Modern Family: Female Breadwinners and the Intergenerational Transmission of Gender Norms[*]

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Abstract

This paper investigates the intergenerational transmission of gender norms. The particular norm under consideration is the traditional view that it is the role of the mother to look after young children and the role of the father to be the breadwinner. A model of identity formation is developed, where a child's gender norm is endogenous to two main sources of gender socialisation: her family on the one hand, and society at large on the other. Using data from the Next Steps survey and the International Social Survey Programme, this study examines the intergenerational transmission of gender norms in England by investigating how family and society norms affect the development of children's beliefs. Findings indicate between-sex heterogeneity in the transmission of gender norms from parents to children. While boys raised in modern families (i.e. where the mother is the breadwinner) are less likely to develop traditional norms, girls raised in modern families are actually more likely to do so; in opposition to their family's but in line with society's norm. Examining further outcomes associated with gender norms, we find that girls raised in modern families are also less likely to state that being able to earn high wages is important for them, and are less likely to pursue a science degree at university level. Using the predictions of our theoretical model, these empirical findings can be explained by between-sex heterogeneity in preferences for conformity to the family. Evidence is presented supporting this theoretical prediction.

Keywords: intergenerational transmission, gender norms, gender inequality
**JEL Classification**: D10, J16, Z13

1 Introduction

How successfully are gender norms passed on from parents to children? The aim of this study is to answer this question by investigating how children's gender norms are affected by the society's and the family's gender norms. Importantly, it looks to assess whether family norms can outweigh society's norms in cases where they are oppositional. The particular gender norm under consideration is the traditional view that it is the role of the mother to look after young children and the role of the father to be the breadwinner. By examining the gender socialisation process through a model of identity formation, this study finds between-sex heterogeneity in the transmission of gender norms from parents to children, using data from England. While boys raised in modern families (i.e. where the mother is the breadwinner) are less likely to develop traditional norms, girls raised in modern families are actually more likely to do so; in opposition to their family's but in line with society's

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Figure 1: Gender Norms and the Gender Gap
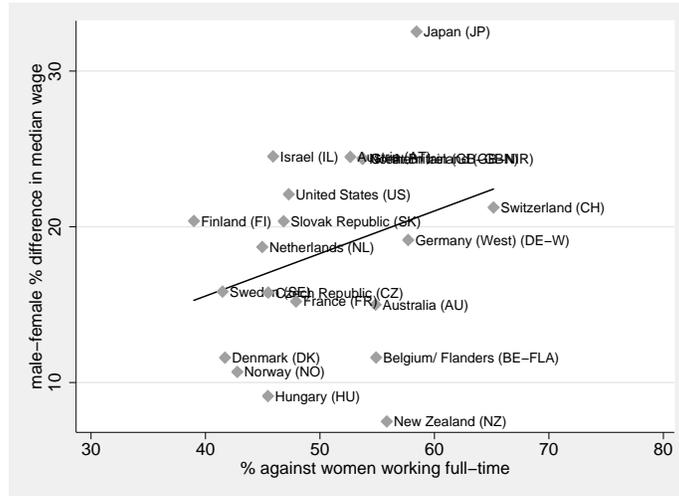
norm. Evidence shows that between-sex heterogeneity in preferences for conformity to the family affects the outcome of gender socialisation.

Gender socialisation is how boys and girls learn what the appropriate behaviour for each gender is (Epstein and Ward 2011). The fundamental premise is that children do not have predetermined norms; rather these are developed through exposure to the value systems of others. Children are not born knowing that boys should wear blue and girls pink, nor that boys should play with action heroes and girls with dolls. Yet, this is how children tend to be socialised, leading to traditional gender norms that persist through adulthood (Epstein and Ward 2011). Women in male-dominated occupations tend to hit a glass-ceiling (Albrecht et al. 2003; Arulampalam et al. 2007; etc.), while men working in traditionally female occupations, like nursing, are considered to lack masculinity[1]. Ben Stiller's ridiculed male-nurse character in the film *Meet the Parents* (2000) is a good example of such norm-driven prejudice. Such stereotypes are not just widespread in society; they are passed on from one generation to another.

The propagation of such values is of primary concern because traditional gender norms are adversely associated with a vast range of outcomes related to gender inequality. Figures 1-3[2] highlight some of the stark associations of norms with labour market outcomes. Figure 1 shows the relation between the gender pay gap and the prevalence of traditional gender norms across OECD countries. The figure indicates a strong positive relation between the proportion of a country's population that believes women should not work full-time, and the percentage difference in the median wage between men and women. Similar conclusions can be drawn from Figures 2 and 3. They indicate a strong negative relation between the prevalence of traditional gender norms and female labour force participation, both along the extensive (Figure 2) and intensive margin (Figure 3).

In light of this evidence, understanding the intergenerational transmission of gender norms can provide a more holistic understanding of gender inequality. Importantly, by uncovering specific policy recommendations to promote more equal gender norms, this work can also facilitate the development of new methods of targeting and reducing such inequities. Understanding the intergenerational transmission of gender norms can also shed light on the most profound inequality trap, as identified

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[1]The fact that such males may actually be benefiting from a glass-escalator is irrelevant for the described non-pecuniary effects of having 'feminine' jobs.

[2]These figures are constructed from data on gender norms from the 2002 International Social Survey Programme, and from labour market data from the OECD and World Bank.

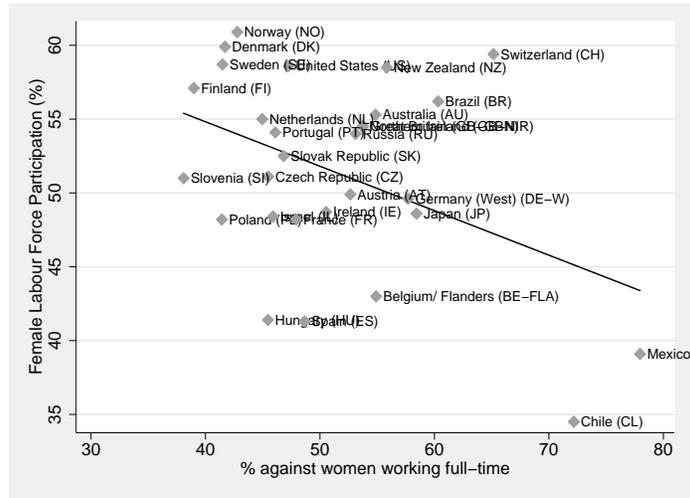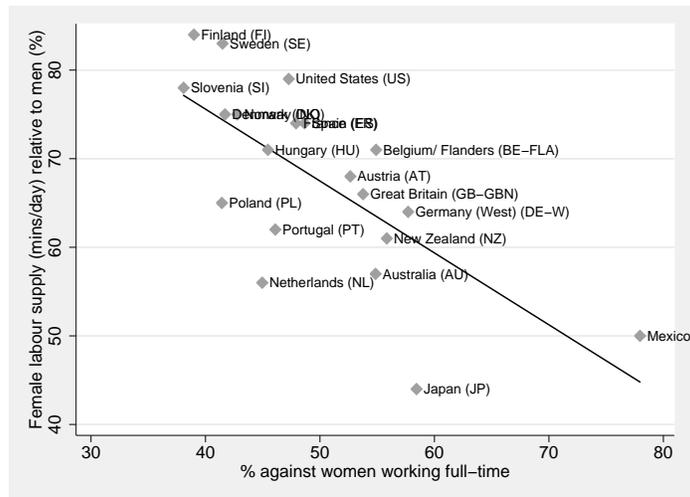Figure 2: Gender Norms and Female Labour Supply: Extensive Margin

Figure 3: Gender Norms and Female Labour Supply: Intensive Margin

by the World Bank; "Gender inequity is the archetypical inequality trap. Most societies have norms that preserve the prevalent social order, delineating different roles and spheres of influence for men and women" (Word Bank 2006, p.51). Notwithstanding the effect on labour market inequalities, gender inequality traps may also have deleterious effects on economic development. Previous research shows that gender gaps in education have a direct negative effect on economic growth (Dollar and Gatti 1999; Klasen 1999; Knowles et al. 2002), while the modernisation of gender norms and the associated increase in female labour market participation has been promoted by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (2009) as a key mechanism to fight poverty and promote rural development.

This study makes several contributions to the literature. First, it sheds light on an important aspect of the gender inequality debate that is often overlooked in the inequality literature. The emphasis of economists is usually on other factors. Some studies simply analyse the evolution of gender inequality over time by focusing on the dynamics of female labour force participation (Eckstein and Lifshitz 2011; Goldin 1995; Mammen and Paxson 2000; etc.). Others focus on mainstream explanations of inequality, such as differences in human capital (Mincer and Polachek 1974), on-the-job training (Blau and Kahn 2000), fertility/family planning preferences (Goldin and Katz 2002), childcare subsidies (OECD 2004), etc. What is lacking, and what the present study looks to address, is the study of the 'fundamentals' of gender inequality. The proposed explanations are in fact themselves outcomes of deeper factors, and in particular society's underlying cultural beliefs about gender roles. For instance, Vella (1994) finds that between-sex differences in human capital investment are driven by conservative attitudes towards female labour force participation. Similarly, Fortin (2009) shows that, after controlling for the usual factors (education, fertility choices, race, marital status, religion, etc.) all of the remaining differences in the concavity of time trends between male and female labour supply are explained by gender norms. Understanding the role and propagation mechanism of these fundamentals is therefore crucial to the gender inequality debate.

This paper is of course not the first study on gender norms. It is however the first to formulate its conceptual framework and empirical approach in a way that assesses gender socialisation and the intergenerational transmission of gender norms *explicitly*, and this is its second and most important contribution. To be precise, the approach in the literature thus far has been to investigate the effect on female labour supply of either the mother's stated gender norms or of parental female labour supply (Butikofer 2013; Del Boca et al. 2000; Fernández et al. 2004; Morrill and Morrill 2013; etc.). However, this approach is problematic because it does not fully capture the norm in question. Merely asking a woman if she believes that it is acceptable for women to work and earn the same as (or more than) men does not necessarily mean that she will actually do so in practice. In other words, a non-traditional parental belief is not sufficient for a non-traditional division of labour within the family. Thus, a child growing up in a traditional family, may well have a mother who states (or even holds) modern views, but still obeys traditional rules. The result is that the child is still socialised through traditional family norms. In fact, even when women strongly believe in gender equality, it is still possible to observe traditional norms prevailing in the family's division of labour simply because the wife has a strong preference for conformity to society's norm.

Similarly, just examining the evolution of female labour supply is also inadequate; even if female labour supply increases, it may still be the case that women work or earn less than their husbands, in line with the traditional intra-family division of labour. Studies looking explicitly at the effect of living in a modern versus a traditional family on socialisation and the development of gender norms are absent. The only somewhat related study is by Bertrand et al. (2015); they however do not examine the intergenerational transmission of gender norms, but focus on the effect of female relative family income on various labour and marriage market outcomes. Our study looks to fill this gap in the literature.

Further, our study not only looks at whether parental gender norms are successfully transmitted

to children, but also seeks to explain why or why not. In particular, it investigates the importance of underlying child preferences for conformity to both the family and society. As such, it is the first study to look at such deep factors affecting gender norms, and contributes to our understanding of how and why children develop norms. It also contributes by going beyond the existing literature and investigating whether the transmission of gender norms is heterogeneous between boys and girls. Uncovering such differences is crucial in understanding not only whether gender norms are propagated, but also how they may affect the dynamics of gender inequality.

Lastly, this paper is amongst the very few to investigate norms by employing post-2000 data, and the first to do so for the case of England. This is important because most studies exploring gender norms have relied on earlier data, which chronologically pre-date the appearance of the 'opting-out' phenomenon (Fortin 2009). This describes the slow-down, levelling-off, and in some cases even the decline of female labour force participation rates in developed countries during the mid-2000s. This is also the period in which the progression towards more modern gender norms has halted (Fortin 2009). Assessing the intergenerational transmission of gender norms in this later period is therefore paramount for deriving currently relevant policy recommendations.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 reviews the literature. Section 3 describes the theoretical framework, presenting a model of gender identity formation, while Section 4 discusses our empirical approach. Section 5 describes the data and presents evidence on the social norm in England. Section 6 presents the results and Section 7 concludes.

2   Literature Review

A vast literature in sociology and social psychology exists on theories of socialisation and social identity (Epstein and Ward 2011; Lorber 1994; Lytton and Romney 1991; Tajfel 1978; etc.). While different versions of the socialisation process (or its stages) have been proposed, the consensus is that socialisation, i.e. the procedure through which individuals learn how to be functioning members of society through human interaction, is the main way cultural norms are developed, adopted and transmitted.

Though studies on the role of socialisation in the intergenerational transmission of cultural values amass the literature in other social sciences, economists have only recently explored it. The seminal work bridging this gap between economics and other disciplines is that of Akerlof and Kranton (2000; 2002; 2010), who translated theories of social identity into an economics framework, giving birth to what is now known as Identity Economics. Various approaches to modelling identity have ensued[3]. Among others, Bénabou and Tirole (2007) propose a model where individuals hold a range of individual beliefs that they both value and can invest in. Klor and Shayo (2010) model identity as status, while Bisin et al. (2011) introduce the concept of oppositional identities. While all models differ, the common element in this literature is the introduction of identity considerations in a neoclassic framework, where a person's self-image is valued and becomes a crucial element of her utility function.

A burgeoning empirical literature has developed that examines the effect of culture and its transmission. However, little work exists on the intergenerational transmission of explicit gender norms. Most studies that do consider gender norms focus rather on the effect of norms on some other outcomes, (e.g. labour supply), without examining how gender norms are formed in the first place. For instance, Bertrand et al. (2015) focus on the effect of traditional gender norms (defined as aversion to the wife earning more than the husband) on marriage and labour market outcomes. While they argue that this aversion is induced by gender identity norms, they do not assess how

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[3]For a comprehensive survey of identity models, see Costa-Font and Cowell (2015).

these norms are formed, or transmitted, but simply take them as given. They find that in marriages where the wife's potential income may exceed that of her husband, wives are less likely to participate in the labour force. If they do participate, wives are more likely to earn less than their potential income. Moreover, families where the wife earns more face a higher likelihood of divorce and lower marriage satisfaction.

Another study looking at the effects of culture on labour market outcomes is by Alesina and Giuliano (2010). Defining culture as the strength of family ties, they examine the importance of the role of the family and the connection children feel with their parents. They find that strong family ties are associated with more traditional gender norms. Strong family ties require some adult family member to stay home and 'manage' the family institution; this burden falls on women, which in turns leads to lower female labour market participation. A related paper (Alesina et al. 2013) looks at the historical origins of gender norms, providing evidence for intergenerational cultural persistence. It is shown that attitudes towards women are more unequal among descendants of societies that practiced plough agriculture. Plough agriculture, in contrast to shifting cultivation, is much more capital intensive and therefore required brawn-intensive labour, giving men an advantage in the labour market and thereby leading to gender-based division of labour. The study finds historical plough use to be negatively related with modern day attitudes towards gender inequality, female labour force participation, and female participation in politics and firm ownership.

Another strand of the literature looks at the relation between the labour supply of individuals with that of their parents. Fernández et al. (2004) find that women are more likely to work if they are married to men whose mothers had also participated in the labour market. Morrill and Morrill (2013) show that there is also a positive relation between mothers' and daughters' labour supply, while Del Boca et al. (2000) show that a woman's labour supply is related to that of both her mother and mother-in-law. Fernández and Fogli (2009) examine labour market and fertility outcomes of second-generation American women. Culture is proxied using the 1950 female labour force participation rate and total fertility in the country of ancestry. Findings show a positive association between culture and second-generation American women's outcomes; women work more (have more children) in the cases where their country of ancestry had higher female labour force participation (total fertility rate).

A smaller strand of the literature proxies gender norms by exploring male satisfaction in marriages; Butikofer (2013) finds that husband satisfaction is negatively affected by having a wife who works and contributes to household income, but only in the case where the husband was raised in a traditional family where the mother did not work. Similar findings are reported by Bonke (2008) and Bonke and Browning (2009). This provides evidence that gender socialisation at the family level, and at a young age, is crucial in determining lifelong gender norms. One of the few papers that investigate the relationship betweem parental and child stated norms is that of Farre and Vella (2013). Using data on mother-child pairs, this study finds that children's attitudes towards gender roles are affected by the attitudes of their mothers. In line with the previous findings, they also find a positive association between boys' attitudes during childhood and their future wives' labour supply in adulthood.

Lastly, a different literature investigates the relation between gender norms and educational outcomes. Gonzales de San Roman and de la Rica Goiricelaya (2012) focus on the cross-country gender gap in test scores revealed by PISA data. They find gender norms to be an important determinant; girls perform better when their mother is participating in the labour market. In a different setting, Blunch and Das (2014) show that increased access to education for girls explains much of the rise in egalitarian views towards female access to education in Bangladesh. Similarly, employing data from 157 countries, Cooray and Potrafke (2010) find conservative culture and religion to be the primary obstacle towards gender equality in education.

While these studies shed light on the effects of culture on education and labour market outcomes, they all suffer from one important limitation; they do not fully capture the essence of the gender norm under consideration (for the reasons explained in the Introduction). What the literature is lacking is an explanation of *how* these beliefs are developed and propagated, and this is the gap that our paper is looking to fill by focusing on the gender socialisation process.

3   The Theoretical Framework

3.1   The socialisation process

Children develop gender norms through socialisation (Epstein and Ward 2011; etc.). Social psychology identifies two main sources of socialisation: the family (vertical socialisation) and society at large (horizontal socialisation). Children acquire norms by interacting with and observing the particular behaviours or beliefs of these two social institutions.

Parents are altruistic towards their children. They have preferences over the norms their child develops. In particular, they aim to socialise their children to their own beliefs. Parents choose how much effort to exert in order to increase the probability that vertical socialisation is succesful. Children learn from parents what the appropriate gender norms are by observing the roles of each parent. In particular, by observing who is responsible for taking care of the child and who is the breadwinner. Moreover, they learn their parents' opinions through direct discussion and expression of their beliefs.

Since the family is the only institution a child is exposed to during the first years in life, vertical socialisation takes place first. As children become older and start to interact with a wider social circle, they also get exposed to what society at large deems to be the appropriate role of women. The primary sources of horizontal socialisation are the child's school, peer group, and exposure to social norms through mass media.

Each child has an idiosyncratic preference for conforming to the family and society. Preferences for conformity depend not only on individual characteristics, but also on the probability that family socialisation was succesful. This in turn will depend on the effort exerted by parents.

Having learnt what the family and society believe to be the appropriate gender roles, the child chooses her own gender values. In doing so, the child takes into account that there is a cost of deviating from these norms. This can be thought of as a psychological cost of interacting with others who do not share the same values or beliefs, and arises from self-image concerns, i.e. concerns about how personal beliefs will be judged by others. The stronger the preference for conformity, the higher the cost of deviating from the prescribed norms will be.

3.2 Formalising the socialisation process

Each child can be thought as having the following utility function[4]:

$$U = -\frac{1}{2}(1-q)(x-x_0)^2 - \frac{1}{2}q\left[c_F(p_F, Z)(x-x_F)^2 + c_S(p_F, Z)(x-x_S)^2\right] \quad (1)$$

where:

$q \in [0,1]$ is the importance of self-image to the child
$x \in [0,1]$ represents the child's choice; larger values indicate more traditional beliefs
$x_0 \in [0,1]$ is the child's belief in the absence of self-image concerns
$x_F \in [0,1]$ is the child's family norm; larger values indicate more traditional beliefs
$x_S \in [0,1]$ is society's norm; larger values indicate more traditional beliefs
$c_F \in [0,1]$ is how strongly the child wants to conform to the family
$c_S \in [0,1]$ is how strongly the child wants to conform to the society
$p_F \in [0,1]$ is the probability that family socialisation is succesful
Z is a vector of family and child characteristics affecting preferences for conformity

The larger the distance between the child's belief (x) and that of the family's (x_F) and society's (x_S), the larger is the psychological cost. This cost is increasing in the preference for conformity to the family (c_F) and society (c_S). If the child does not want to conform to institution j, where $j = \{F, S\}$, then $c_j = 0$ and so there is no cost of deviating from $j's$ norm, x_j. Moreover, the cost of deviation from either x_F or x_S depends on how much an individual cares about her self-image, q. If $q = 0$, self-image is unimportant and so there is no cost of interacting with others; the child then simply chooses x_0, some belief about gender roles that will be unnaffected by how she anticipates her beliefs to interact with those of her family and society. The resulting optimal belief is the following:

$$x^* = \underset{x}{argmax}\, U = x(q, x_0, x_F, x_S, p_F, Z) = \frac{(1-q)x_0 + q\left(c_F x_F + c_S x_S\right)}{(1-q) + q\left(c_F + c_S\right)} \quad (2)$$

3.3 Some Key Predictions

The model gives some straightforward predictions. The optimal strength of a child's belief in traditional values, x^*, is strictly increasing in x_j, as long as $q \neq 0$ and $c_j \neq 0$. The intuition is simple; if the child cares about her self-image and is not totally 'non-conformist', then an increase in x_j will increase the distance between the child's and $j's$ norm. To counteract this increase in the psychological cost, the rational response is to move closer to x_j by increasing x^*.

The more interesting case is the change in x^* due to a change in c_j. Consider the scenario of a stronger preference for conformity to the family (an increase in c_F)[5]. The prediction now is slightly more involved. From (2), we find:

$$\frac{\partial x^*}{\partial c_F} = \frac{(1-q)(x_F - x_0) + qc_S\left(x_F - x_S\right)}{\left[(1-q) + q\left(c_F + c_S\right)\right]^2} \quad (3)$$

Without imposing restrictions, an increase in c_F can lead to an increase, decrease, or no change in x^*. As will be shown in Section 5.1, the social norm in England regarding the role of mothers with young children is very conservative, while in the empirical framework (Section 4), the family norm will be constructed to represent very modern views. Thus, without loss of generality, we can

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[4]Subscript i for each individual has been dropped to avoid cluttering.
[5]The analogous result holds for the case of an increase in preference for conformity to society.

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model these norms by setting $x_F = 0$ and $x_S = 1$. Given these restrictions, we find that a stronger preference for conforming to the family's norm leads to a decrease in x^*. The intuition comes from the fact that a higher value of x^* implies a more conservative belief. Given that we have imposed the condition $x_F < x_S$, the more a child wants to conform to her family's relatively more modern norm, the more she has to differentiate herself from the conservative social norm and align herself with the modern family norm. This prediction will be useful in interpreting between-sex heterogeneity in the effect of the family norm in Section 6.3, by exploring differences in preferences for conformity to the family.

4 The Empirical Framework

Our aim is to estimate $x^* = x(q, x_0, x_F, x_S, p_F, Z)$. The Next Steps survey provides data on children's gender norms through responses to the following question: "*Women should never work full-time when they have young children. Do you agree with this statement?*" Stating that a woman should *never* work full-time if she has dependent children reflects a very traditional view of gender roles; within the language of our model, this would mean $x^* = 1$. Using this, we can define our outcome variable, capturing children's norms, as follows:

$$Traditional\ Norm = \begin{cases} 1 & if\ Agree\ (x^* = 1) \\ 0 & if\ Disagree\ (x^* < 1) \end{cases}$$

As our aim is to examine the intergenerational transmission of gender norms, we have to assess how succesful vertical and horizontal gender socialisation is. Since the children in our survey are from England, they are all exposed to the same social norm. The variation we are interested in will therefore come from differences in family norms. Since we are particularly interested in examining the development of children's norms when the family and social norm are oppositional to each other, we must define the family norm in a way that translates into our model as $x_F = 0$. We do so using the following definition:

$$Modern\ Family = \begin{cases} 1 & if\ Mother\ Earns\ More \\ 0 & otherwise \end{cases}$$

We thus want to find the effect of living in a modern family but a traditional society (evidence of this shown in Section 5.1) on the development of gender norms in children. To do so, we can estimate the following baseline model:

$$Pr(Traditional\ Norm)_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 Modern\ Family_i + \varepsilon_i \tag{4}$$

However, as we are particularly interested in testing for between-sex heterogeneity in gender socialisation, (while also accounting for a range of possible confounding factors), we will focus on the following extension of the baseline case:

$$Pr(Traditional\ Norm)_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Modern\ Family_i + \beta_2 Female_i + \beta_3 Modern\ Family_i \times Female_i + Z_i' \zeta + u_i \tag{5}$$

This will be estimated using linear probability, probit and logit models to ensure that findings are robust to alternative specifications of our binary reponse model.

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5 Data

5.1 The Social Norm

What is the social norm that the children in our sample are exposed to? It has been stated in previous sections that it is very traditional; here we show the evidence. We use information from the International Social Survey Programme, which collects data internationally on a broad range of social science issues. Questions on gender norms are included in the 1988, 1994, 2002 and 2012 surveys. The 2002 survey was chosen, since this is the period that coincides with our Next Steps survey, with children in our sample aged between 15-16 at the time. The ISSP 2002 contains data from a representative sample of 1,960 observations from the UK. The survey asks the following four questions on the gender norm examined in this paper:

"Do you think that women should work outside the home full-time, part-time, or should stay at home when they are married and. . ."

1. *". . . have no children"*

2. *". . . have a child under school age"*

3. *". . . the youngest child is still in school"*

4. *". . . children have left the home"*

Questions 2 and 3 address the role of women in families with dependent children, while questions 1 and 4 without dependents. Figure 4 shows the responses to each question. As shown by Figure 4a, the overwhelming majority holds egalitarian views in the case when women have no children; 88% believe that women should work full time, while nearly none (2%) state that women should stay at home. However, when the same questions are asked for the case where women have children under school age (Figure 4b), responses are diametrically opposite. Now, just a mere 4% believe that women should work full-time; the majority (57%) state women should not work at all, while 39% state they should work only part-time. This huge drop from 88% to 4% is telling, and highlights how traditional the social norm in the UK really is; there is a strong prescription that it is the role of the mother to reduce her labour supply in order to take care of the children. Figure 4c shows response rates for the case where the youngest child of a family is still in school. Again, we find that only a small minority (17%) believe that women should work full-time; most (76%) state that women should work part-time. Surprisingly, even when the children have left the home and hence families have no dependents (Figure 4d), the proportion of people stating that women in such a case should work full-time does not return to the level observed in the case of having no children. Although working full-time becomes again the belief of the majority (75%), it is still significantly below 88%. Overall, the evidence shows that gender norms in UK's society are very traditional.

Could this finding be driven by very traditionally minded males or elderly? Figure 5 breaks the responses down by the respondent's sex, and Figure 6 by age group. Results are very robust. Response rates are very similar between males and females, both in terms of absolute numbers, and in terms of the pattern of changes in response rates between each sub-question. The same holds in the case of age-subgroups; what is interesting to note is that the 65+ group is more traditional than the younger groups. Results confirm the finding of a traditional gender norm in UK's society, and show that it is robust to respondent sex and age heterogeneity.

Figure 4: Social Norms

(a) Women with no children should work...?
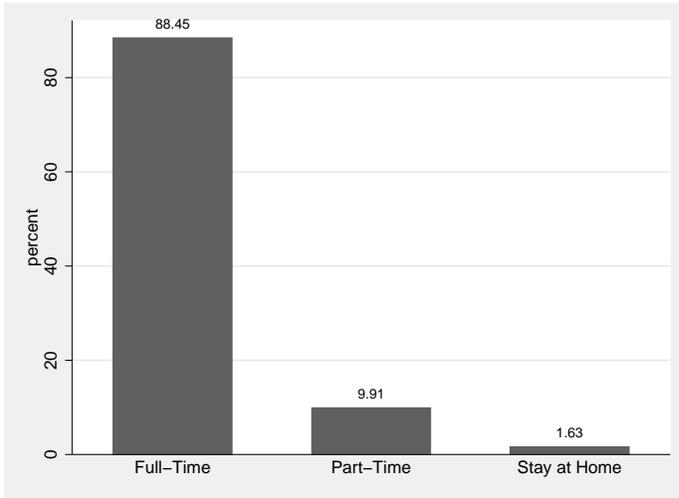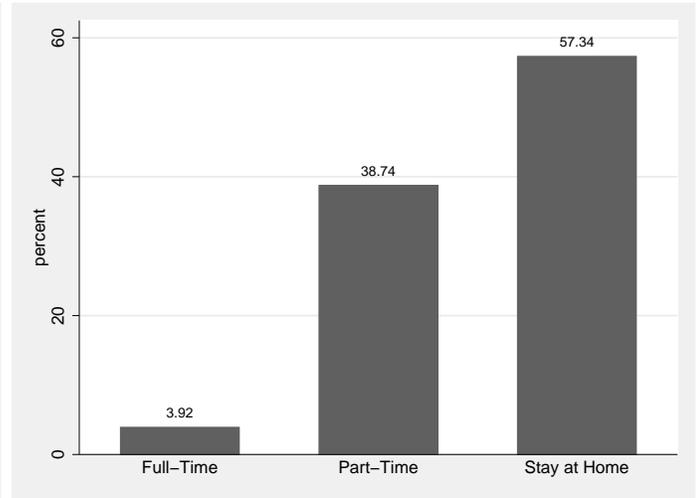
(b) Women with children under school age should work...?

(c) Women with children still in school should work...?
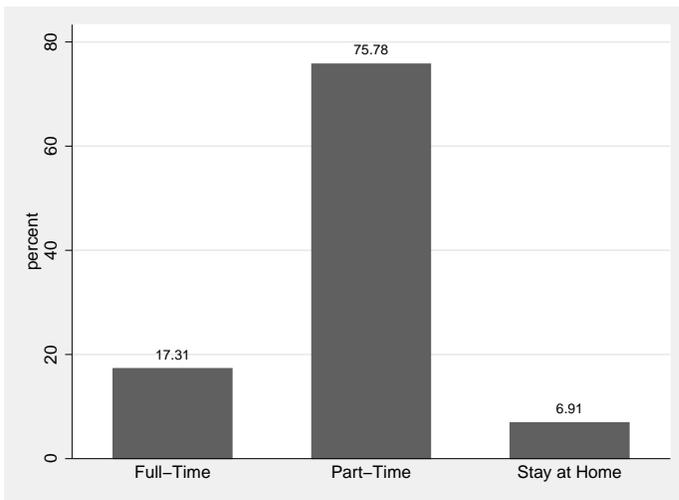
(d) Women whose children left home should work...?
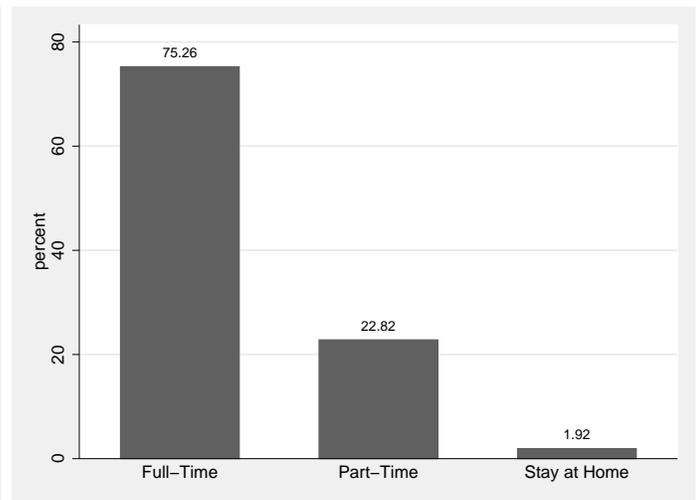
Figure 5: Social Norms, by Sex of Respondent

(a) Women with no children should work...?
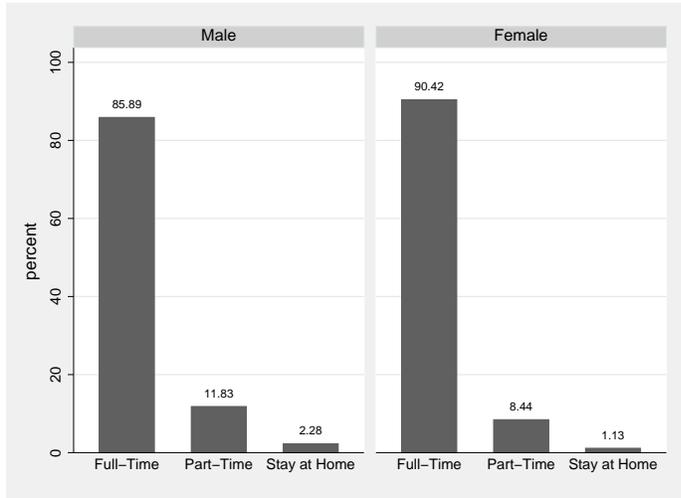
(b) Women with children under school age should work...?
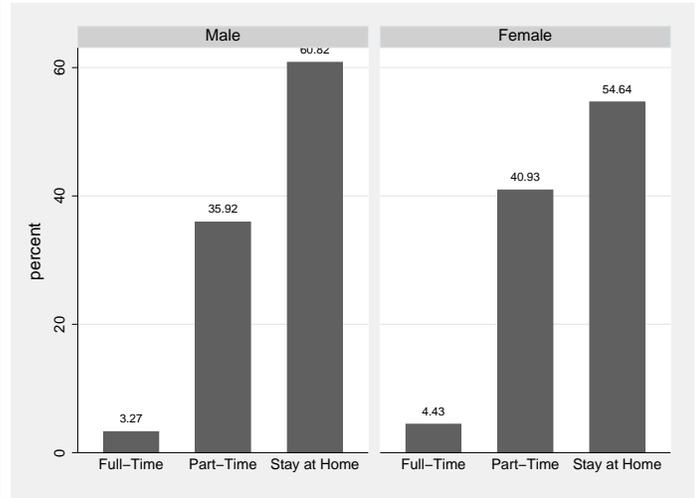
(c) Women with children still in school should work...?
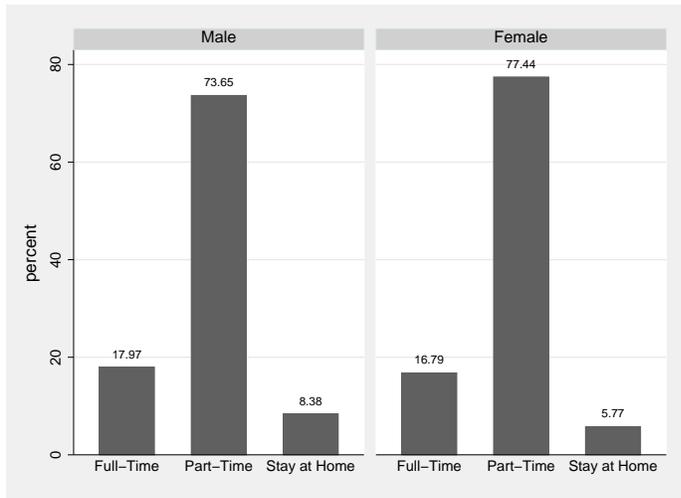
(d) Women whose children left home should work...?
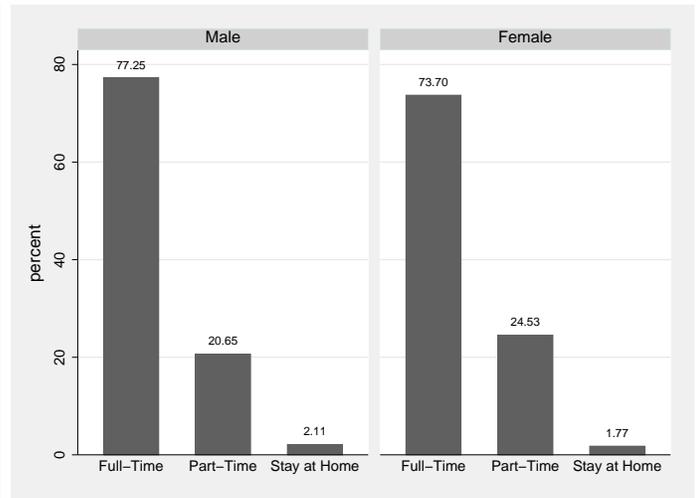
Figure 6: Social Norms, by Age of Respondent

(a) Women with no children should work...?
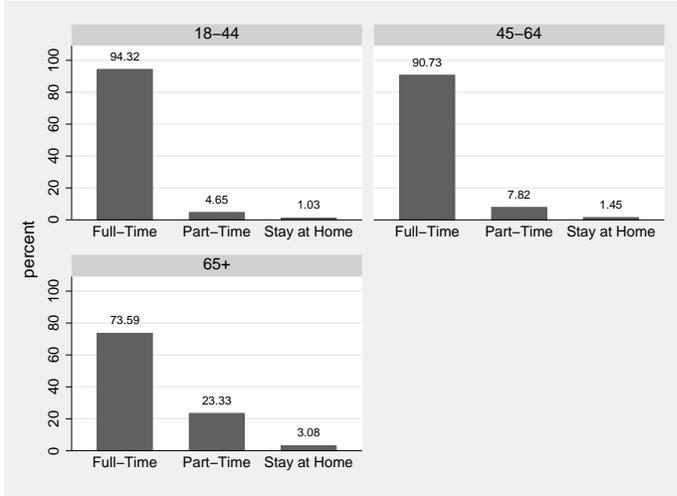
(b) Women with children under school age should work...?

(c) Women with children still in school should work...?

(d) Women whose children left home should work...?

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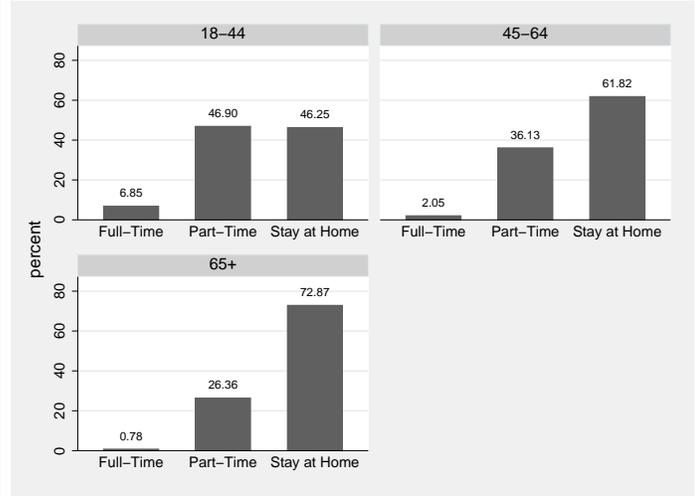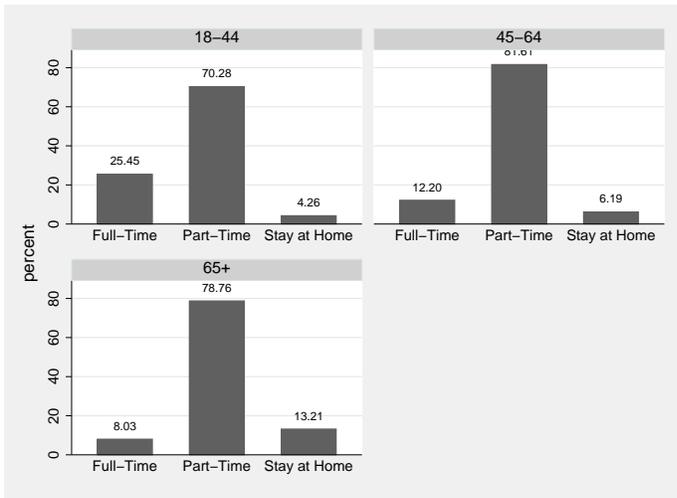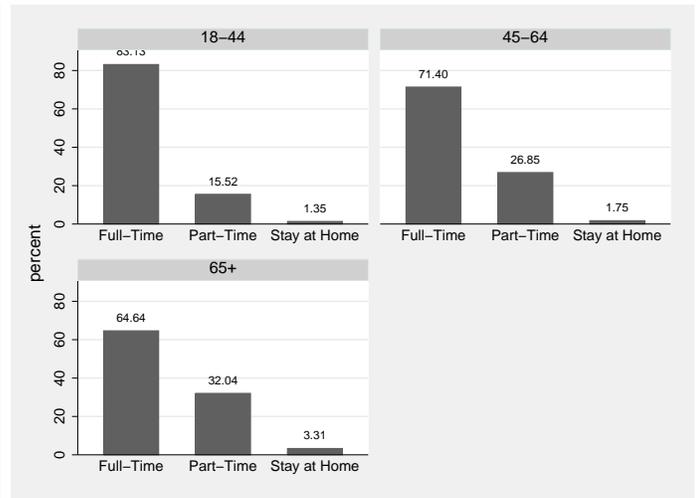
5.2 The Next Steps Survey

The data used to estimate (2) come from the Next Steps survey. Next Steps follows a nationally representative cohort of 15,500 individuals born in England in 1989-90. The first wave of data collection took place in 2004, when cohort members were attending Year 9 and were aged 13-14. The survey consists of a total of seven waves, with data collected annually between 2004-2010. This dataset is particularly suitable for analysing the intergenerational transmission of gender norms; not only does it contain rich information on an extensive range of child and family characteristics (importantly, income for each parent), but also includes specific questions on gender norms that are not commonly found in surveys. As is the case with all surveys, Next Steps also suffers from unit and item non-response. As a consequence, the estimation sample is restricted to the 2,064 cohort-members for whom there is no missing information on the variables of interest.

5.3 Choice of Variables

5.3.1 Main Variables of Interest

The outcome variable of interest is 'Traditional Norm.' It is a binary variable derived from the responses to the question *"Women should never work full-time when they have young children. Do you agree with this statement?"* as explained in Section 4. Responses to this question are taken from the 2010 wave. The timing is ideal as it is asked at an age by which the socialisation of children has been completed; we thus avoid ascribing norms to possibly 'transitory' beliefs. The main independent variable will be a dummy named 'Modern Family,' as defined in Section 4. In our sample, 13.5% of children live in modern families (i.e. the mothers are the breadwinners), while 32.9% of them hold traditional gender norms. 'Modern Family' is derived from data on gross earnings of the father and mother of each child, from 2004. While data on incomes exists for years 2004-2007, the 2004 wave was chosen in order to minimise the amount of lost observations due to item non-response[6].

5.3.2 Control Variables

A vast range of control variables is included in the regressions. The aim is to control for all variables that are potentially correlated with both the child expressing traditional norms and living in a family where the mother earns more. A detailed list of all variables used in the regression analysis is presented in Table 1[7], with the associated descriptions and summary statistics. The variables can be grouped into four categories: family, child and geographical characteristics, and proxies for parental socialisation effort.

The family characteristics that are of immediate concern are cultural and socio-economic attributes. A key variable is parental religion. Religion defines what the appropriate behaviour of individuals are in society, including gender roles, and this can affect both the parental relative labour supply and income, and the way parents socialise their children (Guiso et al. 2003; Lehrer 1995). Further, evidence (Guiso et al. 2003; Heineck 2004) shows that this depends on how important religion is to the parents' way of life; more religious parents are more likely to conform to the gender roles prescribed by their belief than non-practising individuals.

Family structure is also important; evidence shows that marital status (Parker and Wang 2013) affects parents' beliefs about the ideal relative labour supply. This may not only affect relative earnings, but also the family values that are passed on to children. Growing up in a 'non-conventional'

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[6]Data on employment changes during the succeeding waves will be used to ensure that using income from just one wave does not depend on transitory income, and hence reflects permanent income.

[7]Due to their size, all tables are presented at the end of the document.

family of unmarried parents may also affect how social norms are viewed by children, thereby affecting their preference for conformity to them. Evidence of this is found by Hognas and Carlson (2012), who show that children raised by cohabiting parents have a higher likelihood of non-marital childbearing in adulthood. Besides marital status, step-parenthood can affect child norm development, in two main ways. First, family socialisation may be less successful in families with a non-biological parent. Step-parents may have marginalised roles in the family, affecting the efficacy of exposing the children to the desired gender roles, particularly when biological ties, rather than gender, is what determines how roles are assigned (Keshet 2001). Moreover, as with having non-married parents, living in a 'non-conventional' family can affect the extent to which social norms are considered desirable by the child.

Parental age is another crucial factor. As age increases, so does the probability that a parent is working. Moreover, due to the stylised fact of the U-shaped pattern of lifetime earnings (Polachek 2008), earnings also increase with age for working adults (unless they are close to, or into, retirement). The age of each parent will therefore directly affect the relative family labour supply and income; moreover, family views on gender roles may also change with age (as shown by Figure 6).

Besides age, parental education must also be accounted for. Not only does it increase earnings through higher human capital (Becker 1964) but it can also affect social attitudes; higher education is associated with more liberal social views (Dee 2004; Kanazawa 2010; Stankov 2009). The same holds for social class. Although historically, higher class status has been associated with more conservative beliefs, social class in modern times (as measured by the Goldthorpe scale using occupation types) captures job prestige and is highly correlated with education. Thus, we expect it to have similar effects as education. In line with this reasoning, evidence shows that individuals living in poor areas tend to have more conservative views. Guiso et al. (2003) find that higher income (which is associated with social class, as this is defined by occupation) leads to more liberal views on gender equality.

Further geographic characteristics may also confound our results. The region and type of area (urban versus rural) may affect the employment opportunities and thus relative earnings of mothers; at the same time, areas may vary in how traditional or modern the prevailing local norms are. For instance, larger and more urbanised areas are usually associated with more secular and liberal views (Maneschiold and Haraldsson 2007).

Besides family and geographic characteristics, we also need to account for between-child heterogeneity that may otherwise confound our results. Research shows that ethnicity has an important effect on attitudes towards gender roles (Kane 2000). In particular, whites are more critical of maternal employment, and also consider it more harmful to young children, than non-whites (Dugger 1988). Given that children share the same ethnicity as their parents, this factor can affect both the child's norms directly, and indirectly determine who the parental breadwinner is through its effect on parents' norms. The child's religion and the importance of religion to her life is another important factor, for the same reasons as in the already discussed case of the parents. Further, having caring responsibilities for younger children in the family may also affect children's norms regarding gender roles, while the assignment of such tasks may also be related to division of labour within the household.

Further, child characteristics related to cognitive abilities may also have a confounding effect; research relates higher intelligence to more socially liberal views (Deary et al. 2008). Evidence also shows that low birth weight is associated with development delays and thereby lower intellectual capacity (Ramey et al. 1999). Since our data does not contain objective measures of innate ability, the best way to control for this possible confounder is to control for birth weight. Further proxies are also available in the data, such as whether the child has Special Education Needs, and her score on the General Health (mental health) Questionnaire, which can also be taken into account to control

for cognitive abilities as accurately as possible.

Lastly, as we are interested in examining how successfully parents socialise their children, we should account for an important determinant of success: parental effort in socialisation. While no perfect measure exists, a range of appropriate proxies available in the dataset have been selected. These are described in detail in Table 1. These variables seek to proxy the extent to which a parent has control over, or is involved in, the child's life; the inclusion of such proxies was motivated by studies showing how parental involvement has a direct effect on children's norms (Bem 1985; Cooksey and Fondell 1996).

6 Results

6.1 Main Results

Table 2 presents the main results. Column (1) shows the estimates from a linear probability model where we regress our dependent variable on the two main variables of interest: a dummy for whether the mother is the breadwinner, and a dummy for the child being female. This baseline regression shows that firstly, children living in modern families are 3.1% points less likely to develop traditional norms, and secondly, females are 10.9% points less likely to express traditional views, irrespective of whether their family is traditional or modern.

As these results may be driven by omitted variable bias, the regression is re-estimated after introducing a wide range of controls (Column 2). To investigate between-sex heterogeneity in the effect of family norms, an interaction term is also introduced. Despite the vast range of controls, results are quite stable. Children in modern families are still less likely to develop traditional norms, by 2.8% points instead of 3.1% points. For females, this likelihood changes from 10.9% points to 13.4% points. Interestingly, the coefficient of the interaction term is positive and statistically significant. Although girls are on average less likely to express traditional views, those who live in modern families are actually 6% points more likely to express traditional views than girls living in traditional families. In other words, vertical socialisation through the family is more successful for boys than girls. Girls react to the family norm when it is in opposition to the social norm, and are more likely to adopt the latter instead.

Which background characteristics are associated with developing more traditional views? We find that all categories of covariates introduced in (2) affect children's norms. Starting with parental characteristics, we find that children whose male parent is also their biological father are 19% points less likely to express traditional norms. One may have expected the opposite; i.e. that modern families in the non-married, cohabiting sense, should promote more modern gender norms. Further, the age of each parent is highly significant (at the 1% level), however its economic significance is negligible to have any meaningful interpretation, due to the tiny coefficient sizes.

An important parental characteristic that serves as a proxy for culture is religion. We find that the likelihood of children developing traditional norms is higher for those living in families where parents have a religious affiliation. This was expected, since religion is associated with traditional world-views and is line with previous findings (Guiso et al. 2003). The only exception is that having a Buddhist mother reduces the likelihood of traditional child norms. This is not surprising given the importance of gender equality in Buddhism. What is surprising is that having a Buddhist father leads to the opposite effect; this may be because Buddhist males living in a non-Buddhist society may be more prone to conforming to societal norms. Moreover, male Buddhists may be placing less emphasis on the aspect of gender roles in Buddhism and more emphasis on other aspects, while female Buddhists may act in the opposite way.

Beyond the effect of particular religions, children living in families where parents state (any)

religion to be important to their way of life are 5.3% points more likely to express traditional views than in families where religion is not important, in line with previous research (Guiso et al. 2003). The effects of parental socio-economic characteristics also confirm previous findings (Dee 2004; Kanazawa 2010; Stankov 2009). The likelihood of developing traditional norms is higher among children of parents with both lower education and lower socio-economic class. This is also true for children living in poorer areas[8]. The results therefore show that growing up in a higher-status environment promotes more equal gender norms.

Next we consider child characteristics, starting with ethnicity. Compared to whites, children of all other ethnicities are less likely to develop traditional norms, confirming earlier research findings (Dugger 1988). The only exception is the black African category, though the effect of belonging to this group becomes statistically insignificant when further controls are introduced (Columns 3-5). As with parents, children who state that religion is important to their way of life are more likely to develop traditional norms by 7.9% points. Moreover, compared to the non-religious, the likelihood of traditional norms is lower for Buddhist, Hindu and Jewish children, but higher for Muslim children. Comparing these findings to the effects of the parents' religious views on child norms, it appears that the impact of children's religious beliefs on their gender norms is more in line with the impact of their mother's rather than their father's beliefs. Further, we also find that children with higher birth weight are less likely to develop traditional norms, giving support to the findings of Deary et al. (2009) and Ramey et al. (1999) on the positive relation between birth weight, cognitive ability and socially liberal views. Mental health and Special Education Needs have no effect.

Last, we consider a range of controls proxying for parental socialisation effort. The general finding is that parents exerting more 'control' over their children also have more traditionally minded children. The likelihood of traditional gender norms is higher for children of parents who keep track of where their children are when they are away from home, and of those who set curfews frequently. To the extent that family socialisation is successful, results are broadly consistent with the findings of Bem (1985) that parents who are more flexible and less strict with their children also hold more modern views.

There is an important concern with the approach of our previous analysis. As the dummy for the mother being the breadwinner is taken from just one wave, it may be affected by transitory income and not reflect the true earnings trajectory of the family. To account for this, the specification in Column (3) controls for whether the employment status of the mother and father has stayed the same over all the waves for which employment data exists (waves 1-4). The results are virtually unchanged, providing support that our previous estimates were not affected by this potentially confounding factor. Albeit small, the only noticeable change amongst the main variables of interest is that of the coefficient of the modern family, which becomes slightly more negative (the marginal effect changes from -2.8% points to -3.5% points). Controlling for stable employment status trajectories corrected an upward bias caused by their omission, which is intuitive; the more permanent the division of income in the family is, the more permanent the family type (modern versus traditional) is and the stronger is its effect on the norm development of children.

Another interesting result arising from controlling for employment trajectories is that, while this left the coefficient of the interaction virtually unchanged, it raised its statistical significance from the 10% to the 5% level. This suggests that parental employment trajectories are not correlated with being a female in a modern family, but explain enough variation in the dependent variable (as confirmed by their high statistical significance) that their inclusion improves the precision of coefficient estimates of other variables. Concerning the employment status variables themselves, we

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[8]This is indicated by the significance of the coefficients of the IDACI and IMD ranks. Note that the fact that these variables have opposite signs is not contradicting: a higher IDACI rank indicates a richer area, while a higher IMD rank indicates a poorer area.

find divergent results for each parent; while a stable father trajectory leads to less traditional norms, the opposite holds for stable mother trajectories. These opposite effects are evidence that children do not consider the labour supply of their parents to be perfect substitutes; parental labour supply is hence not gender-neutral in children's eyes and has strong implications for the development of childrens' gender norms.

Despite these controls however, there could still be some further confounding variables not accounted for. For instance, it may be that children's gender norms are actually affected by parental differences in either education or job status, and this may be driving the effects we observe. To rule this out, these factors are in turn controlled for, with results shown in Columns (4) and (5) respectively. Findings show that there is no effect of the mother having either higher education or job status; the mother being the breadwinner is still what matters. Again, estimated coefficients remain unchanged. To check that our results are not driven by imposing a linear probability model, all regressions are re-estimated using a probit and logit specification. Results are shown in Tables 3 and 4. The estimated coefficients are nearly identical across all three approaches and are hence robust to specifying different probability models.

6.2 Other Outcomes Related to Gender Norms

As an extension, we now consider two further outcomes associated with gender norms. They are derived from the following survey questions: *"Do you agree that having a job that pays well is important?"* (asked in wave 1) and *"Would you like to study for a science degree at university?"* (asked in wave 3). Both are coded as binary variables (Yes versus No). The first question is related to gender norms because it captures how children envisage their financial independence in adulthood. For example, if children have traditional norms, then we should see boys agreeing that high earnings are important due to their future role as breadwinners. Similarly, girls with traditional norms, expecting their spouses to be their family's breadwinner, should be placing less importance on high future earnings. The second question is related to the well-known educational gender gap in science (and STEM subjects more generally) (OECD 2012). In fact, a significant proportion of the gender pay gap among university graduates can be attributed to gender gaps in entry into science degrees (Brown and Cororan 1997; Hunt et al. 2012; Weinberger 1999). The sciences have diachronically been considered as 'masculine' disciplines and have led to stereotypes about the appropriate degrees and thereby professions for each gender. It thus becomes important to examine whether family socialisation exacerbates this phenomenon by also propagating traditional gender norms in this dimension. To examine the effect of family socialisation on these outcomes, we estimate the following model, where Z is a vector consisting of the full array of controls used in specification (5) of Tables 2-4:

$$Pr(Other\ Outcome)_i = \gamma_0 + \gamma_1 Modern\ Family_i + \gamma_2 Female_i + \gamma_3 Modern\ Family_i \times Female_i + Z_i^{'}\xi + v_i \quad (6)$$

This is estimated in turn for each of these two additional outcomes. Results are shown in Table 5, and confirm our previous findings. Girls are less likely than boys to believe that high earnings are important. They are also less likely to aspire to study science at university. Furthermore, living in a modern family exacerbates these effects for girls. Compared to girls living in a traditional family, girls growing up in a modern family are even less likely to value either of these two male-oriented outcomes. Based on our linear probability model, they are 2.2% points less likely to value high future earnings, and 18.4% points less likely to desire to pursue education in the sciences. Results are again robust to alternative probability model specifications.

6.3 Preference for Conformity to the Family's Norm

Overall, the main findings from our empirical exercise are that, firstly, children living in modern families are less likely to develop traditional norms compared to their peers living in traditional families. Secondly, girls are less likely to develop traditional norms compared to boys. Thirdly and most interestingly, girls growing up in modern families are more likely to develop traditional norms, compared to girls growing up in traditional families. These results now beg the question: why are girls brought up in modern families more likely to reject their family norm and develop traditional norms instead? One key parameter in our model that can help answer the question is preference for conformity to the family. Section 3.3 explained how our model predicts that, when the family norm is more liberal than the social norm, a stronger preference for conformity to the family implies the development of relatively more modern norms. In the same way, a weaker preference for conformity to the family should then imply less modern norms, i.e. more traditional norms, which is what we observe for girls. Could a higher preference for conformity to the family's norm therefore explain our results? To test the prediction of our model, we run the following regression:

$$Pr(Conformity\,to\,Family)_i = \delta_0 + \delta_1 Modern\,Family_i + \delta_2 Female_i + \delta_3 Modern\,Family_i \times Female_i + Z_i^{'}\phi + \eta_i \quad (7)$$

Two measures of conformity to the family are explored. The first comes from the fifth wave, at a point in time when individuals had chosen what subject to pursue at university. The particular measure we will exploit is agreement to the statement *"I chose what to study based on what my parents wanted."* The second is a measure of whether children obey the curfew set by their parents, and is available from 2004 wave. Both are constructed as binary (Yes versus No) variables.

Table 6 shows the results. The findings support the model predictions; the coefficient on the interaction term is negative and highly statistically significant in both cases, and robust to alternative probability model specifications. We therefore indeed find that girls in modern families are less conformist to the family than girls in traditional families.

7 Conclusion

This paper examined the intergenerational transmission of gender norms using data from the English Next Steps survey and the International Social Survey Programme. The particular gender norm under consideration was the traditional view that it is the role of the mother to look after young children and the role of the father to be the breadwinner. By showing evidence that the social norm in England is very traditional, this study examined the effect of living in a traditional society but modern family (where the mother is the breadwinner) on the development of children's gender norms. Findings revealed between-sex heterogeneity in the transmission of gender norms from parents to children. While boys raised in modern families (i.e. where the mother is the breadwinner) are less likely to develop traditional norms, girls raised in modern families are actually more likely to do so; in opposition to their family's but in line with society's norm. Examining further outcomes associated with gender norms, we found that girls raised in modern families are also less likely to state that being able to earn high wages is important for them, and are less likely to be interested in pursuing a science degree at university level. A theoretical model of the gender socialisation process was presented, showing how between-sex heterogeneity in preferences for conformity to the family can explain our findings. Evidence was presented supporting our theoretical prediction.

The study reveals that horizontal socialisation is very important for the development of girls' gender norms. In fact, it is so strong that it leads to 'reactionary' behaviour by girls when their family violates the traditional social norm. If we are interested in reducing gender inequalities

by promoting more modern gender norms, we must therefore focus on changing the social norm. Teenage girls get exposed to social norms through the mass media and through schools. Policy must therefore address how gender norms are portrayed in the media, but more importantly must focus on the role of schools and teachers in transmitting social norms to children. Initiatives must be taken to promote gender equality through the school system. Moreover, a critical assessment of the role of single-sex schools, and single-sex classes in otherwise mixed schools, is necessary. While advocates argue that they enable girls to avoid being victims of gender stereotypes and traditional norms (Kessels and Hannover 2010), their very existence may be achieving just that - by legitimising the view that boys and girls are inherently unequal.

Given the evidence for the importance of between-sex heterogeneity in preferences for conformity to the family, the next step for future research is to investigate why this heterogeneity in conformity preferences exists. Another interesting avenue for future research will be to investigate gender norm matches in the marriage market, and in particular, whose norm prevails in a marriage where norms are oppositional.

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Tables

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Table 1: Summary Statistics

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Variables	Description	Mean	St. Dev.
Main Variables of Interest			
Modern Family	1 if mother earns more than father	0.135	0.341
Traditional Norm	1 if child believes women with young children should never work full-time	0.329	0.470
High Wage Important	1 if child believes earning a high wage is important	0.633	0.482
Study Science	1 if child wants to pursue a science degree at university level	0.510	0.492
Family Characteristics			
Father is Biological	1 if male parent is biological father	0.993	0.085
Mother is Biological	1 if female parent is biological mother	0.888	0.315
Parents are Not Married	1 if parents are not married	0.082	0.274
Father's Age	Male parent's age in years	42.870	5.919
Mother's Age	Female parent's age in years	44.208	6.409
Religion Important to Parents	1 if parents state that religion is important to their way of life	0.558	0.497
Father's Religion: None	1 if father does not have a religion	0.180	0.384
Father's Religion: Christian	1 if father is Christian	0.665	0.472
Father's Religion: Buddhist	1 if father is Buddhist	0.002	0.045
Father's Religion: Hindu	1 if father is Hindu	0.028	0.166
Father's Religion: Jewish	1 if father is Jewish	0.003	0.053
Father's Religion: Muslim	1 if father is Muslim	0.097	0.296
Father's Religion: Sikh	1 if father is Sikh	0.017	0.129
Mother's Religion: None	1 if mother does not have a religion	0.231	0.421
Mother's Religion: Christian	1 if mother is Christian	0.613	0.487
Mother's Religion: Buddhist	1 if mother is Buddhist	0.002	0.040
Mother's Religion: Hindu	1 if mother is Hindu	0.029	0.168
Mother's Religion: Jewish	1 if mother is Jewish	0.002	0.045
Mother's Religion: Muslim	1 if mother is Muslim	0.099	0.298
Mother's Religion: Sikh	1 if mother is Sikh	0.017	0.128
Family Education: Degree	1 if highest education between parents is university degree level or higher	0.231	0.422
Family Education: Below Degree	1 if highest education between parents is higher education below degree level	0.186	0.389
Family Education: GCE A Level	1 if highest education between parents is GCE A Level or equivalent	0.194	0.395
Family Education: GCSE	1 if highest education between parents is GCSE level grades A-C, or equivalent	0.243	0.429
Family Education: Level 1	1 if highest education between parents is at level 1 or below	0.044	0.205
Family Education: Other	1 if highest education between parents is informal/undefined	0.008	0.087
Family Education: None	1 if neither parent has any education qualifications	0.095	0.293
Father's Social Class: Higher Mang.	1 if father's occupation is 'Higher Managerial or Professional'	0.075	0.264
Father's Social Class: Lower Mang.	1 if father's occupation is 'Lower Managerial or Professional'	0.288	0.453
Father's Social Class: Intermediate	1 if father's occupation is 'Intermediate'	0.150	0.357
Father's Social Class: Small Employer	1 if father's occupation is 'Small Employer/Own Accounts Worker'	0.040	0.196

Variables	Description	Mean	St. Dev.
Father's Social Class: Lower Supervisor	1 if father's occupation is 'Lower Supervisory/Technical'	0.085	0.279
Father's Social Class: Semi-Routine	1 if father's occupation is 'Semi-Routine'	0.200	0.400
Father's Social Class: Routine	1 if father's occupation is 'Routine'	0.105	0.307
Father's Social Class: Long-Term u/e	1 if father is long-term unemployed/never worked	0.056	0.231
Mother's Social Class: Higher Mang.	1 if mother's occupation is 'Higher Managerial or Professional'	0.160	0.367
Mother's Social Class: Lower Mang.	1 if mother's occupation is 'Lower Managerial or Professional'	0.245	0.430
Mother's Social Class: Intermediate	1 if mother's occupation is 'Intermediate'	0.063	0.244
Mother's Social Class: Small Employer	1 if mother's occupation is 'Small Employer/Own Accounts Worker'	0.085	0.279
Mother's Social Class: Lower Supervisor	1 if mother's occupation is 'Lower Supervisory/Technical'	0.142	0.349
Mother's Social Class: Semi-Routine	1 if mother's occupation is 'Semi-Routine'	0.099	0.299
Mother's Social Class: Routine	1 if mother's occupation is 'Routine'	0.128	0.334
Mother's Social Class: Long-Term u/e	1 if mother is long-term unemployed/never worked	0.078	0.269
IDACI rank	Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index rank, defined at local super output area. range:0-1	0.187	0.169
IMD Rank	Index of Multiple Deprivation rank, defined at local super output area. range:0-100	20.974	16.298
Mother More Educated	1 if mother has higher level of education than father	0.292	0.455
Mother Higher Job Status	1 if mother has higher job status level than father	0.506	0.500
Father Employment Stable	1 if father did not change employment status between waves1-4	0.986	0.115
Mother Employment Stable	1 if mother did not change employment status between waves1-4	0.992	0.086
Child Characteristics			
Child Sex	1 if female	0.501	0.500
Child Ethnicity: White	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is white	0.803	0.398
Child Ethnicity: Mixed	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is mixed	0.028	0.165
Child Ethnicity: Indian	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is indian	0.051	0.219
Child Ethnicity: Pakistani	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is pakistani	0.048	0.214
Child Ethnicity: Bangladeshi	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is bangladeshi	0.030	0.172
Child Ethnicity: Black Caribbean	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is black caribbean	0.008	0.087
Child Ethnicity: Black African	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is black african	0.011	0.102
Child Ethnicity: Other	1 if child's (and hence parents') ethnicity is none of above	0.022	0.145
Religion Important to Child	1 if child states that religion is important to her way of life	0.206	0.405
Child Religion: None	1 if child does not have a religion	0.304	0.460
Child Religion: Christian	1 if child is Christian	0.546	0.498
Child Religion: Buddhist	1 if child is Buddhist	0.001	0.035
Child Religion: Hindu	1 if child is Hindu	0.028	0.166
Child Religion: Jewish	1 if child is Jewish	0.002	0.040
Child Religion: Muslim	1 if child is Muslim	0.097	0.296
Child Religion: Sikh	1 if child is Sikh	0.017	0.131
Caring Responsibiities	1 if Child has Caring Responsibiities for younger children	0.003	0.057
Birth Weight	Child's birth weight in kgs	3.307	0.586
GHQ score	Child's score in General Health Questionnaire (scale 1-12)	1.699	2.503
SEN	1 if child has Special Education Needs		0.035
Parental Socialisation Effort			
Parent Control: Very Strong	1 if parents always know where child is out in evening	0.842	0.365
Parent Control: Srong	1 if parents most times know where child is out in evening	0.132	0.339

Variables	Description	Mean	St. Dev.
Parent Control: Average	1 if parents sometimes know where child is out in evening	0.017	0.131
Parent Control: Weak	1 if parents rarely know where child is out in evening	0.006	0.080
Parent Control: None	1 if parents never know where child is out in evening	0.002	0.040
Family Evenings: 1/week	1 if parents spend evening with child, once a week or more	0.895	0.306
Family Evenings: 2-3/month	1 if parents spend evening with child, 2-3 times per month	0.045	0.207
Family Evenings: 1/month	1 if parents spend evening with child, once a month	0.023	0.150
Family Evenings: 2-3/year	1 if parents spend evening with child, 2-3 times per year	0.005	0.072
Family Evenings: 1/year	1 if parents spend evening with child, once a year	0.002	0.045
Family Evenings: Never	1 if parents never spend evenings with child	0.022	0.146
Family Evenings: Varies	1 if frequency parents spend evenings with child varies ($>$0)	0.008	0.087
Curfew: Always	1 if parents always set curfew for child	0.966	0.180
Curfew: Sometimes	1 if parents sometimes set curfew for child	0.082	0.274
Curfew: Never	1 if parents never set curfew for child	0.006	0.078
Family activities: 1/week	1 if go out together as family, once a week or more	0.361	0.481
Family Activities: 2-3/month	1 if go out together as family, 2-3 times per month	0.307	0.461
Family Activities: 1/month	1 if go out together as family, once a month	0.214	0.410
Family Activities: 2-3/year	1 if go out together as family, 2-3 times per year	0.077	0.267
Family Activities: 1/year	1 if go out together as family, once a year	0.008	0.090
Family Activities: Never	1 if go out together as family, never	0.026	0.160
Family Activities: Varies	1 if go out together as family, frequency varies ($>$0)	0.006	0.075
Talk about School: Never	1 if parents always talk with child about school day	0.049	0.216
Talk about School: Sometimes	1 if parents sometimes talk with child about school day	0.483	0.500
Talk about School: Often	1 if parents never talk to child about school day	0.468	0.499

Conformity

University Decision	1 if university course was chosen by parents	0.159	0.366
Child Curfew	1 if child returns home by time set by parents	0.885	0.073

Geographic Characteristics

Region: North East	1 if child lives in North East	0.055	0.228
Region: North West	1 if child lives in North West	0.135	0.342
Region: Yorkshire and The Humber	1 if child lives in Yorkshire and The Humber	0.111	0.314
Region: East Midlands	1 if child lives in East Midlands	0.096	0.294
Region: West Midlands	1 if child lives in West Midlands	0.124	0.330
Region: East of England	1 if child lives in East of England	0.124	0.330
Region: London	1 if child lives in London	0.100	0.300
Region: South East	1 if child lives in South East	0.153	0.360
Region: South West	1 if child lives in South West	0.102	0.303
Area: Sparce Urban	1 if child lives in sparce urban area	0.001	0.035
Area: Sparce Town and Fringe	1 if child lives in sparce town and fringe area	0.007	0.083
Area: Sparce Village	1 if child lives in sparce village	0.005	0.072
Area: Sparce Hamlet and Isolated Dwelling	1 if child lives in sparce hamlet and isolated dwelling	0.005	0.072
Area: Urban	1 if child lives in urban area	0.785	0.411
Area: Town and Fringe	1 if child lives in town and fringe area	0.093	0.291
Area: Village	1 if child lives in village	0.078	0.269
Area: Hamlet and Isolated Dwelling	1 if child lives in hamlet and isolated dwelling	0.025	0.157

Table 2: LPM. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Modern Family	-0.031*	-0.028**	-0.035**	-0.035***	-0.034**
	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Female	-0.109***	-0.134***	-0.132***	-0.132***	-0.132***
	(0.024)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Modern Family×Female		0.060*	0.059**	0.059**	0.059**
		(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Father Employment: Stable			-0.074**	-0.074**	-0.074**
			(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.027)
Mother Employment: Stable			0.129***	0.129***	0.129***
			(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Mother More Educated				-0.001	-0.001
				(0.008)	(0.008)
Mother Higher Job Status					-0.001
					(0.010)
Biological Father		-0.190***	-0.202***	-0.202***	-0.202***
		(0.048)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.043)
Biological Mother		0.046	0.061	0.061	0.061
		(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.034)
Parents Not Married		0.036	0.060*	0.060*	0.060*
		(0.022)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Father's Age		0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Mother's Age		-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**	-0.004**
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Religion Important to Parents		0.053***	0.054***	0.054***	0.054***
		(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Father's Religion: Christian		-0.072	-0.073	-0.073	-0.073
		(0.088)	(0.105)	(0.104)	(0.105)
Father's Religion: Buddhist		0.711***	0.723***	0.722***	0.722***
		(0.101)	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Father's Religion: Hindu		0.901***	0.922***	0.922***	0.922***
		(0.177)	(0.202)	(0.204)	(0.207)
Father's Religion: Jewish		0.671***	0.691***	0.691***	0.691***
		(0.089)	(0.112)	(0.112)	(0.112)
Father's Religion: Muslim		-0.157	-0.109	-0.109	-0.109
		(0.121)	(0.142)	(0.142)	(0.145)
Father's Religion: Sikh		0.259	0.348*	0.349*	0.350*
		(0.142)	(0.151)	(0.153)	(0.156)
Mother's Religion: Christian		0.143***	0.143***	0.143***	0.143***
		(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Mother's Religion: Buddhist		-0.195***	-0.186***	-0.186***	-0.186***
		(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Mother's Religion: Hindu		-0.014	-0.023	-0.023	-0.023
		(0.029)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.023)
Mother's Religion: Jewish		0.075	0.076	0.075	0.075

Table 2: LPM. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.049)	(0.048)
Mother's Religion: Muslim		0.120***	0.138***	0.138***	0.138***
		(0.022)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Family Education: Below Degree		-0.012	-0.009	-0.009	-0.009
		(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Family Education: GCE A Level		-0.004	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
		(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Family Education: GCSE		0.027	0.033	0.033	0.033
		(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Family Education: Level 1		0.094*	0.099*	0.099*	0.099*
		(0.042)	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.047)
Family Education: Other		0.165***	0.165***	0.166***	0.165***
		(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.024)
Family Education: None		0.015	0.027	0.027	0.027
		(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Father Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.024	0.021	0.021	0.021
		(0.024)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Father Social Class: Intermediate		0.037*	0.032	0.032	0.032*
		(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Father Social Class: Small Employer		0.098***	0.087**	0.087**	0.087**
		(0.025)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Father Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.045	0.048	0.048	0.048
		(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.028)
Father Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.116***	0.108***	0.108***	0.108***
		(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Father Social Class: Routine		0.156***	0.141***	0.141***	0.140***
		(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Father Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.210***	0.200***	0.200***	0.200***
		(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Mother Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.035**	0.035***	0.035***	0.035**
		(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Mother Social Class: Intermediate		0.051***	0.058***	0.059***	0.059***
		(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Mother Social Class: Small Employer		0.107**	0.109**	0.109**	0.110***
		(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Mother Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.062***	0.062***	0.062***	0.062***
		(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)
Mother Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.086**	0.085**	0.085**	0.085***
		(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.023)
Mother Social Class: Routine		0.086**	0.089**	0.090**	0.090***
		(0.026)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.023)
Mother Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.126***	0.130***	0.130***	0.130***
		(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.021)
IDACI rank		-0.304**	-0.325**	-0.325**	-0.325**
		(0.114)	(0.096)	(0.095)	(0.095)
IMD rank		0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***

Table 2: LPM. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Child Ethnicity: Mixed		-0.119***	-0.100**	-0.100**	-0.100**
		(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Child Ethnicity: Indian		-0.241***	-0.308***	-0.308***	-0.308***
		(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.039)	(0.037)
Child Ethnicity: Pakistani		-0.145**	-0.201***	-0.201***	-0.202***
		(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.045)
Child Ethnicity: Bangladeshi		-0.282***	-0.328***	-0.328***	-0.328***
		(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.026)
Child Ethnicity: Black Caribbean		-0.186***	-0.175***	-0.175***	-0.175***
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Child Ethnicity: Black African		0.066**	0.046	0.046	0.045
		(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.028)
Child Ethnicity: Other		0.014	-0.010	-0.010	-0.010
		(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.023)
Religion Important to Child		0.079***	0.072***	0.072***	0.072***
		(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Child Religion: Christian		-0.022	-0.025	-0.025	-0.025
		(0.057)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Child Religion: Buddhist		-0.317***	-0.289***	-0.289***	-0.290***
		(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.038)
Child Religion: Hindu		-0.878***	-0.892***	-0.893***	-0.892***
		(0.135)	(0.135)	(0.141)	(0.140)
Child Religion: Jewish		-0.557***	-0.581***	-0.581***	-0.580***
		(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Child Religion: Muslim		0.139**	0.130**	0.129**	0.129**
		(0.047)	(0.043)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Child Religion: Sikh		-0.101	-0.107	-0.108	-0.108
		(0.068)	(0.064)	(0.069)	(0.069)
Child Birth Weight		-0.027**	-0.022**	-0.022**	-0.022**
		(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Child GHQ score		0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
SEN statement		0.012	0.006	0.006	0.006
		(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Parental Control: Very Strong		0.137***	0.122***	0.122***	0.123***
		(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.023)
Parental Control: Strong		0.116***	0.109***	0.109***	0.110***
		(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.031)
Parental Control: Average		0.078	0.034	0.034	0.034
		(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.073)
Parental Control: Weak		0.304***	0.410***	0.411***	0.411***
		(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.024)
Family Evenings: 1/week		0.014	0.006	0.006	0.006
		(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Family Evenings: 2-3/month		-0.016	-0.035	-0.035	-0.035

Table 2: LPM. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.068)	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.075)
Family Evenings: 1/month		-0.096	-0.103	-0.103	-0.103
		(0.084)	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.086)
Family Evenings: 2-3/year		-0.246***	-0.165	-0.165	-0.165
		(0.053)	(0.090)	(0.091)	(0.091)
Family Evenings: 1/year		-0.061	-0.080	-0.080	-0.080
		(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.063)	(0.062)
Family Evenings: Varies		0.255**	0.269**	0.269**	0.269**
		(0.106)	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.112)
Curfew: Always		0.129**	0.134**	0.134**	0.134**
		(0.051)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.054)
Curfew: Sometimes		0.060	0.060	0.060	0.060
		(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Family activities: 1/week		0.008	0.022	0.022	0.022
		(0.094)	(0.101)	(0.101)	(0.100)
Family Activities: 2-3/month		-0.006	0.009	0.009	0.008
		(0.075)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.081)
Family Activities: 1/month		0.046	0.055	0.055	0.055
		(0.068)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.073)
Family Activities: 2-3/year		0.037	0.037	0.037	0.037
		(0.076)	(0.090)	(0.090)	(0.089)
Family Activities: 1/year		0.078	0.134	0.134	0.134
		(0.068)	(0.082)	(0.082)	(0.081)
Family Activities: Varies		-0.171	-0.164	-0.165	-0.165
		(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.093)	(0.089)
Talk about School: Sometimes		-0.015	-0.019	-0.019	-0.019
		(0.048)	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.048)
Talk about School: Often		-0.027	-0.026	-0.026	-0.026
		(0.056)	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)
Constant	0.405***	0.023	-0.018	-0.019	-0.018
	(0.012)	(0.263)	(0.380)	(0.381)	(0.377)
Region Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Area Type Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,604	2,604	2,604	2,604	2,604
R^2	0.014	0.104	0.106	0.106	0.106

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$.

Base dummy variables: Traditional Family, Male, Father's Employment Unstable, Mother's Employment Unstable, Father has Higher Education, Father has Higher Job Status, Father not Biological, Mother not Biological, Parents Married, Religion Not Important to Parents, Father's Religion: None, Mother's Religion: None, Family Education: Degree, Father's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Mother's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Child Ethnicity: White, Religion Not Important to Child, Child Religion: None, Parental Control: None, Family Evenings: Never, Curfew: Never, Family Activities: Never, Talk About School: Never.

Table 3: Probit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Modern Family	-0.032**	-0.023**	-0.030***	-0.030***	-0.029***
	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Female	-0.109***	-0.142***	-0.141***	-0.141***	-0.141***
	(0.024)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Modern Family×Female		0.055*	0.055**	0.055**	0.055**
		(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Father Employment: Stable			-0.085***	-0.085***	-0.085***
			(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Mother Employment: Stable			0.125***	0.125***	0.125***
			(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Mother More Educated				0.001	0.001
				(0.009)	(0.009)
Mother Higher Job Status					-0.004
					(0.008)
Biological Father		-0.205***	-0.220***	-0.220***	-0.220***
		(0.054)	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.050)
Biological Mother		0.049	0.065*	0.065*	0.064*
		(0.039)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.035)
Parents Not Married		0.045*	0.070**	0.070**	0.070**
		(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Father's Age		0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Mother's Age		-0.004**	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.004***
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Religion Important to Parents		0.058***	0.058***	0.058***	0.058***
		(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)
Father's Religion: Christian		-0.073	-0.066	-0.066	-0.066
		(0.093)	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.110)
Father's Religion: Hindu		0.807***	0.811***	0.811***	0.811***
		(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Father's Religion: Jewish		0.687***	0.689***	0.689***	0.689***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Father's Religion: Muslim		-0.149	-0.107	-0.107	-0.106
		(0.094)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.120)
Father's Religion: Sikh		0.715***	0.719***	0.719***	0.719***
		(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Mother's Religion: Christian		0.166***	0.168***	0.169***	0.169***
		(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Mother's Religion: Hindu		0.021	0.013	0.013	0.012
		(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.028)
Mother's Religion: Jewish		0.113*	0.114*	0.114*	0.114*
		(0.067)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.066)
Mother's Religion: Muslim		0.143***	0.167***	0.167***	0.165***
		(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Family Education: Below Degree		-0.017	-0.013	-0.013	-0.013

Table 3: Probit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Family Education: GCE A Level		-0.006	-0.005	-0.005	-0.005
		(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Family Education: GCSE		0.028	0.034	0.034	0.034
		(0.026)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Family Education: Level 1		0.095**	0.101**	0.100**	0.100**
		(0.045)	(0.050)	(0.049)	(0.050)
Family Education: Other		0.178***	0.177***	0.177***	0.176***
		(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Family Education: None		0.010	0.023	0.023	0.023
		(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
Father Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.029	0.026	0.026	0.026
		(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Father Social Class: Intermediate		0.043**	0.037*	0.037*	0.036*
		(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Father Social Class: Small Employer		0.115***	0.106***	0.106***	0.106***
		(0.026)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.031)
Father Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.052	0.057*	0.057*	0.056*
		(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.032)
Father Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.133***	0.125***	0.125***	0.123***
		(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Father Social Class: Routine		0.178***	0.162***	0.162***	0.160***
		(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.028)
Father Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.234***	0.225***	0.225***	0.224***
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.010)
Mother Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.044***	0.044***	0.044***	0.045***
		(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Mother Social Class: Intermediate		0.062***	0.070***	0.070***	0.072***
		(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Mother Social Class: Small Employer		0.127***	0.128***	0.127***	0.129***
		(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.030)
Mother Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.076***	0.074***	0.074***	0.075***
		(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Mother Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.101***	0.098***	0.098***	0.100***
		(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.026)
Mother Social Class: Routine		0.101***	0.106***	0.106***	0.108***
		(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.028)
Mother Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.142***	0.146***	0.146***	0.147***
		(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.020)
IDACI rank		-0.322***	-0.340***	-0.340***	-0.340***
		(0.120)	(0.100)	(0.099)	(0.099)
IMD rank		0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Child Ethnicity: Mixed		-0.121***	-0.104***	-0.104***	-0.103***
		(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Child Ethnicity: Indian		-0.203***	-0.245***	-0.245***	-0.245***

Table 3: Probit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.017)
Child Ethnicity: Pakistani		-0.137***	-0.179***	-0.179***	-0.179***
		(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.027)
Child Ethnicity: Bangladeshi		-0.225***	-0.247***	-0.247***	-0.247***
		(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Child Ethnicity: Black Caribbean		-0.202***	-0.190***	-0.190***	-0.191***
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Child Ethnicity: Black African		0.060**	0.042	0.042	0.041
		(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.033)	(0.031)
Child Ethnicity: Other		0.013	-0.015	-0.015	-0.016
		(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.020)
Religion Important to Child		0.084***	0.076***	0.076***	0.076***
		(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Child Religion: Christian		-0.027	-0.029	-0.029	-0.029
		(0.062)	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Child Religion: Hindu		-0.456***	-0.453***	-0.453***	-0.453***
		(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Child Religion: Jewish		-0.322***	-0.321***	-0.321***	-0.321***
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Child Religion: Muslim		0.164***	0.161***	0.162***	0.162***
		(0.057)	(0.049)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Child Religion: Sikh		-0.350***	-0.348***	-0.348***	-0.348***
		(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Child Birth Weight		-0.030***	-0.024***	-0.024***	-0.024***
		(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Child GHQ score		0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004
		(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
SEN statement		0.001	-0.004	-0.004	-0.004
		(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Parental Control: Very Strong		0.121***	0.107***	0.107***	0.108***
		(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Parental Control: Strong		0.116***	0.107***	0.107***	0.109***
		(0.029)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.033)
Parental Control: Average		0.074	0.024	0.024	0.025
		(0.076)	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.077)
Parental Control: Weak		0.324***	0.445***	0.445***	0.447***
		(0.028)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Family Evenings: 1/week		0.010	0.002	0.002	0.002
		(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Family Evenings: 2-3/month		-0.022	-0.042	-0.042	-0.042
		(0.067)	(0.071)	(0.071)	(0.071)
Family Evenings: 1/month		-0.110	-0.119	-0.119	-0.119
		(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)
Family Evenings: 2-3/year		-0.226***	-0.170*	-0.170*	-0.170*
		(0.052)	(0.093)	(0.094)	(0.093)
Family Evenings: 1/year		-0.061	-0.083	-0.083	-0.082

Table 3: Probit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Family Evenings: Varies		0.260**	0.281**	0.281**	0.280**
		(0.107)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.115)
Curfew: Always		0.124***	0.127***	0.127***	0.127***
		(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.045)	(0.045)
Curfew: Sometimes		0.065	0.066	0.066	0.066
		(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Family activities: 1/week		0.008	0.018	0.018	0.017
		(0.100)	(0.108)	(0.108)	(0.107)
Family Activities: 2-3/month		-0.009	0.002	0.002	0.002
		(0.078)	(0.086)	(0.087)	(0.085)
Family Activities: 1/month		0.049	0.055	0.055	0.054
		(0.075)	(0.083)	(0.083)	(0.082)
Family Activities: 2-3/year		0.036	0.033	0.033	0.033
		(0.083)	(0.097)	(0.098)	(0.097)
Family Activities: 1/year		0.094	0.152	0.152	0.152
		(0.075)	(0.094)	(0.094)	(0.093)
Talk about School: Sometimes		-0.016	-0.020	-0.020	-0.020
		(0.050)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.049)
Talk about School: Often		-0.030	-0.029	-0.029	-0.029
		(0.058)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Region Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Area Type Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064
Pseudo-R^2	0.011	0.083	0.085	0.085	0.085

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$.

Base dummy variables: Traditional Family, Male, Father's Employment Unstable, Mother's Employment Unstable, Father has Higher Education, Father has Higher Job Status, Father not Biological, Mother not Biological, Parents Married, Religion Not Important to Parents, Father's Religion: None, Mother's Religion: None, Family Education: Degree, Father's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Mother's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Child Ethnicity: White, Religion Not Important to Child, Child Religion: None, Parental Control: None, Family Evenings: Never, Curfew: Never, Family Activities: Never, Talk About School: Never.

Table 4: Logit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Modern Family	-0.032**	-0.024**	-0.032***	-0.032***	-0.031***
	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Female	-0.109***	-0.141***	-0.140***	-0.140***	-0.140***
	(0.024)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Modern Family×Female		0.061*	0.062**	0.061**	0.062**
		(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Father Employment: Stable			-0.082***	-0.082***	-0.082***
			(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.030)
Mother Employment: Stable			0.127***	0.127***	0.127***
			(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Mother More Educated				-0.001	-0.001
				(0.009)	(0.009)
Mother Higher Job Status					-0.003
					(0.008)
Biological Father		-0.208***	-0.223***	-0.223***	-0.223***
		(0.055)	(0.050)	(0.051)	(0.050)
Biological Mother		0.051	0.068*	0.068*	0.068*
		(0.040)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Parents Not Married		0.042	0.072**	0.071**	0.072**
		(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Father's Age		0.003***	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Mother's Age		-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.004***
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Religion Important to Parents		0.058***	0.059***	0.059***	0.059***
		(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Father's Religion: Christian		-0.082	-0.074	-0.074	-0.074
		(0.093)	(0.110)	(0.110)	(0.111)
Father's Religion: Hindu		0.867***	0.885***	0.885***	0.885***
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.025)
Father's Religion: Jewish		0.693***	0.696***	0.696***	0.696***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Father's Religion: Muslim		-0.147	-0.102	-0.102	-0.101
		(0.093)	(0.116)	(0.116)	(0.119)
Father's Religion: Sikh		0.743***	0.755***	0.755***	0.755***
		(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Mother's Religion: Christian		0.169***	0.171***	0.171***	0.171***
		(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Mother's Religion: Hindu		0.029	0.019	0.019	0.018
		(0.041)	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Mother's Religion: Jewish		0.123	0.125	0.125	0.124
		(0.077)	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Mother's Religion: Muslim		0.168***	0.194***	0.194***	0.193***
		(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Family Education: Below Degree		-0.013	-0.009	-0.008	-0.009

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Family Education: GCE A Level		-0.003	-0.002	-0.002	-0.002
		(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Family Education: GCSE		0.032	0.038	0.038	0.038
		(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Family Education: Level 1		0.098**	0.103**	0.103**	0.103**
		(0.044)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.051)
Family Education: Other		0.184***	0.184***	0.184***	0.183***
		(0.021)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.029)
Family Education: None		0.014	0.028	0.028	0.028
		(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Father Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.029	0.025	0.025	0.025
		(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Father Social Class: Intermediate		0.043*	0.038*	0.038*	0.037*
		(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.020)
Father Social Class: Small Employer		0.113***	0.101***	0.101***	0.100***
		(0.026)	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Father Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.053	0.058*	0.058*	0.057*
		(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Father Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.134***	0.125***	0.126***	0.124***
		(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Father Social Class: Routine		0.176***	0.159***	0.159***	0.158***
		(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Father Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.236***	0.226***	0.226***	0.226***
		(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Mother Social Class: Lower Mang.		0.042***	0.042***	0.042***	0.043***
		(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Mother Social Class: Intermediate		0.062***	0.071***	0.072***	0.073***
		(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Mother Social Class: Small Employer		0.127***	0.128***	0.129***	0.130***
		(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.034)
Mother Social Class: Lower Supervisor		0.076***	0.074***	0.074***	0.075***
		(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.017)
Mother Social Class: Semi-Routine		0.100***	0.098***	0.099***	0.100***
		(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.028)
Mother Social Class: Routine		0.099***	0.103***	0.103***	0.105***
		(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.029)
Mother Social Class: Long-Term u/e		0.141***	0.145***	0.145***	0.147***
		(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.024)
IDACI rank		-0.316***	-0.339***	-0.339***	-0.339***
		(0.122)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.100)
IMD rank		0.003***	0.004***	0.004***	0.004***
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Child Ethnicity: Mixed		-0.122***	-0.105***	-0.104***	-0.104***
		(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.028)
Child Ethnicity: Indian		-0.198***	-0.235***	-0.236***	-0.236***

Table 4: Logit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Child Ethnicity: Pakistani		-0.135***	-0.174***	-0.174***	-0.175***
		(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.030)
Child Ethnicity: Bangladeshi		-0.214***	-0.235***	-0.235***	-0.235***
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Child Ethnicity: Black Caribbean		-0.195***	-0.184***	-0.184***	-0.184***
		(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Child Ethnicity: Black African		0.062**	0.043	0.043	0.042
		(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Child Ethnicity: Other		0.011	-0.018	-0.018	-0.019
		(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Religion Important to Child		0.084***	0.076***	0.076***	0.076***
		(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Child Religion: Christian		-0.027	-0.028	-0.028	-0.028
		(0.065)	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Child Religion: Hindu		-0.567***	-0.598***	-0.598***	-0.598***
		(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.027)
Child Religion: Jewish		-0.323***	-0.322***	-0.322***	-0.322***
		(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Child Religion: Muslim		0.147**	0.142***	0.142**	0.142**
		(0.064)	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Child Religion: Sikh		-0.379***	-0.388***	-0.388***	-0.388***
		(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Child Birth Weight		-0.028***	-0.022**	-0.022**	-0.022**
		(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Child GHQ score		0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
SEN statement		0.005	0.000	0.000	0.000
		(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
Parental Control: Very Strong		0.117***	0.103***	0.103***	0.104***
		(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Parental Control: Strong		0.114***	0.105***	0.105***	0.106***
		(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.032)	(0.034)
Parental Control: Average		0.074	0.023	0.023	0.024
		(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.080)
Parental Control: Weak		0.321***	0.439***	0.439***	0.440***
		(0.032)	(0.022)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Family Evenings: 1/week		0.013	0.004	0.004	0.004
		(0.051)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Family Evenings: 2-3/month		-0.021	-0.043	-0.043	-0.043
		(0.069)	(0.073)	(0.072)	(0.072)
Family Evenings: 1/month		-0.109	-0.118	-0.118	-0.118
		(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)
Family Evenings: 2-3/year		-0.218***	-0.156	-0.156	-0.156
		(0.053)	(0.096)	(0.096)	(0.096)
Family Evenings: 1/year		-0.055	-0.073	-0.073	-0.073

Table 4: Logit Model. Dependent Var.: Traditional Norm (continued)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		(0.057)	(0.054)	(0.055)	(0.055)
Family Evenings: Varies		0.271**	0.288**	0.288**	0.287**
		(0.113)	(0.121)	(0.120)	(0.116)
Curfew: Always		0.120***	0.124***	0.124***	0.124***
		(0.042)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Curfew: Sometimes		0.065	0.067	0.067	0.067
		(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Family activities: 1/week		0.003	0.016	0.016	0.016
		(0.101)	(0.112)	(0.113)	(0.111)
Family Activities: 2-3/month		-0.015	0.001	0.001	0.000
		(0.079)	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.090)
Family Activities: 1/month		0.043	0.053	0.053	0.052
		(0.075)	(0.087)	(0.087)	(0.086)
Family Activities: 2-3/year		0.031	0.032	0.032	0.031
		(0.084)	(0.103)	(0.104)	(0.103)
Family Activities: 1/year		0.095	0.160	0.160	0.160
		(0.079)	(0.101)	(0.102)	(0.101)
Talk about School: Sometimes		-0.015	-0.020	-0.020	-0.020
		(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Talk about School: Often		-0.030	-0.029	-0.029	-0.029
		(0.059)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Region Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Area Type Fixed Effects	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064
Pseudo-R^2	0.012	0.083	0.084	0.084	0.084

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Base dummy variables: Traditional Family, Male, Father's Employment Unstable, Mother's Employment Unstable, Father has Higher Education, Father has Higher Job Status, Father not Biological, Mother not Biological, Parents Married, Religion Not Important to Parents, Father's Religion: None, Mother's Religion: None, Family Education: Degree, Father's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Mother's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Child Ethnicity: White, Religion Not Important to Child, Child Religion: None, Parental Control: None, Family Evenings: Never, Curfew: Never, Family Activities: Never, Talk About School: Never.

Table 5: Other Outcomes

Variables	Believe High Wage Important			Want to Study Science		
	LPM	Probit	Logit	LPM	Probit	Logit
Modern Family	0.008	0.006	0.008	0.055*	0.053*	0.063**
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.031)
Female	-0.067***	-0.071***	-0.070***	-0.043***	-0.047***	-0.048***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Modern Family×Female	-0.022*	-0.024**	-0.024**	-0.184***	-0.188***	-0.187***
	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.020)
Family Characteristics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Child Characteristics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parental Socialisation Effort	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Area Type Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064
R^2/Pseudo-R^2	0.100	0.083	0.082	0.213	0.160	0.160

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$.

Base dummy variables: Traditional Family, Male, Father's Employment Unstable, Mother's Employment Unstable, Father has Higher Education, Father has Higher Job Status, Father not Biological, Mother not Biological, Parents Married, Religion Not Important to Parents, Father's Religion: None, Mother's Religion: None, Family Education: Degree, Father's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Mother's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Child Ethnicity: White, Religion Not Important to Child, Child Religion: None, Parental Control: None, Family Evenings: Never, Curfew: Never, Family Activities: Never, Talk About School: Never.

Table 6: Preference for Conformity

Variables	Family Chooses University Subject			Obey Parents' Curfew		
	LPM	Probit	Logit	LPM	Probit	Logit
Modern Family	0.105***	0.084***	0.082***	0.032***	0.028***	0.027***
	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Female	-0.074***	-0.080***	-0.075***	0.028**	0.026***	0.025***
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Modern Family×Female	-0.055***	-0.051***	-0.042**	-0.039**	-0.046***	-0.042**
	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.018)
Family Characteristics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Child Characteristics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Parental Socialisation Effort	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Region Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Area Type Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064	2,064
R^2/Pseudo-R^2	0.204	0.216	0.213	0.035	0.054	0.055

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$.

Base dummy variables: Traditional Family, Male, Father's Employment Unstable, Mother's Employment Unstable, Father has Higher Education, Father has Higher Job Status, Father not Biological, Mother not Biological, Parents Married, Religion Not Important to Parents, Father's Religion: None, Mother's Religion: None, Family Education: Degree, Father's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Mother's Social Class: Higher Managerial/Professional, Child Ethnicity: White, Religion Not Important to Child, Child Religion: None, Parental Control: None, Family Evenings: Never, Curfew: Never, Family Activities: Never, Talk About School: Never.