costs, they are also likely to receive less in child support. Previous research on placement arrangements and economic well-being in divorce

cases, including a series of IRP reports, suggests that mothers with shared parenting arrangements, though still better off on average than those with sole placement arrangements given differences in pre-divorce earnings, experience larger post-divorce declines in economic well-being than mothers with sole placement (Bartfeld & Chanda, 2020; Bartfeld & Han, 2014; Bartfeld et al., 2009). Generally, this literature has focused on economic well-being following divorce; there is little analysis on economic well-being by placement arrangements for nonmarital cases. Examining both the prevalence of shared placement among nonmarital cases and any differences in parental economic well-being measures at the time of petition and in the years following may offer insights into potential differences.

Trends and Correlates of Shared Placement

Previous research from IRP finds that half of all divorce cases in Wisconsin in 2010 had shared placement compared to just 12 percent two decades earlier (Meyer, Cancian, & Cook, 2017). Though the prevalence of shared placement in divorce cases is consistently higher in Wisconsin than nationally (Meyer, Carlson, Alam, 2019), shared placement has also been increasing nationally, with estimates from 2017 suggesting around a quarter of all divorce cases include shared placement (Grall, 2020). Notably, this research also underscores consistent differences in shared placement and sole placement divorce cases across a number of characteristics. Specifically, previous research shows placement outcomes may be related to: parental income, number and ages of children, legal representation, and legislation (Bartfeld, 2011; Cancian et al., 2014; Meyer, Carlson, & Allam, 2019). Typically, families with higher incomes are more likely to make use of shared placement arrangements.

Though research on characteristics of shared placement paternity cases is limited, a series of IRP reports offer some insight. Like divorce cases, in early cohorts of paternity cases, shared

placement and sole placement cases differ in notable ways across a number of characteristics. Past work indicates that shared placement in paternity cases is associated with higher-income parents, parents with more equal income, and parents who live outside of Milwaukee County (Brown & Cook, 2012; Cook & Brown, 2006). Additionally, this work indicates that there may be important differences in paternity cases decided through adjudication and voluntary paternity acknowledgement cases (VPA). In cases in which paternity is established through the VPA process, parents complete a form acknowledging paternity of the child, whereas paternity is established through a court hearing for adjudication cases. Brown & Cook (2012) show substantial differences between VPA and adjudication cases, such as higher income of both parents at the time of petition, and many of these characteristics are also associated with the likelihood of shared placement.

This report builds on these prior reports and provides a broad overview of shared placement in paternity cases in Wisconsin from 2000 through 2013. We present prevalence of placement type overall and across cohorts. We then descriptively compare shared placement paternity cases to mother sole placement cases on key case characteristics at the time the cases were brought to court and in the two years following, including parental income and child support measures. Understanding the prevalence of shared placement in paternity cases and how characteristics of shared placement paternity cases may compare to sole placement paternity cases can help policymakers understand how often children in nonmarital families live with both parents and which families may be most likely to have shared placement arrangements. Given the evidence that shared placement may have important implications for child and family well-being, this descriptive analysis can also lay the foundation for additional work understanding how shared placement may impact outcomes for nonmarital families.

DATA/METHODS

Our sample and the majority of our data are drawn from the Wisconsin Court Record Data (CRD). The CRD is a unique administrative data set that includes a random sample of divorce and paternity cases that have come to court in 21 Wisconsin counties; data in our analysis are weighted to be representative of all paternity cases coming to the court from the counties included. Cases are divided into cohorts based on the period in which the case was first brought to the court. We analyze paternity cases from cohorts 21–33; this includes cases from July 2000 through December 2013.⁴ A variety of data are collected from the court record, including case demographic information, child’s placement arrangement, and child support order information. We supplement the data available in the court record with earnings data from the state’s Unemployment Insurance (UI) wage records. In addition, we link data from the Kids Information Data System (KIDS), which provides child support payment data for the two years following the petition, and from the Client Assistance for Re-employment and Economic Support (CARES) system, which provides data on FoodShare receipt at the time of the petition and in the two years following.

Table 1 presents the overall placement arrangements for all paternity cases in the 11 cohorts included in our sample (n=9,394 cases). In our main analysis, we focus on a pooled sample comparing cases with sole mother placement and those with shared placement (with a threshold of 25% placement with the father). We exclude 1,115 cases where the child was not placed with a parent or the placement is not available, and 166 cases where the child had a

⁴The twelve months included in each CRD cohort through Cohort 31 begin July 1 of the first year and end June 30 of the following year. Cohort 33 follows the calendar year. The specific years of court petitions for each cohort included are as follows: 21, 2000–2001; 23, 2002–2003; 24, 2003–2004; 25, 2004–2005; 26, 2006–2007; 27, 2006–2007; 28, 2007–2008; 29, 2008–2009; 30, 2009–2010; and 33, 2013. The CRD does not include cases from 2001–2002 nor from 2010–2013.

Table 1: Paternity Cases with Placement Orders and Placement Arrangements

Year of Court Case	Pooled	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2013
<i>Case type</i>	N										
Paternity	9,394	901	903	901	909	902	908	881	948	984	1,157
VPA	3,298	308	300	300	305	301	303	305	358	362	456
Adjudicated Paternity Cases	6,096	593	603	601	604	601	605	576	590	622	701
Placement Order											
Reconciled/Living Together	824	20	38	33	71	74	91	112	118	143	124
Placement with 3rd Party	229	25	14	20	23	24	24	27	23	20	29
Placement with Parent	8,283	820	847	838	810	804	792	740	807	821	1,004
Weighted Proportion of Sample by Placement Arrangement: Cases with Placement with Parent											
Sole Mother	91.00%	93.10%	93.00%	93.80%	93.20%	93.20%	89.20%	91.10%	90.10%	88.00%	85.20%
Unequal Shared Placement, Mother Primary ^a	2.10%	0.60%	1.20%	1.50%	1.30%	1.30%	2.90%	2.60%	3.70%	2.60%	4.10%
Equal Shared Placement	5.20%	2.50%	4.40%	3.90%	3.80%	4.50%	5.60%	5.30%	5.10%	7.90%	9.00%
Sole Father/Father Primary/Other ^b	1.60%	3.70%	1.50%	0.70%	1.70%	0.90%	2.40%	0.90%	1.10%	1.60%	1.70%
Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement											
Sole Mother	83.10%	88.40%	89.50%	86.80%	88.80%	89.70%	81.20%	84.00%	76.70%	76.60%	71.70%
Unequal Shared Placement, Mother Primary ^a	4.40%	2.50%	4.00%	2.90%	1.10%	2.70%	6.50%	5.20%	6.30%	4.50%	8.10%
Equal Shared Placement	9.90%	5.40%	5.10%	7.80%	7.40%	6.10%	8.80%	8.80%	14.10%	16.60%	15.90%
Sole Father/Father Primary/Other ^b	2.70%	3.70%	1.40%	2.50%	2.80%	1.50%	3.60%	2.10%	2.90%	2.30%	4.30%
Adjudicated Paternity											
Sole Mother	93.40%	93.90%	94.20%	95.50%	94.70%	94.50%	91.00%	93.20%	93.10%	91.80%	91.20%
Unequal Shared Placement, Mother Primary ^a	1.50%	0.30%	0.10%	1.20%	1.30%	0.80%	2.00%	1.90%	3.10%	1.90%	2.30%
Equal Shared Placement	3.80%	2.10%	4.20%	3.00%	2.60%	4.00%	4.90%	4.30%	3.10%	4.90%	5.90%
Sole Father/Father Primary/Other ^b	1.30%	3.70%	1.50%	0.30%	1.40%	0.70%	2.10%	0.60%	0.70%	1.30%	0.60%

Notes:

^aIncludes cases whether primary placement is with mother, but father has 25%-50% placement

^bIncludes all other nonmissing placement arrangements

For cases before 2013, cases can come to court beginning July 1 of the previous year through June 30. 2013 includes all of calendar year 2013.

The threshold for shared placement changed in 2003. For continuity, we define shared placement using the later definition (25% threshold) throughout this table.

primary placement with the father. This results in a final analytic sample of 8,113 cases. We examine case characteristics at the time of the court action or petition, which we refer to as baseline for simplicity, and in the two years following and present descriptive statistics. To assess whether the measures of interest differ statistically for shared placement cases compared to mother sole placement cases, we use a difference in means t-test. Because previous research suggests placement type may differ by the type of paternity case, Appendix Table 1 further breaks down this analysis by voluntary paternity acknowledgement cases and paternity establishment cases. Appendix Table 2 presents estimates by grouped cohorts to determine whether differences are similar across time and cohorts.

The primary measure of interest is placement arrangement. We include mother sole placement cases and shared placement cases, which are cases in which the child lives with the father between 25% and 50% of the time. We examine the prevalence of shared placement and trends over time. We then compare case characteristics including: number of other children born to both parents, age of parents, and whether the court case occurred in Milwaukee County. Next, we examine measures of child support order at baseline, including whether the court record includes an order, and the monthly amount of the order (in 2019 dollars). We also include measures of parental income at baseline, including mean mothers' and fathers' quarterly earnings in the four quarters preceding the petition, the proportion of parents with any income in the quarter of the petition (a proxy for employment), and the mother's share of combined parental income in the four quarters preceding petition. We measure income using data from state UI wage records.⁵

⁵We exclude 203 cases that do not have valid SSNs because we cannot match these to the UI data; as a result, if a parent does not appear to have income in the UI wage records, we presume that they have no earnings during the period of interest. Because parents who work in another state, parents who are self-employed, or parents

Finally, we examine measures of economic well-being in the two years following petition. Using data from the court record, we examine child support orders, child support payments, and child support compliance (i.e., the ratio of child support orders paid to owed) in the four quarters following the petition and then eight quarters following petition. We also include measures of parental earnings, taken from UI wage records, in the two years following petition. Finally, we use data from the CARES system to measure FoodShare receipt for mothers and fathers, including whether each received FoodShare regardless of householder status, the mean benefit amount in the two years following petition, and the mean number of months of FoodShare receipt.

RESULTS

Prevalence and Trends in Shared Placement

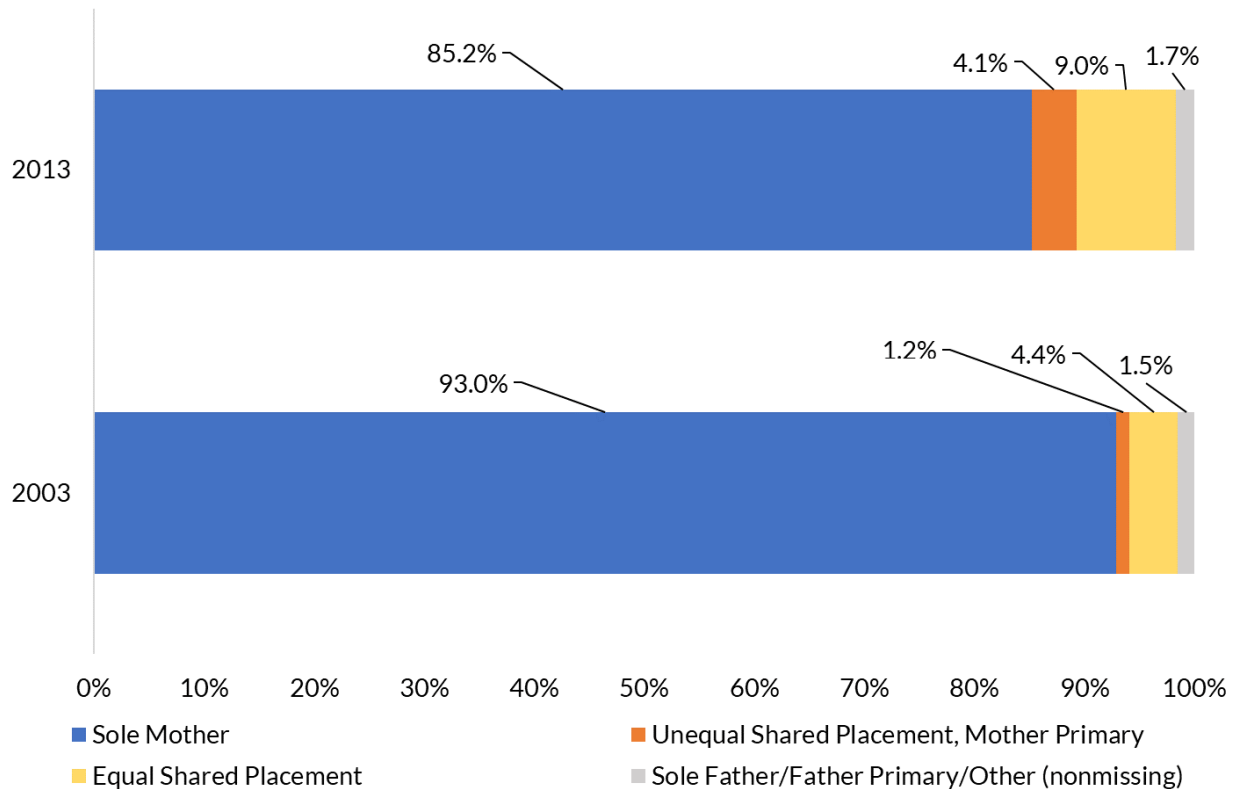
Overall, the proportion of all paternity cases with shared custody placement remained relatively modest through 2013. Just over 7% of all paternity cases in our full pooled sample have shared placement. Of those, a greater proportion are equal shared placement compared to unequal shared placement (5.2% compared to 2.1%). Considering the combined sample pooled across years, shared placement in paternity cases in Wisconsin is relatively uncommon, and substantively less so than shared placement in divorce cases over the same period.

However, using a pooled sample disguises some important trends in shared placement. First, the proportion of shared placement in paternity cases has been rising over time, though with a much larger increase in the most recent cohorts. Through the mid-2000s, the share of paternity cases with shared placement was consistently around five percent. The proportion

whose work is otherwise not covered by the UI wage system will not appear in our wage records, our estimate of parents with \$0 earnings may be upwardly biased.

began to increase more sharply through 2010, and, by 2013, the proportion of shared placement cases had grown notably. Thirteen percent of paternity cases that came to court in 2013 were shared placement cases. Figure 1 illustrates the decline in sole mother cases and increase in shared placement between 2002–2003 and 2013.

Figure 1: Changes in Placement Arrangement in Paternity Cases in Wisconsin: 2002–2003 and 2013



Additionally, as previously demonstrated by Brown and Cook (2012), there are important differences in shared placement rates between VPA and adjudicated paternity cases, with shared placement much more common among VPA cases. Figures 2a and 2b compare placement arrangements of our pooled sample for the two types of paternity cases. Mother sole placement is ten percentage points lower in the VPA sample compared to the adjudication sample, and shared placement (combining equal and unequal) is nine percentage points higher (14% compared to

Figure 2a: Placement Arrangements in Wisconsin, VPA Cases Court Record Data, 2001-2013

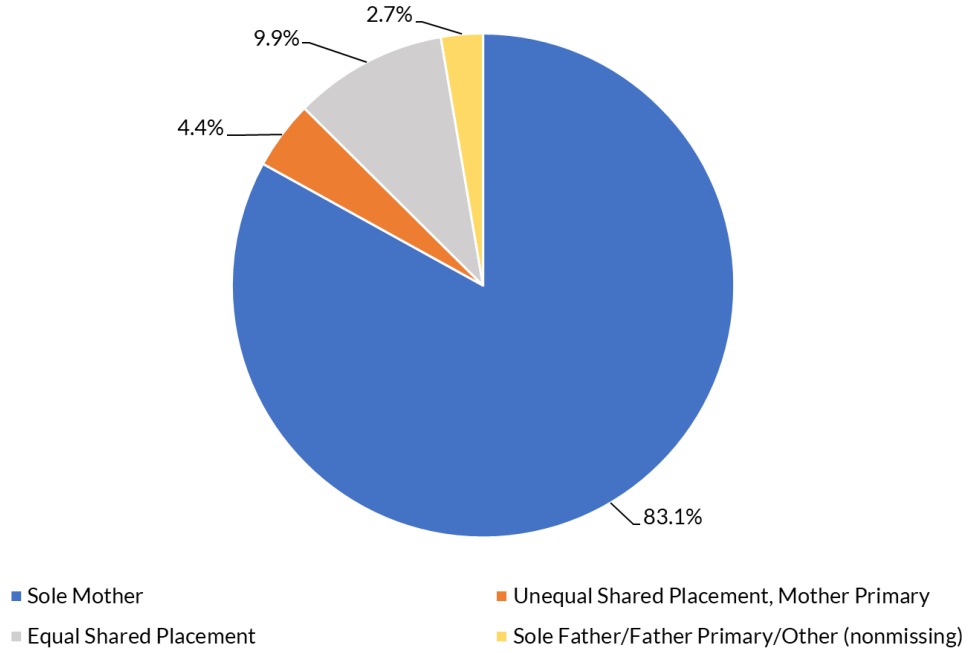
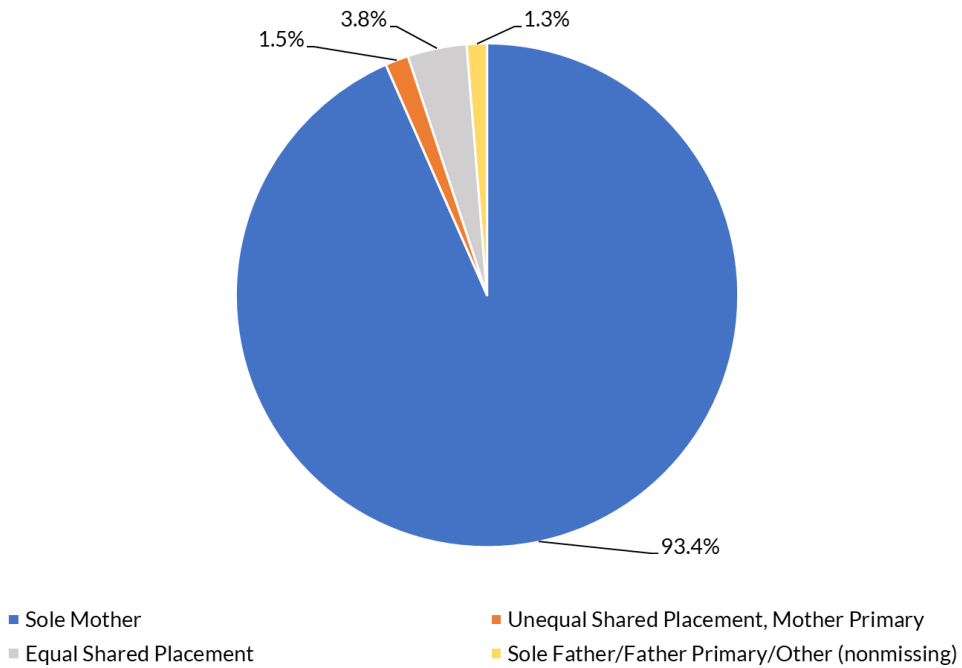


Figure 2b: Placement Arrangements in Wisconsin, Adjudicated Paternity Cases Court Record Data, 2001-2013



5%). The difference is evident in both shared placement and unequal shared placement. This difference has not seemed to dissipate over time; that is, both types of paternity cases have seen similar increases in shared placement. In the most recent cohort of cases from 2013, almost one-quarter of all VPA cases had shared placement (24%) compared to 8% of adjudication cases.

Comparisons with Mother Sole Placement Cases

Consistent with past research, comparisons between shared placement and mother sole placement paternity cases indicate important differences by placement type (Table 2). At baseline, as expected, a significantly higher proportion of shared placement cases were voluntary paternity acknowledgement cases.⁶ Though there are no differences in the number of children born to both parents, nor the proportion of mothers with other children, a lower proportion of fathers in shared placement cases reported having other children (23% compared to 33%). A higher proportion of both mothers and fathers had legal representation in court for shared placement cases. Geographically, shared placement cases are more common outside Milwaukee County; a majority of sole placement cases are from Milwaukee County (64%) while a larger proportion of shared placement cases are from a county other than Milwaukee (54%).

At baseline, both parents in shared placement cases were on average slightly better off economically than parents in sole placement cases. Mothers and fathers in shared placement cases had higher mean annual earnings in the four quarters prior to baseline compared to mothers and fathers in sole placement cases. Similarly, both were more likely to have had any earnings—

⁶Appendix Table 1 disaggregates the case comparison analysis by paternity type. Though parents in VPA cases, regardless of placement, tend to have higher earnings and lower FoodShare receipt, the differences between shared and sole placement cases remain relatively similar across VPA and adjudication cases. Of note, though there is no statistically significant difference in mean child support payment amounts for VPA cases across placement type, child support payments are, on average, higher for shared placement adjudication cases compared to sole placement.

Table 2: Comparison of Mother Sole Custody and Shared Placement Cases at Time of Petition, CRD Cohorts 21-33

	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
N	7,290	823	
Case Characteristics			
Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement Case	20.7%	44.2%	***
Other Children			
Number of Children Born to Both	1.29	1.27	
Mother has Other Children	23.5%	20.6%	
Father has Other Children	33.2%	23.1%	***
Parents' Ages			
Age of Mother	25.43	25.77	
Age of Father	27.95	28.33	
Legal Representation			
Mother has Legal Representation	46.3%	58.7%	***
Father has Legal Representation	4.5%	16.5%	***
Location			
Milwaukee	64.2%	46.2%	***
Other County	35.8%	53.8%	
Child Support Ordered at Petition ^a			
Has an Order	72.1%	44.7%	***
Monthly Order Amount	\$180.40	\$144.72	***
FoodShare Receipt			
Mother's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	67.0%	55.2%	***
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount ^b	\$768.80	\$606.62	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	13.6%	7.8%	***
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount ^b	\$69.04	\$47.86	*
Earnings			
Mother's Earnings			
Proportion of Mothers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	57.3%	68.6%	***
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$10,230.51	\$11,531.00	***
Mother's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	68.7%	56.4%	***
Father's Earnings			
Proportion of Fathers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	45.7%	69.7%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$17,587.66	\$18,248.58	***
Father's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	69.5%	42.5%	***

	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
Mother's Share of Combined Annual Parental Income (4 quarters prior)			
Mother has no earnings	13.4%	6.4%	***
1–25%	27.6%	35.4%	***
26–50%	13.1%	24.1%	***
51–75%	11.0%	14.1%	
> 75% ^c	34.9%	20.1%	***

Notes:

^aAs indicated in the court record

^bAmount is not adjusted for household size and based on whether the mother or father is in a household that received benefits, regardless of householder status

^cAlso includes fathers with no earnings

Stars indicate statistical significance level: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Case characteristics are measured using indicators from the court record. FoodShare receipt measured using data from CARES. Earnings measures based on UI wage data.

FoodShare measured based on the quarter before petition. Any earnings, intended as a proxy for employment, based on the quarter prior to petition. All other earnings based on four quarters prior.

All dollars converted to 2019 dollar values.

a proxy for employment—in the quarter before the court petition compared to sole placement cases and were less likely to have had annual earnings below \$10,000. The differences by placement type are larger for fathers than mothers. For example, while the proportion of mothers with any earnings differs by 17%, the proportion of fathers with any earnings in shared placement cases is 35% higher than the proportion in sole placement cases. As this suggests, mother's share of combined parental earnings also differs; mothers in shared placement cases are more likely to have earned some, but less than half, of the combined earnings whereas a larger proportion of mothers in sole placement cases earned 75% or more of the combined earnings or had no earnings. The pattern of differences in economic well-being at the time of petition is also indicated in FoodShare receipt. While a majority of all mothers in the sample were receiving benefits at the time of petition, two-thirds of sole placement mothers received FoodShare compared to 55% of shared placement mothers.

Our analysis also suggests differences in child support order and receipt amounts by placement type. First, at baseline (Table 2, top panel), a significantly larger number of sole placement cases have a child support order for any dollar amount, and the monthly order amount for orders greater than \$0 is statistically significantly larger than in sole placement cases. Given that, according to Wisconsin child support guidelines, shared placement offsets child support order amounts, this may not be unexpected. Further, that less than half of shared placement cases have any orders is in keeping with prior research suggesting orders are less common in cases with shared placement, regardless of whether an order would be called for under the guidelines (Bartfeld et al., 2015; Hodges & Cook, 2019).

We consider orders, payments, and compliance in cases with any positive child support order in the two years following baseline (Table 3). We sum the total monthly orders and

Table 3: Comparison of Mother Sole Custody and Shared Placement Cases in the Two Years Following Baseline, CRD Cohorts 21–33

	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
N	7,290	823	
Child Support			
1 Year Following^a			
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$763.10	\$733.37	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$484.80	\$642.89	***
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	48.8%	80.1%	***
2 Years Following^b			
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$729.25	\$674.19	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$466.53	\$598.85	***
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	50.0%	80.0%	***
FoodShare Receipt			
1 Year Following			
Mother's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	74.6%	62.6%	***
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$2,973.18	\$2,284.87	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	22.4%	18.3%	*
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$327.27	\$327.01	
2 Years Following			
Mother's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	80.7%	70.0%	***
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$6,044.08	\$4,619.30	***
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	5.30	4.41	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt			
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	30.0%	25.2%	*
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$980.95	\$726.06	
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	1.27	1.10	
Earnings			
1 Year Following			
Mother's Earnings			
Mother has Any Earnings	75.7%	82.3%	***
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$10,674.03	\$13,437.09	***
Father's Earnings			
Father has Any Earnings	60.1%	81.6%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$9,734.39	\$18,727.67	***
2 Years Following			
Mother's Earnings			
Mother has Any Earnings	82.9%	88.6%	***
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$21,991.16	\$27,376.58	***

	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
Father's Earnings			
Father has Any Earnings	83.0%	84.9%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$19,797.98	\$37,951.85	***

Notes:

^aExcludes cases without an order, or with no order data in court record. N=6,239 (5,808 sole placement cases; 431 shared placement)

^bExcludes cases without an order, or with no order data in court record. N=6,426 (5,962 sole placement cases; 464 shared placement)

Stars indicate statistical significance level: * p<.05; ** p<.01; ***p<.001

Measures for two-years following petition are cumulative and include the first year. Orders and payments data are measured summing the total amount of monthly orders in the year following petition, or 2 years following, and then averaged over the number of quarters in the time frame of interest. Compliance is calculated monthly and then a weighted quarterly average is created for the two time periods. FoodShare benefits are summed for year and then two years following petition and are not adjusted for household size. Number of quarters of FoodShare benefits is measured using the total number of quarters a mother or father was in a household that received benefits, regardless of position in the household. Earnings are measured using UI wage records and are based on the four quarters following petition (for 1 year measures) and eight quarters (for 2 year measures).

All dollars converted to 2019 dollar values.

payments in the year and then two-years following the court appearance, and then average each over the relevant number of quarters. Compliance is calculated monthly, and we then create an average weighted quarterly compliance rate for the two follow-up periods. For cases with any positive order amount sole placement cases have a slightly higher average order amount, though it is not statistically significantly different. Despite this, average quarterly receipts are higher for shared placement cases by a magnitude of approximately \$50 per month. This difference in receipts results in a statistically, and meaningfully, higher compliance rate for shared placement cases (80% compared to 50% in the two years following petition).

Finally, we look descriptively at mothers' and fathers' economic well-being as measured by earnings and FoodShare receipt first in the year following petition and then in the two years following petition (Table 3, bottom panels). As with child support orders and receipts, the measures for earnings and FoodShare for two-years following petition are cumulative and include the first year. FoodShare benefits are reported if the mother or father was in a household that received benefits.

Both mothers and fathers in shared placement cases are more likely to have any earnings in the four and eight quarters following baseline and have higher mean earnings in the same period compared to mother sole placement cases. Notably, as at baseline, the difference for fathers' earnings continues to be significantly larger in magnitude than the difference in mothers' earnings between shared and sole placement cases, and, the difference in likelihood of the father having any earnings is quite large in the year following baseline. The majority of mothers in our sample regardless of placement type report FoodShare receipt, and a higher proportion report FoodShare receipt in the years following baseline than at the time of petition. Still, a lower proportion of mothers with shared placement report FoodShare receipt (63% compared to 75%).

Mothers in shared placement cases also received FoodShare benefits for a fewer number of quarters, on average, than mothers in sole placement cases. Though the overall number of fathers in our sample who have FoodShare receipt is lower than mothers, 30% of fathers in sole mother placement cases live in a household with FoodShare receipt compared to a quarter of fathers in shared placement households.

This overall pattern of results holds for various specifications, including using the previous threshold for shared placement in Wisconsin (30%), analyzing cases by type of paternity (Appendix 1), and dividing the sample by time period (Appendix 2).⁷ Additionally, we analyzed differences in median income with similar results, and the use of the mean as the measure of central tendency downwardly biases our estimates of the differences between placement types (i.e., differences using median income measures are often larger).

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Our analyses underscore some considerations for policymakers. First, though the share of paternity cases with shared placement remains relatively small overall, estimates from recent cohorts suggest a trend towards an increased number with shared placement arrangements. Additionally, there are consistently substantive differences in the rates of shared placement between VPA and adjudication cases, and, in the most recent cohorts of cases examined (beginning July 2008 and continuing through 2013), shared placement cases have comprised one-fifth to a quarter of all VPA cases. These findings indicate that assumptions about the very low prevalence of shared placement in paternity cases may be outdated, and that placement

⁷The 30% threshold applies to cases in the first two cohorts included in our analysis. Alternately testing the 30% threshold (not shown) and analyzing these cohorts separately (as in Appendix 2) gives us confidence in results pooling these cohorts despite this change in threshold.

arrangements in paternity cases are not monolithic. Additionally, this suggests the importance of expanding the relevant shared placement literature and policy discussion to consider paternity cases in addition to divorce cases.

Second, we find that parents in shared placement cases are overall more advantaged across a variety of measures. This follows the existing literature on differences by placement status in divorce cases as well. Notably, in our sample, this difference is larger for fathers than for mothers; that is, though mothers in shared placement cases on average earn more and are more likely to be employed (proxied by having any earnings) than mothers in sole placement cases, the gap between fathers in the two types of cases is substantively larger. For example, at baseline, the proportion of mothers in shared placement cases who have any earnings is 16% more than mothers in sole placement cases while the equivalent proportion of fathers is 34% higher. This gap continues in the two-years following petition; mothers in sole placement cases earn on average 80% of the earnings of mothers in shared placement cases, while fathers in sole placement cases earn just over half of fathers in shared placement cases. This suggests that though the resources of both parents may be relevant in placement type, for paternity cases, the resources of the father may be particularly salient. Taken together, this highlights the limited resources of mothers in sole placement paternity cases both overall and comparatively. In addition to having sole placement responsibility, our estimates suggest that mothers are also receiving less financial assistance through child support than mothers with shared placement arrangements. Additionally, their own earnings are limited; on average, annual earnings for mothers with sole placement in our sample are just over \$10,000 in 2019 dollars, below the poverty guideline for a household of two.

Additionally, as shared placement becomes more common in paternity cases, policy will need to increasingly attend to the particular challenges that may arise for low-income families when child-related resources are split across households. Child support policy, including placement and orders, and safety net programs broadly (e.g., FoodShare, tax credits) will need to grapple with how to allocate benefits in shared placement cases in order to ensure children have access to adequate economic resources, even as resources are not pooled in one household. Given the overall low-income of mothers and fathers in paternity cases, consideration of how to effectively allocate benefits is especially salient to shared placement paternity cases.

LIMITATIONS, SUMMARY, AND CONCLUSION

This analysis is intended to summarize prevalence and trends in shared placement in paternity cases, and to provide a descriptive look at differences in shared placement and sole placement cases. Importantly, we cannot and do not ascribe differences to placement arrangements. Indeed, findings indicating that shared placement cases involve higher-resourced parents suggest disentangling the impact of placement arrangement from differences in the types of families that may make use of shared placement will be complicated. Despite this complication, understanding how placement may account for economic well-being is an important step for future research.

Because the overall prevalence of shared placement remains relatively low, our analysis is limited by small sample sizes. To account for this, we combine data across multiple years. We find that trends may be changing in recent years, with a greater increase in the most recent cohort of CRD cases.⁸ As the number of shared placement paternity cases continues to increase,

⁸Appendix Table 2 displays estimates divided by grouped cohorts. Overall, the pattern of findings is similar across cohorts.

researchers should continue attend to differences in shared and sole placement cases, and whether the same patterns continue.

This report builds on past work by IRP examining overall prevalence in shared placement in paternity cases, and trends over time. Additionally, we compare case characteristics at the time of petition and economic measures in the two years following by placement type. We find that though sole mother placement is still the norm for paternity cases in Wisconsin, there has been a notable increase in recent cohorts. Consistent with prior work, and findings in divorce cases, we find that parents who make use of shared placement in paternity cases tend to be slightly more advantaged across a number of measures, including earnings and likelihood of employment at baseline. Differences are particularly notable in fathers' economic measures. Following petition, these differences continue in earnings, FoodShare receipt, and child support measures. On average, shared placement cases have higher payment amounts, despite the slightly lower order amounts. This results in significantly and substantively higher compliance rates, sustained in to the second year after petition (89% compliance for shared placement cases compared to 54% for sole placement cases).

This report offers a first look at the prevalence of shared placement in recent cohorts of paternity cases in Wisconsin. Further, by comparing shared placement and sole placement cases across baseline and follow-up measures, we are offering a foundation to begin to understand differences in economic well-being by placement arrangement for paternity cases. The increase in shared placement in paternity cases in Wisconsin, and the differences in shared placement cases have important implications for parent and child well-being. These findings indicate that families with more resources may be more likely to make use of shared placement arrangements, which is similar to what we see in divorce cases. As the number of shared placement paternity

cases continues to increase, researchers should attend to differences in shared and sole placement cases, and the impact this may have on children and families.

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Appendix Table 1: Comparison of Mother Sole Custody and Shared Placement Cases by Type of Paternity Case, CRD Cohorts 21-33

	Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement Cases			Adjudicated Paternity Cases		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
N	2,232	464		5,056	359	
Case Characteristics at Baseline						
Other Children						
Number of Children Born to Both	1.30	1.28		1.29	1.26	
Mother has Other Children	15.5%	18.2%		25.4%	22.5%	
Father has Other Children	25.0%	15.8%	***	35.3%	28.9%	
Parents' Ages						
Age of Mother	26.24	26.54		25.23	25.18	
Age of Father	28.65	29.24		27.77	27.63	
Legal Representation						
Mother has Legal Representation	42.5%	63.7%	***	47.4%	54.7%	*
Father has Legal Representation	4.0%	17.0%	***	4.7%	16.1%	***
Location						
Milwaukee	44.6%	33.3%	***	69.3%	56.4%	***
Other County	55.4%	66.7%		30.7%	43.7%	
Child Support Ordered at Petition						
Has an Order	80.4%	47.8%	***	70.0%	42.3%	***
Monthly Order Amount	\$245.54	\$165.21	***	\$163.45	\$128.52	**
FoodShare Receipt at Baseline						
Mother's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	56.4%	51.6%		69.8%	58.1%	***
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount	\$600.75	\$541.26		\$812.54	\$658.29	*
Father's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	9.2%	7.4%		14.7%	8.1%	***
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount	\$49.05	\$44.21		\$73.96	\$50.73	
Earnings at Baseline						
Mother's Earnings						
Proportion of Mothers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	65.9%	74.3%	**	55.1%	64.1%	**
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$12,085.76	\$13,038.02		\$7,534.21	\$10,339.45	***
Mother's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	56.0%	51.1%		72.1%	60.5%	***
Father's Earnings						
Proportion of Fathers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	62.4%	74.2%	***	41.3%	66.1%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$13,779.19	\$20,792.07	***	\$7,877.42	\$16,237.52	***
Father's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	53.2%	34.8%	***	73.6%	48.6%	***

	Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement Cases			Adjudicated Paternity Cases		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
Mother's Share of Combined Annual Parental Income (4 quarters prior)						
Mother has no earnings	7.1%	4.2%	*	15.1%	8.2%	***
1–25%	28.7%	33.9%		27.3%	36.5%	**
26–50%	19.1%	25.8%	**	11.5%	22.8%	***
51–75%	16.4%	17.1%		9.6%	11.7%	
> 75%	28.7%	19.1%	***	36.5%	20.8%	***
Child Support, Earnings, and Benefits Following Child Support Following Baseline						
1 Year Following						
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$958.36	\$787.51	***	\$706.93	\$683.18	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$710.38	\$699.03		\$419.91	\$590.84	**
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	65.5%	84.1%	***	43.9%	76.4%	***
2 Years Following						
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$914.56	\$751.10	***	\$676.16	\$606.66	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$688.96	\$685.62		\$402.79	\$522.64	*
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	66.4%	86.5%	***	45.3%	74.2%	***
FoodShare Receipt Following Baseline						
1 Year Following						
Mother's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	63.5%	59.7%		77.5%	66.7%	***
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$2,204.59	\$2,125.03		\$3,173.48	\$2,411.26	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	15.5%	15.4%		24.2%	20.6%	
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$214.63	\$243.60		\$357.05	\$392.95	
2 Years Following						
Mother's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	70.2%	65.3%		83.4%	73.7%	***
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$4,438.18	\$4,229.91		\$6,462.55	\$4,927.18	***
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	4.38	4.14		5.55	4.61	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt						
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	20.8%	2169.0%		32.4%	28.0%	
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$463.15	\$537.28		\$779.77	\$875.33	
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	0.86	0.84		1.38	1.30	
Earnings Following Baseline						
1 Year Following						
Mother's Earnings						
Mother has Any Earnings	81.2%	88.1%	**	74.3%	77.8%	
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$14,053.45	415,441.26		\$9,792.45	\$11,852.45	*
Father's Earnings						
Father has Any Earnings	72.8%	82.7%	***	56.7%	80.7%	***

	Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement Cases			Adjudicated Paternity Cases		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$14,362.81	\$21,653.52	***	\$8,526.53	\$16,414.29	***
2 Years Following						
Mother's Earnings						
Mother has Any Earnings	85.7%	91.5%	**	82.3%	86.3%	
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$28,888.45	\$31,592.18		\$20,208.70	\$24,043.42	*
Father's Earnings						
Father has Any Earnings	79.4%	85.5%	**	65.8%	84.4%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$29,323.11	\$43,306.56	***	\$17,312.87	\$33,718.03	***

Notes:

Stars indicate statistical significance level : * p<.05 ** p<.01 ***p<.001

Measures for two-years following petition are cumulative and include the first year. Orders and payments data are measured summing the total amount of monthly orders in the year following petition, or 2 years following, and then averaged over the number of quarters in the time frame of interest. Compliance is calculated monthly and then a weighted quarterly average is created for the two time periods. FoodShare benefits are summed for year and then two years following petition and are not adjusted for household size. Number of quarters of FoodShare benefits is measured using the total number of quarters a mother or father was in a household that received benefits, regardless of position in the household. Earnings are measured using UI wage records and are based on the four quarters following petition (for 1 year measures) and eight quarters (for 2 year measures).

All dollars converted to 2019 dollar values

Case characteristics are measured using indicators from the court record. FoodShare receipt measured using data from CARES. Earnings measures based on UI wage data

For baseline measures: FoodShare measured based on the quarter before petition; any earnings, intended as a proxy for employment, based on the quarter prior to petition; all other earnings based on four quarters prior.

Appendix Table 2: Comparison of Mother Sole Custody and Shared Placement Cases by CRD Cohort

	Cohort 33// 2013			Cohorts 27-30 // July 1, 2006–June 30, 2010			Cohorts 24-26 // July 1, 2003–June 30, 2006			Cohorts 21 and 23 // July 1, 2000–June 30, 2001 & July 1, 2002– June 30, 2003		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
N	837	146		2,721	377		2,231	189		1,499	111	
Case Characteristics at Baseline												
Voluntary Paternity Acknowledgement Case Other Children	26.0%	56.6%	***	18.8%	42.6%	***	22.1%	39.2%	***	19.5%	40.5%	***
Number of Children Born to Both	1.32	1.37		1.31	1.26		1.28	1.24		1.25	1.23	
Mother has Other Children	20.0%	20.3%		25.7%	20.6%		24.2%	14.7%	*	20.3%	31.8%	
Father has Other Children	33.5%	26.5%		35.9%	21.9%	***	31.4%	20.3%	*	31.0%	27.5%	
Parents' Ages												
Age of Mother	26.53	28.08	*	25.36	25.45		25.05	24.63		25.62	25.51	
Age of Father	29.57	31.05		27.7	28.15		27.7	26.54		28.16	28.19	
Legal Representation												
Mother has Legal Representation	95.6%	94.5%		77.9%	77.3%		7.6%	8.3%		7.7%	13.1%	
Father has Legal Representation	3.6%	18.8%	***	4.1%	12.2%	***	4.8%	17.9%	***	5.9%	31.9%	**
Location												
Milwaukee	66.3%	53.1%	**	62.7%	41.7%	***	64.8%	49.4%	***	64.7%	46.4%	**
Other County	33.8%	46.9%	**	37.3%	58.3%	***	35.2%	50.6%	***	35.3%	53.6%	**
Child Support Ordered at Petition												
Has an Order	60.9%	44.5%	**	71.1%	45.9%	***	69.9%	38.4%	***	82.2%	52.3%	***
Monthly Order Amount	\$149.79	\$150.19		\$181.27	\$149.42	*	\$177.84	\$120.85	*	\$196.44	\$163.05	
FoodShare Receipt at Baseline												
Mother's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	81.6%	72.1%	*	71.4%	55.3%	***	63.3%	50.7%	*	58.3%	38.3%	**
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount	\$1,057.10	\$842.68	*	\$894.72	\$716.99	*	\$679.25	\$391.82	***	\$554.47	\$246.15	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits in the Quarter Before Petition	38.4%	18.9%	***	15.3%	6.6%	***	8.5%	3.5%	*	6.9%	3.6%	
Average Quarterly Household FoodShare Amount	\$215.76	\$130.33	*	\$84.91	\$37.07	***	\$35.20	\$16.46		\$24.57	\$23.07	
Earnings at Baseline												
Mother's Earnings												
Proportion of Mothers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	59.4%	63.4%		58.3%	68.1%	**	56.2%	71.4%	**	56.2%	73.0%	*
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$7,934.80	\$11,402.55	**	\$8,094.12	\$10,633.05	***	\$8,079.85	\$10,482.03	*	\$9,950.81	\$16,927.63	**
Mother's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	69.2%	48.1%	***	69.3%	61.5%	*	70.8%	59.0%	*	64.8%	44.9%	**

	Cohort 33// 2013			Cohorts 27-30 // July 1, 2006–June 30, 2010			Cohorts 24-26 // July 1, 2003–June 30, 2006			Cohorts 21 and 23 // July 1, 2000–June 30, 2001 & July 1, 2002– June 30, 2003		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
	Father's Earnings											
Proportion of Fathers with Any Earnings in the Quarter Before Petition	48.9%	67.5%	***	41.4%	68.5%	***	48.1%	74.3%	***	47.9%	68.9%	**
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters prior)	\$8,207.42	\$17,816.85	***	\$8,386.38	\$16,698.62	***	\$9,588.29	\$19,462.03	***	\$9,994.18	\$22,350.26	***
Father's Annual Earnings < \$10,000 (4 quarters prior)	71.9%	40.4%	***	71.7%	46.8%	***	67.3%	41.9%	***	67.2%	31.0%	***
Mother's Share of Combined Annual Parental Income (4 quarters prior)												
Mother has no earnings	14.4%	5.9%	**	14.5%	7.2%	***	13.8%	7.0%	*	10.5%	3.3%	*
1–25%	27.2%	35.5%		25.1%	34.6%	**	29.9%	40.5%	*	28.7%	28.5%	
26–50%	9.9%	20.0%	*	12.6%	22.9%	***	13.8%	25.0%	*	14.3%	32.6%	**
51–75%	11.6%	10.9%		11.4%	14.4%		10.6%	12.0%		10.8%	21.3%	
> 75%	36.9%	27.7%		36.4%	20.8%	***	31.9%	15.5%	***	35.8%	14.3%	***
Child Support, Earnings, and Benefits Following Petition												
Child Support Following Baseline												
1 Year Following												
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$627.96	\$854.31	*	\$719.56	\$705.02		\$776.08	\$759.41		\$865.06	\$635.48	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$432.18	\$796.53		\$450.45	\$599.64	**	\$493.51	\$646.48		\$547.77	\$592.97	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	53.8%	86.3%	***	48.0%	75.7%	***	48.6%	81.3%	***	48.3%	86.7%	
2 Years Following												
Mean Quarterly Child Support Order Amt	\$606.14	\$786.00	**	\$686.26	\$661.61		\$733.80	\$659.73		\$839.86	\$593.90	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Receipt Amt	\$428.82	\$717.48	**	\$432.67	\$573.98	**	\$474.36	\$577.17		\$525.47	\$572.33	
Mean Quarterly Child Support Compliance	58.1%	83.5%	***	48.8%	75.8%	***	50.2%	80.4%	***	48.9%	91.5%	***
FoodShare Receipt Following Baseline												
1 Year Following												
Mother's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	86.4%	78.1%	*	80.0%	66.4%	***	71.2%	56.0%	**	65.1%	46.1%	**
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$3,810.69	\$2,965.42	**	\$3,659.03	\$2,750.66	***	\$2,532.00	\$1,246.57	***	\$2,067.67	\$1,141.27	***
Father's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	48.6%	28.4%	***	27.7%	22.5%		14.2%	9.4%		13.4%	4.5%	**
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$866.95	\$521.46	*	\$469.85	\$428.37		\$137.33	\$108.70		\$120.92	\$67.33	
2 Years Following												
Mother's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Mothers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	89.4%	83.9%		86.3%	73.2%	***	76.8%	62.1%	**	72.8%	52.3%	**
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$7,290.62	\$5,615.87	**	\$7,534.28	\$5,742.38	***	\$5,080.51	\$2,885.34	***	\$4,341.27	\$2,199.65	***
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	6.25	5.46	*	5.9	4.86	***	4.86	3.51	***	4.52	2.83	***

	Cohort 33// 2013			Cohorts 27-30 // July 1, 2006–June 30, 2010			Cohorts 24-26 // July 1, 2003–June 30, 2006			Cohorts 21 and 23 // July 1, 2000–June 30, 2001 & July 1, 2002– June 30, 2003		
	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance	Mother Sole Custody	Shared Placement	Statistical Significance
Father's FoodShare Receipt												
Proportion of Fathers Receiving FoodShare Benefits	53.2%	35.8%	**	38.9%	32.1%	*	20.6%	13.3%		18.3%	6.4%	***
Mean FoodShare Benefit Amount Received	\$1,626.63	\$897.31	***	\$1,097.98	\$1,056.37		\$303.72	\$244.28		\$249.76	\$142.70	
Number of Quarters FoodShare Received	2.93	1.56	***	1.78	1.49		0.67	0.42		0.55	0.27	
Earnings Following Baseline												
1 Year Following												
Mother's Earnings												
Mother has Any Earnings	76.7%	81.3%		75.5%	83.3%	**	77.2%	81.7%		73.3%	81.3%	
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$10,476.37	\$13,627.40	*	\$10,181.75	\$12,281.13	*	\$10,764.63	\$13,535.71	*	\$11,470.36	\$17,213.13	*
Father's Earnings												
Father has Any Earnings	63.2%	82.1%	***	55.4%	79.2%	***	63.2%	84.7%	***	62.2%	84.2%	***
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (4 quarters following)	\$10,106.16	\$19,731.54	***	\$8,565.58	\$16,518.55	***	\$10,664.41	\$19,556.98	***	\$10,197.65	\$23,829.14	***
2 Years Following												
Mother's Earnings												
Mother has Any Earnings	83.2%	87.3%		82.7%	89.1%	**	85.5%	90.0%		79.7%	85.7%	
Mean Mother's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$22,275.45	\$28,950.48	*	\$20,681.47	\$24,888.02	**	\$22,469.07	\$27,655.57		\$23,462.62	\$33,666.36	*
Father's Earnings												
Father has Any Earnings	72.4%	84.3%	**	64.4%	84.0%	***	71.9%	86.4%	***	69.3%	86.1%	**
Mean Father's Annual Earnings (8 quarters following)	\$21,056.66	\$40,149.97	***	\$17,430.28	\$33,279.23	***	\$21,677.16	\$39,728.18	***	\$20,520.64	\$48,591.19	***

Notes:

Stars indicate statistical significance level : * p<.05 ** p<.01 ***p<.001

Measures for two-years following petition are cumulative and include the first year. Orders and payments data are measured summing the total amount of monthly orders in the year following petition, or 2 years following, and then averaged over the number of quarters in the time frame of interest. Compliance is calculated monthly and then a weighted quarterly average is created for the two time periods. FoodShare benefits are summed for year and then two years following petition and are not adjusted for household size. Number of quarters of FoodShare benefits is measured using the total number of quarters a mother or father was in a household that received benefits, regardless of position in the household. Earnings are measured using UI wage records and are based on the four quarters following petition (for 1 year measures) and eight quarters (for 2 year measures).

All dollars converted to 2019 dollar values.

Case characteristics are measured using indicators from the court record. FoodShare receipt measured using data from CARES. Earnings measures based on UI wage data.

For baseline measures: FoodShare measured based on the quarter before petition; any earnings, intended as a proxy for employment, based on the quarter prior to petition; all other earnings based on four quarters prior.