

Intergenerational Influences on Children's Marriage Timing

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Abstract

A large body of research, mostly focused on industrialized countries, has documented strong parental influence on children's marital behavior. However, in non-Western, agrarian settings that historically hold more collective orientations emphasizing the family, this effect might be even stronger. This paper investigates intergenerational influences on marital behaviors in a predominantly arranged marriage society that stresses selfless subordination to family and extended kinship: rural Nepal. We construct a new framework—parents' social and human capital as measured in family and nonfamily experiences and household characteristics—specifically designed to extend established frameworks to the study of radically different social and economic contexts. We use unique panel data featuring a representative sample of linked parent-children pairs, with parents' own reports of their behaviors, experiences, and household characteristics, and twelve years of monthly panel data on children's subsequent marital behavior. We further illuminate context-specific mechanisms likely to create important differences between fathers' and mothers' intergenerational influences.

INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates intergenerational influences on marital behaviors in a predominantly arranged marriage society that is currently experiencing dramatic socioeconomic and political changes. Contrary to the prevailing western view of marriage as a private, secular contract based on consent and affection between two autonomous individuals, a large body of research has documented strong parental influence on children's marital behavior (Axinn & Thornton 1992a, 1992b, 1993; Barber 2000, 2001a, 2001b; Bavel & Kok 2009; Buunk, Park & Duncan 2009; Marini 1978; McLanahan & Sandefur 1994; Rindfuss et al. 1984; Thornton, Axinn, & Xie, 2007). This effect has been and continues to be important in all societies. However, it is particularly relevant in non-Western, agrarian settings, such as that of rural Nepal, that emphasize the importance of living parents and dead ancestors, selfless subordination to family and extended kinship, and low personal freedom and independence (Goode 1959; Macfarlane 1986; Buunk and Hupka 1986). Despite this strong intergenerational relationship in this setting, research thus far has focused on Western, industrialized societies that stress individualistic orientations, such as youth independence and personal freedom.

We expect important parental influence in non-western settings for several reasons. First, compared to Western societies, Asian societies historically hold more collective orientations toward social life, emphasizing subordination to senior kin (Goode 1970; Sastry & Ross 1998; Thornton et al. 1994). Second, as Asian societies practice early marriage, the decisions about family formation have historically been considered as too important to be left to the young themselves, making parents important decision makers in their children's family formation behaviors (Gray 1991; Macfarlane 1976, 1986; Watkins 1996; Weiss 1996). Third, in many rural Asian settings parental inheritance is still the primary source of wealth, and young people, particularly sons, continue to reside in the parental household until well into adulthood (Cain 1981a, 1981b; Gertler & Lillard 1994), giving parents a great deal more opportunity to influence their children.

Nevertheless, non-western societies are experiencing dramatic socioeconomic and political changes that are likely to undermine historically held social orientations. These changes have important consequences for both parents and children, and understanding the role of parental influences on children's family formation processes is critical. This is because marriage, as the first step toward family formation, is a key dimension of the transition to adulthood. The timing of marriage has wide-ranging implications for other dimensions of life, affecting subsequent life course decisions, experiences, and well-being of the children (Freedman & Thornton 1979; Furstenberg et al. 1983, 1987; Hayes 1987; Hogan 1981; McLanahan & Sandefur 1994; Rindfuss and Morgan 1983) and the parents as well.

This paper contributes to our understanding of intergenerational influence in three important ways. First, it provides a unique opportunity to investigate the cultural breadth of parental influence on children in a setting that has radically different sociopolitical, economic and cultural context than western settings. Furthermore, the empirical evidence that comes out of this investigation will provide the means to verify the potentially universal nature of this relationship across settings. On the other hand, deviation from what have been observed previously will provide crucial empirical insight into the nature and limits of this mechanism. Second, we construct a new framework for the study of intergenerational influence – parents' social and human capital as measured in family and nonfamily experiences and household characteristics – specifically designed to extend established frameworks to the study of radically different social and economic contexts. Finally, we illuminate context-specific mechanisms

likely to create important differences in the consequences of fathers' versus mothers' social and human capital. This juxtaposition is an especially important advancement because the influence of each parent may depend on the role they hold within the family. Identification of context-specific mechanisms in a radically different family context provides an essential contrast to potential parental gender differences in settings such as the United States (Goldstein Schuler & Ross 1983).

These advances are possible because of unique panel data spanning more than a decade that document change and variation in rural Nepal. These data provide an ideal opportunity to investigate parental influences on marriage for two important reasons. One, the setting is currently undergoing rapid socioeconomic changes that shift the organization of individuals' daily activities to outside of the domestic sphere. Two, they feature a representative, general population sample of linked parents-children pairs, with parents' own reports of their marital and childbearing behaviors, non-family experiences, and household characteristics, as well as twelve years of monthly panel data on children's subsequent marital behavior. Together, these measures allow for a more comprehensive examination of intergenerational influences on marriage timing.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Children have historically been born into a family where they have been supervised, socialized and raised by parents, thereby obtaining their basic attitudes, beliefs, and approaches to family life from them. Despite the popular sentiment that "individuals are born free and equal" and free to choose their own destiny, a large body of literature from Western settings shows substantial influence of the parental generation on their children. As mentioned above, little is known about these influences in non-Western settings, where these effects are likely to be even stronger. To investigate the intergenerational transmission of marital behavior we draw on two theoretical perspectives: the social learning – socialization and social control – framework (Bandura 1986; Campbell 1969; Chodorow 1978), and the mode of social organization framework (Axinn and Yabiku 2001; Thornton et al., 1994; Thornton and Fricke 1987).

Social learning framework

Socialization and social control are two important ways that parents influence their children's behavior. First, through socialization, parents affect their children's behavior by influencing how their children *want* to behave. Here, parents' preferences for their child shape the child's own attitudes, preferences, and intentions. One mechanism producing this result is modeling, in which children's observations of their parents shape the children's own attitudes, preferences, and intentions (Bandura 1986; Campbell 1969; Chodorow 1978). Another mechanism involves active parental socialization techniques, such as support and control (Baumrind 1978; Gecas & Seff 1990; Smith 1988). A third way is through their shared social positions, background, and experiences: children may behave in accordance with their parents' preferences simply because their parents' preferences and their own opportunities were shaped by the same social forces (Bengtson 1975).

Second, in contrast, parents influence their children's behavior *independent* of children's attitudes via social control techniques. Social control refers to parents' attempts to get their children to behave in ways that parents find appropriate, or to children's altering of their behavior simply to please their parents. These influences operate independently of how children themselves might prefer to behave. They affect children's behavior through mechanisms other than children's own attitudes, such as punishment or rewards (Gecas & Seff 1990; Smith 1988). Parental resources are a particularly important source of social control. Parents may use their

resources to subsidize some alternatives, making some behavioral choices easier for children to implement than others (Axinn & Thornton 1992b; Waite & Spitze 1981).

The organization of social activities in the parental home

The modes of organization framework focuses on the social organization of the family and highlights the ways that families intersect with other institutions to organize the basic social activities of daily life. It places families on a continuum from those in which family social networks organize nearly all of life's daily activities to those in which family social networks organize practically none (Thornton & Fricke 1987; Thornton & Lin 1994). The extent of family organization affects the individuals' social interactions with family and nonfamily members and can motivate differences in family formation behaviors. This framework has proved useful for understanding shifts in family formation behavior in Asian countries (Axinn 1992; Axinn & Yabiku 2001; Thornton & Lin 1994).

Social interaction outside the family in the parental generation is likely to lead to an expanded emphasis on nonfamily institutions and less positive attitudes toward family formation among parents. Previous research shows that nonfamily living arrangements reduce the desire for marriage and for children (Axinn & Barber 1997; Waite et al. 1986). Other nonfamily experiences – including those in work, educational and consumption settings – are all likely to produce similar consequences (Coleman 1990; Thornton & Fricke 1987; Thornton & Lin 1994). Parents with high levels of nonfamily interaction are less likely to emphasize marriage and childbearing and more likely to be open to contraception to delay or stop childbearing. Studies from Asia have shown that children who report that their mothers had high levels of nonfamilial experiences during their children's early childhood have lower rates of marriage and childbearing and higher rates of contraceptive use to stop childbearing (Axinn & Barber 2001; Axinn & Yabiku 2001; Choe et al. 2001, 2005; Satayavada & Adamchak 2000; Suwal 2001).

Important Dimensions of the Parental Family

Building from these overarching theoretical principles, our framework identifies multiple dimensions of the parental family likely to influence children's family formation behaviors, including: (a) parents' family behaviors; (b) the organization of social activities in the parental home (parents' nonfamily experiences); and (c) parents' resources (household characteristics). While the vast majority of evidence of these mechanisms comes from Western settings, we have good theoretical reasons to expect them to be important in rural Asia as well, and the literature from Asian settings is consistent with these expectations.

Parents' family behaviors. There is a growing body of research demonstrating intergenerational influences of parental family behavior on children's family formation. One of the most well established of these is the strong positive association between parents' childbearing experiences and their children's childbearing behavior, including both timing of the first birth and completed family size (Anderton et al. 1987; Barber 2004; Duncan et al. 1965; Johnson & Stokes 1976; Kahn & Anderson 1992). Similar associations have been documented between parents' marital experiences and their children's marital behaviors (Axinn & Thornton 1992b; Kobrin & Waite 1984; Thornton 1991). While evidence of these behavioral effects from Asia rarely comes from independent interviews from parents and children, it appears that parental marital and childbearing experiences have similarly strong effects on their children's behavior in these regions as well (Cain et al. 1979; Feng & Quanche 1996; Knodel et al. 1990; Knodel & Wongsith 1991; Thornton et al. 1986; Thornton & Lin 1994).

There is also reason to expect that parental family experiences will influence children across family formation domains. We know from Western settings that parental fertility experiences shape their children's marital behavior, parents' marital experiences shape their children's fertility behavior, and parental divorce experiences shape both children's marital and fertility behaviors (Barber 2000; Barber & Axinn 1998b; Goldscheider & Waite 1991; Hogan & Kitagawa 1985; Kobrin & Waite 1984; McLanahan & Sandefur 1994; Thornton 1991; Wu 1996; Wu & Martinson 1993). In the Nepalese setting such effects across domains are also likely.

Further, Nepal is in the midst of a transition from nearly all marriages being arranged by parents to a substantial fraction of marriages based on young people's own choices (Ghimire et al. 2006). As such, intergenerational influences may vary based on the level of children's participation in spouse choice, as well as the parents' own experiences. Both theory and research suggest that a shift from parent-controlled arranged marriage to individual-choice marriage can bring about a fundamental change in family dynamics and fertility (Caldwell 1982; Goode 1982; MacFarlane 1986; Malhotra 1991; Rindfuss & Morgan 1983; Shorter 1975).

Parents' nonfamily experiences. Rural Nepali society is characterized as having a family-centric social life with individuals' daily social activities organized around large families. This is evident in young ages at marriage, high level of parents' involvement in when and to whom their kids should marry, shared family responsibility to raise offspring, and a high degree of family solidarity and loyalty toward seniors. However, the proliferation of nonfamily services and institutions has led to increased time spent outside the family, resulting in new socialization forces (Ghimire et al 2006; Hoelter et al 2004; Waite et al 1986). Research documents the strong effects of two key nonfamily experiences - education and work - on family-related attitudes and behaviors (Caldwell et.al.1983; Macfarlane 1986; Thornton et.al.1994a).

First, education influences marriage timing by shaping associated aspirations and attitudes. The mere exposure to education has been found to alter individuals' educational aspirations by changing how they understand future labor market success, highlighting the idea that educational attainment works to expand occupational options (Sewell and Hauser 1975; Sewell et al 1970). In this case, educated parents aspire for their children to obtain an education as well so as to be more employable in the future. Once in school, then, education itself exposes individuals to a unique social environment supporting individual growth and knowledge accumulation during young adulthood – a highly influential life stage (Alwin et al 1991; Axinn and Yabiku 2001; Krosnick and Alwin 1989). In a setting like Nepal, education also exposes individuals to new ideas due to the origin and nature of educational materials (Caldwell et al 1988; Thornton 2005). These textbooks and syllabi tend to promote attitudes associated with these richer European nations: individualism, smaller families and high educational attainment. Research indicates that this exposure shifts attitudes and expectations away from historical family orientations toward those emphasizing personal development and independence (Waite et al 1986; Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Goldscheider et al 1986). We know from Western settings that highly educated parents have less restrictive attitudes toward divorce and premarital sex and higher ideal ages at marriage for their children (Axinn & Thornton 1992b; Thornton 1985; Thornton & Camburn 1987; Waite & Spitze 1981). Thus, parental education both strengthens these attitudes, as well as weakens those supporting opposite or competing behaviors, such as early transition to marriage (Blossfeld and Huinink 1991; Ikamari 2005).

Second, non-family work experience is another venue of social interaction occurring outside the parental home. These places provide social interaction among young people and open opportunities for the spread of new ideas and the creation of shared experiences, altering the

ideas that are shared among individuals and accelerating the diffusion of new or innovative ideas (Festinger 1954; Latane 1981; Bongaarts and Watkins 1996). These non-familial occupational networks tend to emphasize broader ideational domains centered on the individual, rather than the family, such as smaller family size and investment in personal achievement (Axinn and Yabiku 2001; Thornton 2005). Similarly, labor and personal networks have been expanding beyond the local neighborhood, leading to increased travel outside of an individual's immediate network. Travel to more urban areas, such as Kathmandu, may alter individuals' attitudes and values in ways that promote new family formation behavior across generations. Parents exposed to these nonfamily networks through work or travel are, like education, expected to support behaviors promoting more individual development for their children.

Parents' household characteristics. Due to a lack of economic opportunities in the non-family sphere, young children - particularly sons - become dependent on family inheritance and parents' social capital. Children also spend more time under their parents' roof than in Western settings, as it is typical for offspring to live with their parents at least until marriage. Still, parental inheritance remains a primary source of wealth for young couples in settings like rural Nepal, where there is a strong tendency for married sons to co-reside with parents and obey parents' wishes for a lengthy period of time (Caplan 2000; Gray 1995; Maskey 1996; Regmi 2002; Weiss 1996). As such, the parents' economic status is likely to have a strong influence well beyond the children's adolescent years.

Parental social and economic resources - higher levels of education and income - have been found to both slow down the speed of children's entrance into marriage and childbearing and reduce total family size in the West (Axinn & Thornton 1992a; Callens & Croux 2005; Cochrane 1979; Goldscheider & Waite 1986; Heckman & Walker 1990; Hoem et al. 2006; Marini 1978; McLanahan & Sandefur 1994; Waite & Spitze 1981). As noted above, highly educated parents tend to have higher educational aspirations, which are transmitted to their children, and they may provide more assistance with schoolwork itself (Alwin & Thornton 1984; Duncan et al. 1972; Sewell & Hauser 1975). However, an important factor in children's education is parental financial resources, which in a rural agrarian setting like Nepal tends to be represented by structural quality of the house, size of the landholding, and livestock. Parents with more economic resources can also provide their children more assistance with educational expenses - particularly key in settings in which children's schooling expenses are considered quite high. These mechanisms work together so that increases in parental social and economic resources are likely to increase children's educational and occupational attainments, in turn delaying their entrance into marriage.

Gender Differences in Intergenerational Influences

Although Asian societies are characterized by strong collectivism and intergenerational influences, they are also highly gender stratified, which may make intergenerational relationships more gender specific (Jennings, Axinn and Ghimire 2012). Given the complex nature of gender stratification, the intergenerational influences may operate in multifaceted ways. First, as the daily social activities of the parents themselves are organized strictly along gender lines, parental experiences and achievements are likely to greatly vary by gender. Considering the fact that parents are likely to go through different life experiences and specialize in different areas of social life, fathers and mothers may influence their children behavior differently. Also, parental characteristics may have a stronger influence on young women than on young men because of variations in the nature of parent-child relationships. Previous research has shown that mothers

affect their daughters' behavior more than they affect their sons' behavior (Axinn & Thornton 1993). Unfortunately, relatively little is known about why mothers have a stronger impact on their daughters than on their sons. One possibility is that because the mother-daughter bond is the strongest of family relationships (Rossi & Rossi 1990), daughters are more likely to listen to their mothers and to take their mothers' advice. Conversely, sons may be more influenced by their fathers.

Second, in South Asian settings like Nepal, sons often continue to live with their parents well beyond their marriage, and daughters often move to the homes of their in-laws. As a result, parents have longer periods of opportunity to influence their sons than their daughters. This may give parents a stronger influence on sons than daughters. Third, by contrast, parents may have more influence on daughters than sons because daughters are less independent (Acharya & Bennett 1981; Bennett 1983). If daughters have less independence from their parents than sons, then we might expect that both mothers' and fathers' influences on their daughters would be stronger than their influences on their sons. Finally, intergenerational influences may differ for young men and women because parental preferences are different for sons than they are for daughters (Jennings, Axinn and Ghimire 2012; Thornton and Axinn 1993) (*Analysis work for this part is in progress*). Of important note, these intergenerational influences of mothers and fathers on sons and daughters have been documented to consist of multiple dimensions, including ideational and financial. Our goal here is to evaluate the role of parental experiences and household characteristics, not parental preferences. As such, we do not divulge on the discussion of the role of parental attitudes, but control for those known to influence children's marriage timing.

DATA AND METHODS

The data used for this analysis come from the Chitwan Valley Family Survey in Chitwan Valley, southern Nepal. Initiated in 1996, the study provides a unique opportunity to study family-related attitudes and behaviors alongside rapid changes in community context. The sample was constructed by first dividing the western Chitwan Valley into a set of mutually exclusive neighborhoods of 5-15 households each. Using a multistage cluster design, 171 neighborhoods were selected on an equal probability basis. The 151 neighborhoods consisted of 1,580 households and 4,446 individuals between the ages of 15 and 59. Life history calendars captured accurate annual data on places of residence, military service, schooling, age, ethnicity, employment, and marital status. Beginning in 1997, monthly follow-up interviews collected information about household members on various demographic events, including marriage. We analyze all unmarried men and women aged 15-24 in 1996 whose mother and/or father were alive and interviewed in 1996 (n = 826 mother/child pairs; n = 650 father/child pairs).

Measures

Previous research on the social organization of the parental family was almost entirely limited to measures of parents' experiences obtained from their children, creating substantial limitations. Our analyses use measures of parental experiences from the parents themselves. Measures directly from parents are not only likely to be characterized by less measurement error (both random and systematic), but they also cover more domains in much greater detail than children's reports of their parents' behaviors.

Marriage timing. Because remarriage in Nepal is a rare event, we focus our analysis on first marriage (Yabiku 2006). Marriage is coded as 0 for every month in which the respondent is not and has never been married and 1 for months in which the respondent marries.

Parents' family experiences. Parents' family experiences are assessed using measures taken from interviews with the parents themselves, with separate measures for each parent. *Age at first marriage* is a continuous variable marking the age at which respondents' mother/father married for the first time. Similarly, *age at first birth* is a continuous variable noting the ages at which respondents' parents experienced the birth of their first child. *Participation in spouse choice* is assessed on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 indicating the mother/father had no choice in his or her marriage, and 5 indicating the parent had complete choice (Ghimire et al 2006). *Number of live births* is a continuous variable noting the number of births the parent has had by 1996.

Parents' nonfamily experiences. Three binary measures assess parents' – again, measured separately for mothers and fathers - nonfamily experiences prior to 1996. *Education* indicates whether the parent ever went to school, with 1 indicating they had gone to school and 0 indicating they did not. Similarly, *work for pay* indicates whether the mother/father ever worked for pay by 1996, with 1 indicating they did and 0 that they did not. *Travel ever to Kathmandu* is also binary, with 1 indicating that the parent ever traveled to Kathmandu prior to 1996 and 0 indicating they had not.

Parents' household characteristics. Because much of the Nepalese economy is not monetized and the vast majority of households (over 80%) are primarily engaged in agriculture, our measures of household characteristic focus on two key aspects: house quality and ownership of livestock. Our measures of household characteristics are constructed from the responses to household interviews conducted in 1996. *House quality* comes from the responses to a series of questions that ask about what the house wall, roof, and floor is made up of and how many stories the house has. We summed up the responses into a scale of house quality. Our measure of *livestock* comes from responses to questions that assess how many of each of type of farm animal the household has, including cattle (cows and bullocks), buffalos, sheep, goats, and pigs. Multiplying by a standard conversion factor, the numbers of animals were then converted into a livestock unit.

Controls. Analyses include a dummy variable for *female*, with 1 indicating female and 0 as male. Gender inequalities in various domains of social life are deeply rooted in Nepalese society (Morgan and Niraula 1995) and marital experiences are expected to vary by gender, particularly marriage timing. We also include a set of dummy variables corresponding to five broad *ethnicity/caste* categories reflecting meaningful distinctions in Nepalese society: Brahmin/Chhetri, Dalit, Hill Janajati, Newar, and Terai Janajati, with Brahmin/Chhetri treated as the reference category. We include *respondent age* in 1996. Position in the life course has been found to be associated with various important life events and transitions, including marriage (Alwin et al 1991). *Mean number of years of nonfamily services* measures the average number of years that the mother/father had five services (school, health service, market, movie theater, employer) within a 15-minute walk by 1996. Lastly, *distance from Narayanghat* marks the distance to urban center, the closest urban area in 1996, measured in kilometers.

Analytic approach

We employ discrete time event history analysis to test the effects of parents' family and nonfamily experiences and household characteristics on the hazard of children's first marriage, controlling for key family background characteristics. Person-months are the unit of analysis, with respondents considered to be exposed to the risk of first marriage during any month in which they have never been married. We use multilevel logistic regression to account for the clustering of the sample design at the neighborhood level. We present additive effects on the log-

odds in tables. A positive coefficient indicates an effect that increases the odds of marriage, while a negative coefficient represents one that decreases them.

Preliminary results

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for variables used in analyses

Table 2: Effects of mothers' family and nonfamily experiences and household quality on children's marriage timing

Table 3: Effects of fathers' family and nonfamily experiences and household quality on children's marriage timing

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for variables used in analyses

	Mothers (N = 826)				Fathers (N = 650)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Parents' family experiences								
Age at first marriage	15.02	3.4	5	33	19.8	4.13	7	34
Age at first birth	19.07	3.06	12	34	23.74	4.38	10	38
Participation in spouse choice	1.52	1.31	1	5	2.18	1.69	1	5
Number of live births	5.4	2.15	1	13	5.44	2.13	1	14
Parents' nonfamily experiences								
Education	0.16	0.36	0	1	0.55	0.5	0	1
Work for pay	0.41	0.49	0	1	0.67	0.47	0	1
Travel ever to Kathmandu	0.27	0.45	0	1	0.42	0.49	0	1
Household characteristics								
House quality	2.43	0.58	1	3	2.46	0.57	1	3
Livestock	3.11	2.2	0	17.92	3.11	2.22	0	17.92
Controls								
Female	0.48	0.5	0	1	0.48	0.5	0	1
High-caste Hindu	0.57	0.5	0	1	0.56	0.5	0	1
Low-caste Hindu	0.08	0.27	0	1	0.09	0.29	0	1
Hill Tibeto-Burmese	0.12	0.33	0	1	0.11	0.31	0	1
Newar	0.07	0.26	0	1	0.08	0.27	0	1
Terai Tibeto-Burmese	0.16	0.37	0	1	0.16	0.37	0	1
Respondent age	17.61	2.33	15	24	17.45	2.23	15	24
Mean #years 5 services w/in 15-min walk by 1996	17.24	9.45	0	41.6	17.66	9.41	0	41.6
Distance from Narayangat	8.37	4.09	0.02	17.7	8.3	4.1	0.02	17.7

Table 2: Effects of mothers' family and nonfamily experiences and household characteristics on children's marriage timing

	Mother		
Family experiences (mother)			
Age at first marriage	-.03*	-.02+	-.02+
	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Age at first birth	.03*	.02+	.02
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Participation in spouse choice	.04*	.04	.03
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Number of live births	.02	.01	.01
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Nonfamily experiences (mother)			
Education		-.28*	-.30**
		(.12)	(.12)
Work for pay		.08	.07
		(.09)	(.09)
Travel ever to KTM		-.02	-.02
		(.09)	(.09)
Household characteristics (mother)			
House quality			-.04
			(.07)
Livestock			-.03+
			(.02)
Controls			
Female	.55***	.55***	.55***
	(.08)	(.08)	(.08)
LCH	.14	.05	.02
	(.16)	(.17)	(.17)
HTB	.18	.17	.16
	(.14)	(.15)	(.15)
NEW	-.05	-.07	-.09
	(.18)	(.18)	(.18)
TTB	-.13	-.19	-.18
	(.15)	(.15)	(.15)
Respondent age	.11***	.11***	.11***
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Mean #years 5 services within 15-min walk by 1996	-.00	-.00	-.00
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Distance from Narayangat	.04**	.04**	.04**
	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Time	.02***	.02***	.02***
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Time squared	-.00**	-.00**	-.00**
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
	-	-	-
Intercept	7.58***	7.59***	7.46***
	(.48)	(.48)	(.52)
N (person-months)	58065	58065	58065
N (persons marrying)	145	145	145

† p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001; one-tailed tests

Table 3: Effects of fathers' family and nonfamily experiences and household characteristics on children's marriage timing

	Father		
Family experiences (father)			
Age at first marriage	-.01 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	-.00 (.02)
Age at first birth	.01 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	-.00 (.02)
Participation in spouse choice	.00 (.03)	.01 (.03)	.01 (.03)
Number of live births	-.02 (.02)	-.04+ (.02)	-.03 (.03)
Nonfamily experiences (father)			
Education		-.20* (.11)	-.20* (.11)
Work for pay		-.09 (.11)	-.11 (.11)
Travel ever to KTM		-.22** (.10)	-.22** (.10)
Household characteristics (father)			
House quality			.01 (.09)
Livestock			-.03+ (.03)
Controls			
Female	.67*** (.09)	.68*** (.09)	.68*** (.09)
LCH	.18 (.17)	.13 (.18)	.07 (.19)
HTB	.24+ (.17)	.19 (.17)	.18 (.17)
NEW	.03 (.19)	-.04 (.20)	-.06 (.20)
TTB	-.10 (.17)	-.17 (.17)	-.21 (.18)
Respondent age	.11*** (.02)	.10*** (.02)	.11*** (.02)
Mean #years 5 services within 15-min walk by 1996	-.01* (.01)	-.01 (.01)	-.01 (.01)
Distance from Narayangat	.02+ (.02)+	.02+ (.02)+	.03+ (.02)
Time	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)	.02*** (.00)
Time squared	-.00** (.00)	-.00** (.00)	-.00** (.00)
Intercept	7.16*** (.53)	6.65*** (.57)	6.67*** (.62)
N (person-months)	47335	47335	47335
N (persons marrying)	140	140	140

† p < 0.10; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001; one-tailed tests

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