The Effect of Parent Attitudes on Marriage Timing of Sons in Nepal

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Introduction

Substantial empirical evidence demonstrates that parental attitudes and expectations shape their children's subsequent behavior in rich, industrialized countries with many personal freedoms such as the United States. But there is no systematic, general population investigation of this relationship among the majority of the World's population, who live in more poor and agrarian countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, often with fewer personal freedoms than in the United States. Theory predicts that parents' attitudes and expectations should be even more powerful predictors of their children's behavior in a context of lower youth independence. Rural Asian societies provide a strong example. First, Asian societies historically hold more collective orientations toward social life, emphasizing selfless subordination to family and extended kinship, especially senior kin (Goode 1970; Sastry & Ross 1998; Thornton, Chang, & Yang 1994). Second, in many Asian societies decisions about family formation have historically been considered too important to be left to the young themselves, making parents important decision makers in their children's family formation behavior (Gray 1991; Macfarlane 1976; Watkins 1996; Weiss 1996). Third, in many rural Asian settings parental inheritance is still the primary source of livelihood and wealth for young people, particularly sons (Cain 1981a, 1981b; Gertler & Lillard 1994), giving parents a great deal more opportunity to influence their children. This paper investigates the consequences of parents' attitudes and expectations on their son's marital timing in rural Nepal, a poor agrarian context of low youth independence.

This investigation is crucial because it is the first opportunity in the social sciences to document the cultural breadth of this intergenerational pattern. Research in the US documents powerful links between parents' attitudes and their children's subsequent marriage timing (Thornton, Axinn, & Xie 2007). Evidence regarding the same intergenerational relationship in a radically different social, economic and cultural context provides the first ever means to verify the potentially universal nature of this mechanism of social continuity and social change. At the same time, the potential that such

intergenerational influences may vary across contexts provides crucial empirical insight into the nature and limits of this mechanism.

Theoretically, this paper advances the study of intergenerational influences in three ways. First, we construct a new framework for the study of intergenerational consequences of parental attitudes and expectations – a framework specifically designed to extend established frameworks to the study of radically different social and economic contexts. Second, we illuminate context specific mechanisms likely to create important differences in the consequences of fathers' versus mothers' attitudes and expectations. Because these mechanisms are context specific, identification of them in a radically different context such as rural Nepal provides essential contrast to potential parental gender differences in setting such at the United States. Third, we use this framework to identify hypotheses that go beyond simple attitude-behavior predictions that rely on attitudes or expectations in a single substantive domain to predict behavior in that same domain. Rather we identify multiple different domains of attitudes and expectations likely to shape children's behavior in any one domain.

Empirically, the paper takes advantage of completely unique panel data spanning more than a decade that documents change and variation in rural Nepal. These data feature a representative, general population sample of linked parent-son pairs, parental attitude and expectation measures across a wide range of domains, direct personal interviews with both mothers and fathers, and more than ten years of monthly panel data on children's subsequent marital behavior. We focus on sons because in rural Nepal arranged marriage accounts for the vast majority of marriages among daughters (Ghimire, Axinn, Yabiku, & Thornton 2006). If all marriages are arranged by parents, then parental attitudes and expectations need only affect parental behavior to shape their children's marital timing. But because a large fraction of sons in this setting have the freedom to choose their own marital timing, investigation of their marital timing choices reveals parental influences on their children.

Theoretical Framework

The vast literature on attitude-behavior links forms the theoretical foundation of our work. The leading work in this area argues that attitudes toward a particular behavior, along with subjective norms, predict intentions and intentions predict behavior (Ajzen 1988; Fishbein and Ajzen 1975). Thus, positive attitudes toward marriage, coupled with social pressure or social support, increase the likelihood and speed of marriage (Liefbroer and de Jong Gierveld 1993; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007). Although the attitude-behavior literature in general points to attitudes about marriage as a key predictor of marital behavior, a key extension of that framework identifies both closely related and opposing attitudes as equally important predictors of behavior (Barber 2001). Following models of Reasoned Action and Planned Behavior, we expect that people enter adulthood with numerous beliefs and values that are related to marriage (Ajzen 1988; Ajzen and Fishbein 1977, 1980; Fishbein and Ajzen 1974, 1975; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007). In a setting of extremely low variation in attitudes and subjective norms about marriage, these other attitudes loom as particularly important. For example, in a setting with low variation in attitudes toward marriage, variation in attitudes toward childbearing may be an important predictor of marital behavior (Barber & Axinn 1998). Someone who values children and wants a large family will be interested in marrying sooner in order to have the time to achieve that desired family size. Additionally, a person who values large families and the role of a parent may be anxious to enter that role and, thus, marry sooner in order to legitimate that role. So, we expect that positive attitudes toward having a lot of children will increase the speed of marriage.

On the other hand, positive attitudes toward alternatives that compete with marriage may delay marriage (Barber 2001). For example, if a person values paid work and holds a positive attitude toward sons working we would expect them to marry later. This is because time devoted to human capital accumulation and investments in career building delay the entry into marriage (Thornton, Axinn and Teachman 1995; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007). Likewise if a person believes that having money is better than having children, they may marry later. This is likely if the time and effort to accumulate

money are considered conflicting with marriage or marriage related roles, such as childrearing. Both of these results are likely among people who value money or employment if these things compete with marriage, as time invested in acquiring the skills for paid labor and for earning money necessarily take from time that could otherwise be spent seeking a marriage partner(Barber 2001; Barber et al. 2002; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007).

The attitude-behavior literature emphasizes beliefs and values most directly related to the behavior being examined – in this case beliefs directly related to marriage, such as values placed on marriage itself, divorce, or children. Less attention is paid to attitudes that influence behaviors that are less directly related to those attitudes. For example, attitudes concerning the importance of paid work, gender roles in the home, or intergenerational caregiving may influence marriage behavior. In both cases, these beliefs and values influence marital behavior as people enter into their adulthood and are faced with decisions about marriage and activities that compete with marriage, such as higher education and careers (Barber 2001; Barber et al. 2002; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007).

In this Nepalese setting, we are interested in marriage behavior among sons and therefore focus on the effects of attitudes related to the family and expectations for family members. Attitudes about the way in which families should function may affect marriage timing. For example, attitudes toward a son's responsibility to care for his parents in old age may be a powerful predictor of marriage timing in rural Nepal. In Nepal there is no institutionalized support for elderly care. Instead, the responsibility falls solely on family members. So, if a person believes that it is a son's responsibility to care for elderly parents, he may be motivated to marry faster in order to have the assistance of a spouse in caring for his parents. This mechanism will speed marriage among young men who believe sons should care for their elderly parents.

Other family attitudes may also shape marriage behavior. In rural Nepal, a person who believes men (not women) should make the decisions in the household may marry at a faster rate than someone who disagrees with this arrangement. A man, in particular, who thinks that men should hold this

authority, may desire to marry sooner in order to speed the process of setting up his own household and creating this position of authority. This mechanism will speed marriage among men who hold this specific gender role attitude.

Western literature demonstrates that attitudes about other domains of family life, such as premarital sex and divorce can have a strong influence on subsequent marital behavior (Thornton, Axinn, Xie 2007; Axinn & Thornton 1992). Even in a radically difference context, the same factors may still be at work. Both premarital sex and divorce are quite rare in rural Nepal, especially by comparison to settings like the United States, but knowledge of both has spread rapidly by the mass media, visitors from other countries, and travel by Nepalese (de Jong et al. 2006). As more tolerant attitudes toward both premarital sex and divorce spread through rural Nepal, these attitudes may be an even more powerful influence on marital behavior than in settings in which these behaviors are widespread. So, we expect positive attitudes toward divorce to delay marriage, just as they do in western settings, because tolerance of divorce usually increases courtship time before marriage (Thornton, Axinn, Xie 2007; Axinn & Thornton 1992). On the other hand, because positive attitudes toward premarital sex usually speed the courtship process, we expect these attitudes to speed marriage as they do in Western populations (Thornton, Axinn, & Xie 2007; Brien, Lillard, & Waite 1999).

Parents' Attitudes

Parental attitudes, values, and beliefs about a range of issues can influence children in multiple ways (Axinn and Thornton 1996; Barber 2001; Bengtson 1975). This can happen through socialization, where children conform to their parents' attitudes by internalizing the attitudes held by their parents (Barber 2000). On the other hand, this could happen through social control of parents, where children behave in the way that their parents want them to behave in order to please them rather than behaving that way because it is how children prefer to behave (Barber 2000; Liefbroer and de Jong Gierveld 1993; Axinn and Thornton 1993; Gecas and Seff 1990; Smith 1988). In fact, children may behave in ways that

will make their parents' happy regardless of whether parents are invoking social control techniques (Barber 2000; Liefbroer and de Jong Gierveld 1993). Thus, we expect children's behavior to be directly related to their parents' attitudes, because children consider their parents' attitudes when deciding how to behave. In addition, because children also respond to their own attitudes when deciding how to behave, we expect children's attitudes to be related to their own behavior, independent of the influence of their parents' attitudes.

Although the relevance of parental preferences for children's behaviors may decline over time, the considerable influence that parents have over their children's behavior is likely to shape the opportunities and constraints that children face in adulthood (Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007). The attitudes that parents hold and their values placed on family or work life may have long-term influences on their children's lives (Axinn and Thornton 1992b; Sewell et al. 1975). For example, children whose parents encourage careers and paid work may postpone marriage in favor of acquiring the education and skills necessary to find a good job. Similarly, children whose parents encourage having many children may marry faster in order to obtain the goal of having a large family. Thus, even though parental preferences may become less directly relevant as children grow into adulthood, they are likely to exert considerable influence on marital behavior via their earlier influence on education, work, and other behaviors. Overall then, we predict that parents' positive attitudes toward family formation will speed their children's family formation and that parents' positive attitudes toward behaviors that compete with family formation will delay their children's family formation (Barber 2000; Barber et al. 2002; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007).

Mother versus Father Effects

There is ample evidence that parents' attitudes influence their children's behavior, but less is known about which parent matters more in predicting children's behavior. Although a great deal of intergenerational research has documented important effects of mothers on their children, a good deal less

has examined the effects of fathers on children (Forum on Child and Family Statistics 1998; Thornton, Axinn and Xie 2007). Even less research has been able to directly compare the effects of mothers on their children to the effects of fathers on their children. The absence of research on the role of fathers was recognized by the scientific community as a major weakness of demographic research in the early 1990s, and since that time research on fathers has become an especially high scientific priority (Forum on Child and Family Statistics 1998; Gershenson 1983; Hanson et al. 1989; Nock 1998; Thornberry et al. 1997; Thornton 2001). Although these priorities center on family research in the United States and other western settings, we have even greater reason to investigate fathers' roles in Asian settings like rural Nepal. In such settings intergenerational property and social transmission is paternal in nature (Bennett 1983; Cain et al. 1979; Caldwell 1982; Dyson & Moore 1983; Malhotra 1991). Under these circumstances the effects of fathers may not only be independent of the effects of mothers, they may actually be stronger than the effects of mothers.

If mothers' and fathers' attitudes are extremely similar then it would make sense to study parents' attitudes, combined, as a predictor of children's behaviors. This type of similarity might be expected given that spouses are typically matched on a wide range of characteristics before they become parents (Mare 1991; Biddlecom, Casterline, & Perez 1995). Not only are they matched on characteristics prior to meeting and marrying, but they share similar experiences as a result of their marriage and shared lives. For example, married couples in Nepal (nearly all parents in this setting fall into this category) typically come from a similar caste, and caste standing is related to socioeconomic position. This similar positioning within the social system may lead to the development of similar attitudes throughout parents' young lives, up until marriage (Bengtson 1975). Upon marriage, parents reside within the same surroundings, they share neighbors and friends, and, furthermore, their attitudes likely influence one another. These similar and shared experiences along with the transmission of attitudes through spousal communication lead us to expect that each parent has the same influence on children.

On the other hand, if mothers' and fathers' attitudes do not overlap completely, the attitudes of each parent may affect their child independently. The attitudes of two parents may differ from one another due to the differences in experiences each parent has had. No two people share the exact same experiences through their life course and differences in background or events experienced may lead them to hold different attitudes. For example, a mother may come from a large family with many siblings, leading her to place value on large families and having many children. Her husband, on the other hand, may have been raised in a smaller family, leading him to place less value on large families. It is crucial to study the independent effects of parents' attitudes in order to determine these potentially independent consequences.

If parents' attitudes are indeed different, we would expect fathers to have an important influence on their sons. First, sons may be more likely to model their behaviors after the attitudes of their same sex parent (D'Angelo, Weinberger & Feldman 1995). Sons may be more intentional in their modeling of fathers rather than mothers (Bandura 1986). Sons might also exhibit behaviors more in line with fathers' attitudes than mothers' because of sex-linked inheritance that leads sons to have traits more similar to their fathers than their mothers (D'Angelo, Weinberger & Feldman 1995). Second, in the setting that we study, men historically hold much of the decision-making authority in households. Thus, sons may see their father as the authority figure in the home and, therefore, behave in accordance with their fathers' attitudes.

We also have reason to believe that mothers' attitudes will have an independent effect on sons' behaviors. Mothers might spend more time than fathers with their children as they grow up (Craig 2006; Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie 2006), having a greater impact on their socialization and more opportunity to transmit their attitudes to sons. While this has been found true in the context of the United States, it is even more true that mothers in rural South Asia are the primary caregivers to their children (Bennett 1983). Because of the amount time spent with mothers and mothers' effort to provide primary care to children, children are likely to interact with their mothers as their primary source of socialization.

For the reasons outlines above, we expect parents to have a significant influence on their children in Nepal. In particular, we expect parents to influence the marriage timing of their male children. If a person's parents believe that it is good to have many children they may feel pressure to marry sooner in order to give their parents many grandchildren (Barber & Axinn 1998). Specifically, we hypothesize that mothers will be most influential with regards to attitudes about childbearing. This is because mothers not only are more involved in childbearing and childrearing than fathers, but also because they interact more with children and therefore will more strongly transfer their attitudes about these things to their children.

Whereas mothers are more involved in childrearing, fathers are more likely to have had exposure to nonfamilial activities in this context. Nepali men are more likely than women to have attended school, to have traveled, to have been exposed to the media, and to work for pay (Yabiku 2005). Thus, we hypothesize that fathers will be more influential than mothers in attitudes regarding the importance of sons to work for pay and the importance of money versus children. With their exposure to the media and activities outside of the home, we also expect that fathers will have more developed attitudes about divorce and premarital sex. Resultantly, fathers should have more influence on sons' marriage in these attitudinal domains.

As discussed, men who believe that it is a son's responsibility to care for elderly parents are likely to want to marry sooner so that they will have a wife to assist them in caring for their parents. In this attitudinal domain, too, fathers are more likely to have direct experience with this caregiving responsibility and, thus, are hypothesized to have stronger attitudes that are more influential on their sons' marriage timing.

Sons' Attitudes

In addition to studying the effect of each parents' attitudes on sons' behaviors it is also important to study the effects of sons' attitudes on their own behavior. There is reason to expect that sons' attitudes overlap with their parents' attitudes. As described above, children are socialized by their parents and are

likely to model their behaviors after their parents' preferences. This is more likely to be the case in a setting like Nepal than in the Unites States, as activities tend to be more centered in the home and around the family and parents maintain authority. In addition to their efforts to socialize children so that they will internalize attitudes, parents also share similar experiences and a similar social network with their children. This may result in children forming similar attitudes to their parents due to their being affected similarly by their surroundings (Bengtson 1975). So, there is reason to expect that parents and children have significantly overlapping attitudes and that parents' attitudes influence sons' behavior via their influence on sons' attitudes. If this is the case, then adding sons' attitudes to a model in which parents' attitudes are used to predict children's behavior would cancel the effect of parents' attitudes.

There is also theory that would suggest that parents' attitudes have an effect on sons' behaviors that is independent of sons' own attitudes. While parents and children share similar surroundings and experience similar events, they are experiencing these things at different stages in their life course. Studies show that the setting within which people live in both childhood and adulthood can be influential in attitude formation (Axinn et al. 2008). With this evidence that people develop attitudes early in life, we might expect parents to have already developed their attitudes by the time that their children are born based on events that they experienced prior to marrying or becoming a parent. In other words, parents may have already formed their attitudes prior to the time at which they begin sharing experiences with their children. Furthermore, children experience events and are exposed to ideas outside of the parental home. Exposure to the media, schooling, and peer groups might allow transmission of ideas to children that are different from parents' way of thinking. For these reasons, we may expect parents' and sons' attitudes to be different and to potentially have differing impacts on sons' behaviors. Sons' attitudes related to more modern trends, such as premarital sex and divorce, may be more important than parents' attitudes as these attitudes are likely to be formed via sources outside of the home.

It is important to look at the independent effects of each parent and of sons in different attitudinal domains. Mothers' attitudes may be more influential on children's behavior in certain domains, while

fathers' attitudes may matter more in other domains (O'Bryan et al. 2004). The effect that each parent has may depend on the role they hold within the family and parenting styles. Since there is less variation in family types and in roles that moms and dads have in Nepal than in the United States, we'd expect parents' influences to be more consistent across families than in studies based on (O'Bryan et al. 2004). Mothers might be expected to be more influential in domains that are more related to being nurturing, since this is a woman's role, whereas fathers might have more influence in domains that are related to hard work and achievement. Because we use information from both parents we are able to estimate the effects of fathers' attitudes on children's marriage independently from mothers' attitudes and compare the relative effects of each parents' attitude to that of the child's own attitude.

Data

To empirically test our expectations, we use data from the Chitwan Valley Family Study (CVFS) conducted in rural Nepal. A key reason intergenerational research on fathers has not taken place is the lack of data on fathers (Forum on Child and Family Statistics 1998). The situation has begun to improve in recent years, but the field still lacks panel data featuring comparable measurement from both mothers and fathers linked to a subsequent record of their children's behaviors. The data from the CVFS overcomes this obstacle by using measures from identical 80-minute individual interviews with both mothers and fathers to predict behaviors in the children's lives over the ten years following these parental interviews. These detailed and comparable measures from both mothers and fathers provide an unprecedented opportunity to investigate the intergenerational influences from fathers to children.

The CVFS includes a baseline interview that was conducted in 1996, which collected the information on the attitudinal measures that we employ in our analyses. The CVFS interviewed all members of households in sampled neighborhoods who were between the ages of 15 and 59 and their spouses. The overall response rate of 97% yielded 5,271 completed interviews. Monthly follow-up interviews were conducted, beginning in 1997, collecting information on a range of events, including

marriage. We analyze data from 321 unmarried men whose mother and father were both interviewed in 1996. We restrict the sample to men between the ages of 15 and 24 in 1996 because very few men in Nepal get married after the age of 24. Those marrying after this age, then, are likely to be a select group of men who prefer singlehood to marriage and keeping them in the sample might introduce selection bias (Yabiku 2006).

Measures

Marriage Timing

The dependent variable of interest is marriage timing. The focus is on first marriage, as remarriage in Nepal is a very rare event (Yabiku 2006). We make use of 126 months of data in using an event history analysis approach. These data are based on person-month observations, with marriage coded as 0 for every month the person is not married and 1in the month that the person marries, at which time they cease to contribute to the person-month exposure of marriage risk.

Attitudes about Childbearing

To assess attitudes about childbearing, we use a measure that indicates the number of children respondents would want to have if they could have the exact number that they wanted. This measure ranges from 0 children to 9 or more children.

Attitudes about Competing Alternatives to Marriage

In order to evaluate the effects of attitudes about things that compete with marriage we look at the perceived importance of work and the perceived value of money versus children. Respondents were asked how important it is for their sons to find a good paying job, with response options “very important, somewhat important, not at all important”. They were also asked whether it is better to have many children than to be rich, with response options “strongly agree, agree, disagree, somewhat disagree”.

Attitudes about Conventional Family Arrangements

We look at the effects of attitudes that indicate the importance of conventional family life. Respondents were asked whether they agreed that a married son should care for his parents in their old age. Response options included "strongly agree, somewhat agree, don't agree at all". They were also asked whether a man should make most of the decisions in the household, and the responses for this item included "strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree".

Attitudes about Nonconventional Family Events

Attitudes about nonconventional family-related activities were assessed with survey items asking about premarital sex and divorce. First, respondents were asked about the extent to which they agreed that people should not have sex before they get married. Next, they were asked they extent to which they agreed that a husband and wife should divorce if they cannot get along. The response options for both items included "strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree".

Controls

We control for a range of parental characteristics that may influence sons' marriage timing. First, we control for whether parents' had an arranged marriage, as this indicates the role that the tradition of arranging marriages plays in their lives. A scale was created to indicate the level of arrangement of mothers' and fathers' marriage, from them having no choice of their spouse to having complete choice (see Ghimire et al. 2006). This indicator is taken from parents' of their marital arrangement. We use the mean of this scale for mothers and fathers since, although they are in the same marriage, they each may have had different levels of choice in marrying their spouse.

We use a mean of each parents' years of education, also reported by parents themselves, to control for the first generation's educational attainment. We also control for whether either parent

worked by using a variable that is the sum of two dummy variables, indicating whether mother or father worked. This indicator comes from respondents' reports of whether their parents worked for pay before the respondent was age 12. These measures for parents' educational attainment and work experience indicate the amount of exposure that parents have had to nonfamily activities, which have been found to affect family activities, such as marriage timing (Yabiku 2005).

In order to control for parents' own marriage timing, which could then influence children's marriage timing (Thornton 1991), we use a variable that is the mean of mothers' and fathers' age at marriage, as reported by the parents themselves. In addition to parents' marriage, parents' fertility may also influence marriage timing, as people who were raised to value large families will be likely to marry sooner in order to produce many children of their own (Thornton, Axinn, & Xie 2007). We use a variable that indicates the number of children born to mothers.

We control for a couple of key indicators of respondent characteristics, as well. First, we control for caste using dummy variables for the different caste groups in Chitwan: Upper Caste Hindus, Lower Caste Hindus, Newars, Terai Tibetoburmese, and Hill Tibetoburmese. Second, we control for the community context in which respondents' resided in 1995. This is done using a variable that is the sum of services within a five minute walk of respondents' home, including a bus stop, a health center, and employer, a school, and/or a market.

Finally, in order to control for the duration of the exposure to marriage risk, we use controls for time, measured as the number of months since the start of the hazard, and time squared.

Analytic Approach

We employ discrete-time event history analysis to model the risk of marriage, with person-months of exposure as the unit of analysis. The analysis is based on monthly data indicating whether the respondent got married during the previous month. We use logistic regression to estimate the monthly

hazard of marrying. Individuals who are exposed to the risk of marriage are defined as males who have never been married and were between the ages of 15 and 24 at the time of the 1996 baseline survey.

Preliminary Results

Table 1
Logistic Regression Predicting Male Marriage Timing where Mothers' Attitudes Matter
(Sample = Males between ages 15-24 who were unmarried in 1996; N=321)

	Odds Ratios			
Total Number of Children Wanted				
Mother	1.192**			
Father	1.092			
Son	1.155			
Better to Have Many Children than to be Rich				
Mother		1.386***		
Father		0.841		
Son		0.928		
Important Son Find a Good Paying Job				
Mother			0.667***	
Father			1.045	
Son			1.229	
Married Son Should Care for Parents in Old Age				
Mother				0.832**
Father				1.155
Son				1.171
Controls				
Parents Had Arranged Marriage	1.015	1.009	0.872	1.038
Parents' Education	0.876***	0.868***	1.103***	0.874***
Parents Worked before R was age 12	1.160	1.152	0.982	1.127
Parents' Age at Marriage	0.975	0.969	0.984	0.973
Mother's Number of Children	0.979	1.004	0.973	0.994
Low-Caste Hindu	1.036	1.093	0.973	0.944
Hill-Tibeto Burmese	1.382	1.399	1.337	1.424
Newar	0.921	0.740	0.779	0.840
Terai-Tibeto Burmese	0.951	1.089	0.991	1.047
Adult Community Context (sum of 5 services w/in 5 min)	0.921*	0.931	0.933	0.941
Respondent Age	1.209***	1.217***	1.223***	1.203***
Time	1.037***	1.037***	1.036***	1.036***
Time Squared	1.000***	1.000***	1.000**	1.000**
Total Observations	25961	25961	25961	25961
Total Persons Marrying	230	230	230	230

*** = significant at 0.01
** = significant at 0.05
* = significant at 0.1

Table 2
Logistic Regression Predicting Male Marriage Timing where Fathers' and Sons' Attitudes Matter
(Sample = Males between ages 15-24 who were unmarried in 1996; N=321)

	Odds Ratios		
Divorce is Ok			
Mother	1.262		
Father	0.838**		
Son	1.021		
A Man Should Make Decisions in Household			
Mother		1.060	
Father		1.060	
Son		1.280***	
Premarital Sex is Ok			
Mother			0.828
Father			1.257**
Son			1.220**
Controls			
Parents Had Arranged Marriage	0.998	1.029	0.985
Parents' Education	0.866***	0.880***	0.883***
Parents Worked before R was age 12	1.117	1.094	1.114
Parents' Age at Marriage	0.977	0.984	0.987
Mother's Number of Children	0.992	0.989	1.019
Low-Caste Hindu	0.983	0.919	1.044
Hill-Tibeto Burmese	1.355	1.267	1.562*
Newar	0.784	0.784	0.727
Terai-Tibeto Burmese	1.121	0.938	1.061
Adult Community Context (sum of 5 services w/in 5 min)	0.936	0.933	0.922*
Respondent Age	1.215***	1.218***	1.191***
Time	1.037***	1.036***	1.037***
Time Squared	1.000***	1.000**	1.000***
Total Observations	25961	25961	25961
Total Persons Marrying	230	230	230

*** = significant at 0.01

** = significant at 0.05

* = significant at 0.1

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