

Marriage Outcomes of Displaced Adolescent Women

DRAFT: PRELIMINARY AND INCOMPLETE *

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Abstract

This paper examines marriage market outcomes of displaced women in an effort to understand some of the potentially long lasting consequences of displacement on women. Using data from the censuses of 7 countries where questions about displaced persons are asked, we first document that women who are young at the time of displacement are more likely to be married relative to the non-displaced population. We then examine a specific case study of displacement from the partition of India in 1947 to provide causal evidence of how displaced women in Pakistan fare on the marriage market. Using difference-in-differences we find that women who were young at the time of partition are significantly more likely to marry as children relative to displaced women who were older at the time of the partition, in line with the cross country descriptive evidence. Earlier marriage among displaced women is consistent with several theories regarding safety of women during violent times, the perceived financial cost of having daughters, and marriage as a way for displaced populations to assimilate with locals. We hope to explore these mechanisms in future versions of this paper.

JEL code:

Keywords:

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1 Introduction

Displacement generates tremendous risks: from loss of life and property, to the possibility of long term physical and psychological harm. In this paper we focus on a group particularly vulnerable at the time of displacement: women. Women who are displaced, whether internationally or internally,¹ are at a higher risk for sexual and gender based violence (Brookings Institution, 2014). Reports from various countries where large portions of internally displaced women reside like Syria or Iraq suggest a high degree of violence towards women and a lack of protection (Bradley, 2013). Research on the impacts of displacement on women is notoriously difficult due to issues related to non-random selection of displaced populations, lack of data, selection due to mortality, etc. In this paper, we hope to overcome some of these issues while examining an outcome of crucial importance to women across a range of countries where such data is routinely collected: marriage. We also use the specific event of the Partition of India in 1947 to overcome some of the usual empirical difficulties of assigning a causal interpretation.

The effect of displacement on marriage outcomes is theoretically ambiguous. There are many explanations that suggest that displacement could induce earlier marriage for displaced women. unmarried women at the time of displacement face greater threats than married women; hence, unmarried women at the time of displacement are likely to be married off earlier than they otherwise would have been. Work from other disciplines suggest a few different mechanisms as to why this might be true: married women face fewer threats due to the presence of men (their spouses) in the household, the perceived financial cost of having daughters, earlier marriage of young women might be seen as a way to quickly assimilate with local populations. At the same time, marriage market theories suggest that displacement could delay marriage for displaced women. Displacement increases the search cost of finding good matches if families have less information and social networks in their destinations. Additionally, displaced families may not want to marry off their daughters if they view them as productive household members in home production or the labor market. Regardless of these mechanisms, marriage as an outcome itself is very important to examine in this context as the age at marriage is known to have important implications for investments in human capital and long term fertility outcomes for women (see for example the seminal work of Field and Ambrus (2008) in Bangladesh on early marriage and educational outcomes).

With this in mind, we document the patterns of marriage among displaced versus non-displaced women using 12 data sets from 7 countries. Across all countries the patterns of marriage age of displaced women show remarkable consistency: being young and displaced leads to earlier marriage than being young and not displaced.

¹Most of the patterns we document in this paper are based on data on internally displaced people (IDP). For the purposes of this draft, we do not draw a distinction between IDPs and international refugees.

While this result is certainly fraught with the usual concerns of who is displaced and who is not displaced, we think it is an important fact to document across a wide range of countries from Armenia to Nepal and spanning many years. We conduct the same analysis for displaced and non-displaced *men* and find no evidence of the same pattern: displaced and non-displaced men, regardless of age seem to marry at the same rates.

Having established a broad fact in the data, we turn to the specific case of the partition of India where the data and context allow us to answer this question more precisely. In the case of Pakistan, we not only observe when most people moved (i.e. 1947-48), but also know their precise age at marriage in the survey. This allows us to compare the age at which young displaced women marry relative to not just young non-displaced women, but also relative to the displaced women who were older and hence already married at the time of partition. The idea is that if there was something fixed and time invariant about who gets displaced, then examining women from the same group who are older at the time of displacement allows us to observe a potentially accurate counterfactual to those who are young at the time of displacement. In that sense, our empirical analysis is a standard difference in difference design: we compare marriage outcomes of women who are young at the time of displacement to women who are older at the time of displacement and to women who are never displaced.²

The results from Pakistan are qualitatively similar to the overall cross country evidence. We focus the analysis to the state of Punjab that received a bulk of Partition-related migrants (or *muhajirs* as they were called in Pakistan). Displaced women who were between the age of 10 and 17 at the time of partition (defined as “young” in our sample) marry 0.21 years earlier (average age of marriage in the control is around 19 years), and are 4 percentage points more likely to marry before the age of 18 (control mean is 30.1%).

The evidence so far paints a fairly clear picture that young women at the time of displacement tend to be married earlier. The question of what these results mean for women’s welfare is a crucial one. While absent displacement and other social upheavals, early marriage might be detrimental to women’s long term economic and labor market outcomes, it is unclear what the right counterfactual to marriage is in this particular context. It is possible that women are overall better off by having married young at a time of crisis. While we will not be able to disentangle the impact of displacement with that of early marriage in this context, we will examine additional outcomes to understand the well-being of displaced women in this context. We examine the education, fertility, and labor market outcomes of displaced versus non-displaced women in a similar manner. Additionally, we examine the spousal characteristics of displaced versus non-displaced women to get a more

²Due to data limitations we are unable to examine marriage outcomes for displaced men in Pakistan.

detailed understanding of marriage market outcomes.

2 Background: the Partition of India in 1947

The end of British rule in India led to the partition of India into two countries in August 1947: India (Hindu-majority state) and Pakistan (Muslim-majority state). The plan for Partition was announced on June 3rd, 1947 at a press conference that was broadcast over radio. Majority of population lived in rural areas with no access to radio or print media, so didn't immediately know of plan. The Partition led to one of the largest and most rapid migrations in human history. It is estimated that around 14.5 million people displaced along religious lines by Partition by 1951, with 6.5 million displaced into Pakistan (Bharadwaj et al., 2008). The inflow of displaced people into Pakistan was concentrated in two states: Sind and Punjab.

For our study, we will focus on Muslim women who were displaced into the Pakistan state of Punjab. The original Indian state of Punjab was partitioned by the new border between India (East Punjab) and Pakistan (West Punjab). Partition migration in Punjab was not very selective. There was very little "choice" in the decision to migrate for minority group members on either side of the border. By 1951, the percentage of Muslims in Indian East Punjab fell from 30% to 1.75% and percentage of Hindus/Sikhs in Pakistani West Punjab fell from 21.7% to 0.16%. The majority of inflow into West Punjab was from East Punjab. Thus, displaced people were similar to non-displaced people in West Punjab in terms of ethnicity, language, and culture. People travelled primarily by land (foot, truck, train) which exposed them to significant levels of violence and mortality risk during displacement. The Governor of West Punjab at time of Partition estimated that 500,000 Muslims died trying to enter his province (James, Hachette UK).

Displaced women have a different spatial distribution from native-born Pakistani women. As seen in Figure ??, they are more likely to live near the Indian border and urban areas (Faisalabad and Lahore). Bharadwaj et al. (2008) documents that district-level population inflow into Pakistan districts is highly correlated with outflows and have approximately 1-1 relationship.

3 Data

3.1 Multiple Countries

We have cross-sectional representative survey data from various countries (publicly available through IPUMS International) that allow us to identify displaced persons. These countries (with survey rounds in the listed years) are:

- Armenia (2011)

- Cambodia (1998, 2004, 2008, 2013)
- Colombia (2005)
- India (1983, 1987, 1999)
- Iraq (1997)
- Kyrgyz Republic (2009)
- Nepal (2011)

For all surveys, the respondent’s marital status (never married, currently married, separated/divorced, widowed) was measured at the time of enumeration. Most surveys don’t include the respondent’s age at first marriage, with the exception of Cambodia (2004, 2013), Iraq (1997), and Nepal (2011). For these surveys, the respondent’s age at first marriage was asked retrospectively at time of enumeration.

The main difference across surveys is the universe of migrants that are identified. All datasets, except the Nepal (2011) and Colombia (2005) datasets, identify migrants as those who have ever lived outside of their locality (village, town, city) of enumeration.³ The Nepal (2011) dataset identifies migrants as those who have ever lived outside of their district of enumeration. The Colombia (2005) dataset identifies migrants as those who have lived outside their locality of enumeration in the past 5 years. Due to lack of information on the locality of birth⁴, we cannot identify respondents who have ever lived outside of their locality of enumeration. Therefore, we are constrained to exclude migrants who migrated over 5 years ago from the migrant sample and include them in the non-migrant sample.

For migrants identified by each dataset, all surveys document the cause of their most recent migration. Causes of migration include reasons such as migration for work, study, and marriage. We use this information to define displaced people as the subset of migrants whose cause of migration was insecurity, war, violence, or natural disaster. The surveys also ask the number of years living in the locality of enumeration, which we interpret as years since migration for the migrant sample.

3.2 Pakistan

The data are from Pakistan’s 1973 Housing, Economic, Demographic Characteristics (HED) survey (publicly available through IPUMS International). The survey was administered to 300,000 households.⁵ Approximately 24,000 blocks (sub-districts) were sampled out of 75,000 in the country. A sample of households was taken from each sampled block to yield 300,000 households. Urban households were oversampled

³For all India datasets, the survey codebooks specify that the person must have lived in their last location for at least 6 months.

⁴The data contains municipality of birth, but we cannot use this to identify non-migrants, as most displaced persons are still living in their municipality of birth.

⁵According to data documentation, there are 300,000 households, but our data has 322,131 unique households.

relative to rural. Roughly 15% of households do not have a head and appear to be fragments.

Data on the demographic characteristics of individual household members, including marital status and migration history, were collected. The respondent's marital status (never married, currently married, separated/divorced, widowed) was measured at the time of enumeration. For females, the respondent's age at first marriage was asked retrospectively at time of enumeration.⁶

From the survey, we can identify a respondent's country of birth and years living in their current locality (e.g. village, town, or city). We use this information to classify individuals as those displaced by Partition, non-migrants, and those born in Pakistan. We define individuals displaced by Partition as those who were born in India and have been living in their current locality in Pakistan for 24 to 27 years before enumeration (migrated to Pakistan between the years of 1947 and 1949). We are not able to identify displaced individuals who subsequently migrated within Pakistan. We define non-migrants as those who reported that the years living in their current locality is greater than or equal to their age at the time of enumeration. By definition, non-migrant women are a subset of women born in Pakistan, so the categories are not mutually exclusive.

As seen in Figure ??, a large majority of Indian-born women migrated right at the time of Partition (years 1947 - 1949). For those who migrated after Partition, we cannot distinguish between those who are re-migrating within Pakistan and migrating from India to Pakistan for the first time. Historically, we know there was continued flow of Indian-born migrants to Pakistan after Partition. This migration timing pattern does not appear to be different between women who were young and older at the time of Partition, which indicates that re-migration within Pakistan may not be as very common phenomena.

3.3 Summary statistics

Table 1 reports summary statistics on sample composition and marriage outcomes by country. Across all datasets, the proportion of population that has been displaced is very similar for males and females. For countries excluding Pakistan, displaced people account for a small proportion of each country's total population (between 0.1 and 1.5 percent). In contrast, people displaced from India at time of Partition constitute a substantial 5 (5.6) percent of the Pakistan female (male) population in 1973. Across all datasets, non-migrants compose a large proportion of the population. The proportion of non-migrants differs by gender in some countries, notably in contexts with higher levels of female marriage migration (India and Nepal).

Across countries that measure marriage age, we don't see a consistent patten

⁶In the entire dataset, this variable is missing 97.1% of ever married men, but for only 1.6% of ever married women. Therefore, we do not conduct analysis for men using this variable. The enumeration codebook only details how to ask this question to ever married female respondents.

between the average marriage ages of displaced and non-displaced women. However, this doesn't take into account the timing of displacement for displaced women or the age distributions of each group. When narrowing our attention to recently displaced women (those who have been displaced within 5 years of survey), we see that young recently displaced women generally have higher marriage rates than young non-displaced women.

4 Empirical Strategy

4.1 Other countries

In countries besides Pakistan, there are several challenges to identifying the impact of displacement. First, in all datasets, people are displaced over long periods of time, which leads to concerns of the endogeneity of the timing of displacement. Second, in a majority of datasets, we don't know the respondent's age at first marriage, which makes it difficult to measure the impact of displacement. For people who were displaced long before the time they were surveyed, information on whether they ever married at time of enumeration does not allow us to identify whether displacement impacted their marriage timing. Third, for migrants identified by each datasets, we only have information on the reason for their most recent migration. Therefore, we cannot identify displaced people who subsequently migrated due to other reasons (e.g. marriage) or whether a person has been displaced multiple times. Finally, there are likely to be many observable and unobservable characteristics that lead to non-random selection of displaced populations.

We study individuals who have been displaced within 5 years of their time of survey (defined as "recently displaced" in our sample) to circumvent the issue that we can only observe the reason for an individual's most recent migration; however, this approach does not address the other identification concerns listed above. We take a summary statistics approach to document the effect of recent displacement on marriage rates by country. For the few datasets that contain information on the age at first marriage, we also calculate the average marriage or displaced and non-migrant women. The summary statistics are reported in Table 1b and summarized in the Section 3.3.

For datasets that contain only information on marital status, the dependent variable we consider is whether the respondent was ever married (those who are currently married, separated/divorced, widowed). We calculate marriage rates for recently displaced and non-migrant women by age group at the time of survey. We define recently displaced women as those who were displaced in the last 5 years. We focus on recently displaced women because we expect the observed impact of displacement on marriage formation to dissipate as the time since displacement (and mechanically the age of the displaced women) increases. We choose non-migrant

women as our comparison group. One concern with this comparison group is that it excludes women who migrated due to marriage, so our control group may mechanically have lower marriage rates. However, our definition of displaced women also excludes people who migrated due to marriage after displacement.

To examine the variation on the effect of recent displacement on marriage formation by age, we estimate

$$Married_{iadct} = \alpha_{ct} + \sum_{a \in A} \delta_a Age_a * Displaced_d + \sum_{a \in A} \beta_a Age_a + \gamma Displaced_d + \epsilon_{iadct} \quad (1)$$

where $Married_{iadct}$ is an indicator of whether individual i with age at survey a and displacement status d in country c with year of survey t was ever married. α_{ct} is a country by year fixed effect. Age_a is an indicator of whether the individual is age a at time of survey. $Displaced_d$ is an indicator of whether the individual was (recently) displaced within 5 years of their time of survey. The omitted age at survey group is 38 year olds. The sample is restricted to recently displaced and non-migrant women (or men) with age at survey between 10 and 40. Results from this specification are reported in Figure 1 using data pooled over all countries. To pool data across years for a given country rather than all datasets, we replace country by year fixed effects with year fixed effects in this specification. We report results by country in the Appendix.

4.2 Pakistan

To measure the impact of displacement on the outcomes of young women, our estimation strategy is a difference-in-difference across displacement status and age at Partition. We compare young displaced women to two groups: older displaced women and non-displaced women. Older displaced women whose demographic characteristics were fixed at the time of Partition (marriage, education, fertility) and non-displaced women who provide counterfactual age-cohort demographic trends. Our identification strategy relies on the assumption that displaced and non-displaced women would have the same age-cohort trends in outcomes.

We thus estimate:

$$Y_{iad} = \alpha + \delta Young_a * Displaced_d + \beta Young_a + \gamma Displaced_d + \epsilon_{iad} \quad (2)$$

where Y_{iad} is an outcome for an individual i with age at Partition a and displacement status d . $Young_a$ is an indicator of whether the female was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. $Displaced_d$ is an indicator of whether the female was displaced from India at the time of Partition (as defined in Section 3).

The main analysis sample includes all displaced and comparison group women that were aged 10 to 17 and 30 to 32 at the time of Partition (35 to 42 and 55 to

57 at time of enumeration) who were living in the state of Punjab at the time of enumeration. We choose women aged 30 to 32 at Partition as our older comparison group because their characteristics (marriage age, fertility and education) were less likely to be impacted by Partition. We choose women to exclude over the age of 32 due to the concern of differential mortality selection at older ages. In an alternative analysis sample, we define women under the age of 10 at Partition treat them as the “young” group. As these women are less likely to have marriage outcomes that are immediately impacted by displacement by Partition, this analysis helps to better understand the longer-term effects of displacement on children.

While we use non-migrant women as our control group in the cross-country analysis, we prefer to use native-born women as the non-displaced group in this context, to include women who have migrated for marriage or other reasons within Pakistan. Our results are highly robust to the choice of control group and do not change substantially when we use non-migrant women as a control group (results available upon request). We report the average value of each outcome variable for older native-born women as the comparison mean in each table.

As a robustness check, we control for destination (district x urban) fixed effects, as the spatial distribution of displaced and native-born women are different.

To further examine the variation in the effect of displacement on marriage outcomes by age at time of Partition, we estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{iad} = \alpha + \sum_{a \in A} \delta_a Age_a * Displaced_d + \sum_{a \in A} \beta_a Age_a + \gamma Displaced_d + \epsilon_{iad} \quad (3)$$

The base group is those who are age 26 to 29 at the time of Partition. Age_a is an indicator of whether the female is in age group a at the time of Partition. $Displaced_d$ is defined as above. Results from this specification are reported in Figures 3 and 4.

5 Results

5.1 Cross-country evidence

Across countries, marriage rates for recently displaced and non-migrants converge to similar levels in older age groups (Table 1). This indicates that when surveying women older ages about their marriage histories, particularly age of first marriage, one does not need to worry as much about the extensive margin of marriage. However, this doesn’t rule out that women who were displaced at younger ages get married earlier.

We compare patterns of marriage of displaced women with non-migrant women. Figure 1a reports estimates for the difference in marriage rates between recently displaced and non-migrant people estimated by Equation 2 for each age at survey between 10 and 40 by gender using pooled data from all countries except Pakistan.

We find that women who are displaced at young ages show significantly higher marriage rates than non-migrant women of the same age, indicating that displaced women get married at younger ages. We conduct the same analysis for men but do not find evidence of the same pattern (Figure 1b). Displaced and non-migrant men are married at similar rates for all ages. Results for men and women are robust across countries. We report the analogous country-level results in the Appendix (Figures A.1 -A.7).

5.2 Pakistan

5.2.1 Marriage outcomes

Results from Pakistan, our preferred example for identification, corroborates the cross-country evidence. We first check that at the time of survey (25-26 years after Partition), that women in each of our comparison groups for analysis (defined by the interaction of young at Partition and displaced by Partition) do not differ in their extensive margins of whether a respondent has ever been married. All groups have nearly numerically identical marriage rates (point estimates no more than 1.2 percentage point) by the time of survey at around 99%, which indicates that we should not be very concerned by this extensive margin issue. In particular, our primary variable of interest, age at first marriage, should be defined for almost all women in the sample. This is confirmed in the data. 98.6% of the analysis sample has been ever married by the time of survey. We observe the age at first marriage for 97.2% of the our analysis sample.

Overall, displaced women who were between the age of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition (defined as “young” in our analysis) have higher child marriage (defined as married before the age of 18) rates and lower marriage ages. Table 2 reports the effect of displacement on marriage outcomes estimated by Equation 2. Young displaced females experienced an 3.5 percentage point (11.4% of comparison mean) increase in child marriage rate and 2.7 percentage point (25.4% of comparison mean) increase in the proportion married by age 15. Figure 3 reports the effect of displacement on child marriage by age at Partition, as estimated by Equation 3. The effect of displacement on child marriage rates decreases with age at Partition. Displacement at young age also led to 0.23 (comparison mean of 19.3) year decrease in marriage age. Figure 4 reports the effect of displacement on marriage age by age at Partition, as estimated by Equation 3. Results are almost identical when restricting the control group to non-migrant women.

In particular, young displaced women in both states were 5.4 percentage points more likely to be married at the time of Partition (defined as being married for the first time between the years of 1946 to 1949). We can observe an excess density mass of women who were married at the time of the event (Figure 5). Additionally,

the marriage effects are much less pronounced for women who were 1- 9 years old at the time of Partition. This indicates that the effect of displacement on marriage outcomes in this context is driven by marriage at the time of displacement and adolescent girls were the most vulnerable.

This pattern holds when we control for the destination fixed effects.

5.2.2 Other own outcomes and spousal characteristics

To better understand the impact of displacement on young women, we examine their completed education and fertility outcomes, as well as current labor market participation.

There is evidence that displaced caused both education and fertility levels to increase for young women. Literacy and years of schooling increased for young displaced women. Relative to native-born women, they experienced a 1.2 percentage point increase in literacy rates (comparison mean of 2.8 percent) and 0.108 years of schooling (comparison mean of 0.191 years). However, this pattern does not hold when controlling for destination. Young displaced women have similar or lower levels of education than young women at their destinations. The overall causal effect is driven by fact that displaced women are sorting into urban areas, where average female education levels are higher.

Overall, displaced women don't seem to have lower spouse quality than native-born women. However, most displaced women are married to other displaced men rather than native-born men.

5.2.3 Mechanisms

Overall, results seem to more aligned with the economic or security hypothesis than assimilation hypothesis.

In our study, the economic and security hypothesis for early marriage both seem plausible. Young displaced women get married at higher rates right at the time of Partition. As Partition reduced the economic well-being and caused threats to the physical security of displaced families at the time of Partition, we are not able to disentangle these two potential mechanisms.

The assimilation hypothesis is not supported in our study. Only 3.7% of young displaced women in Punjab are married to native-born men. Assimilation may not be important mechanism in our context. However, our sample of displaced women excludes women who have migrated after displacement. We may be excluding displaced women who married native-born men and migrated due to marriage.

We will further explore these mechanisms in future drafts.

5.2.4 Threats to identification

Due to the violence targeted towards women, particularly unmarried women, during Partition, one may be worried that mortality selection may impact the results. Additionally, we may be concerned about sample selection due to displaced women who migrated after Partition. We will explore these potential threats to identification in future drafts.

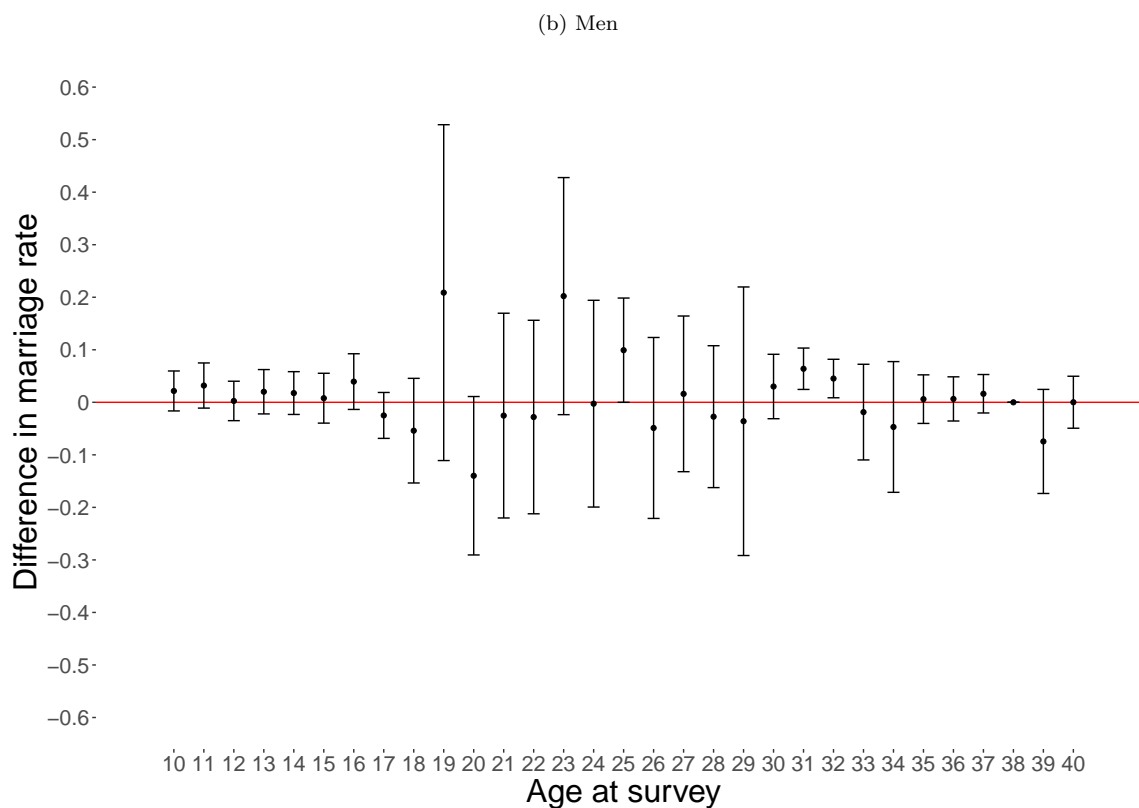
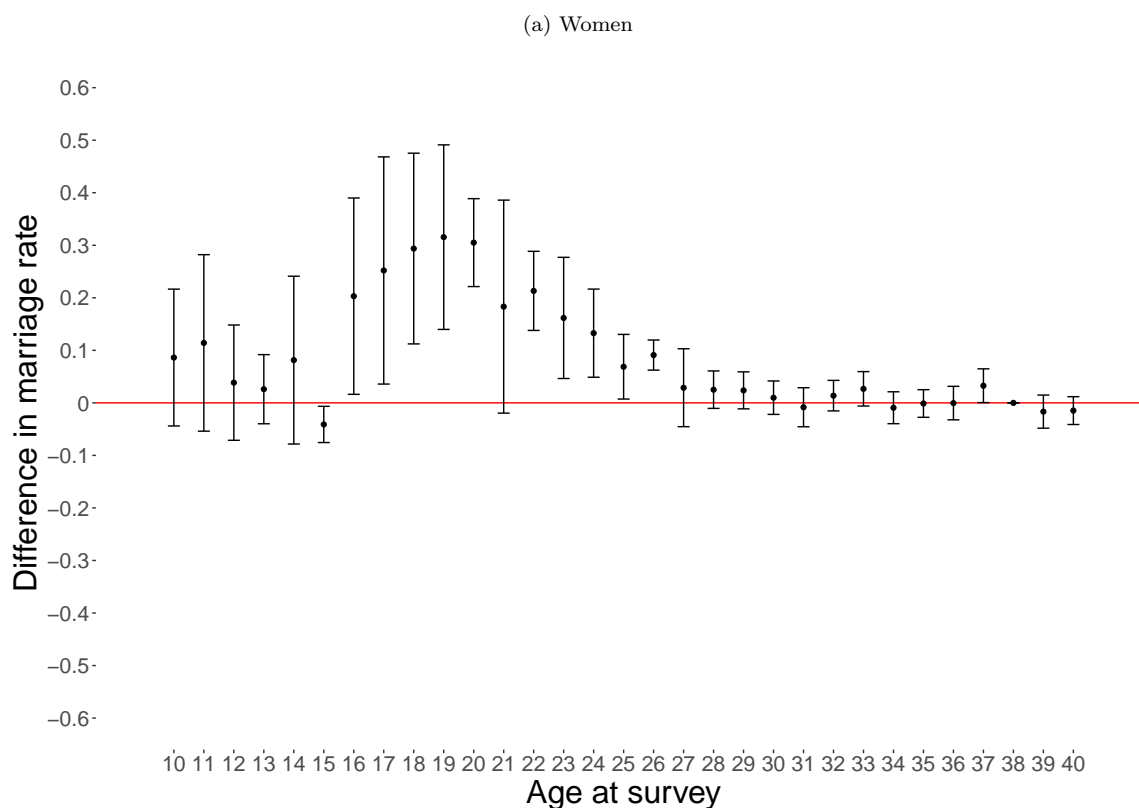
6 Conclusion

The evidence so far paints a fairly clear picture that young women at the time of displacement tend to be married earlier. While there are many mechanisms that we need to investigate further, the question of what these results mean for women's welfare is a crucial one. While absent displacement and other social upheavals, early marriage might be detrimental to women's long term economic and labor market outcomes, it is unclear what the right counterfactual to marriage is in this particular context. It is possible that women are overall better off by having married young at a time of crisis. In future work, along with mechanisms, we hope to further examine the educational and labor market outcomes of displaced versus non-displaced women. This would inch us closer to more fully understanding the consequences of early marriage in this context.

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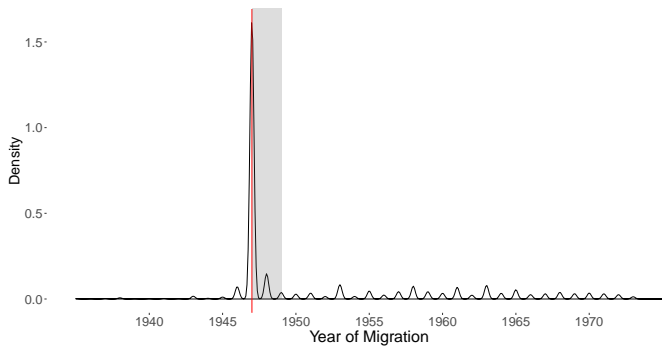
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Figure 1: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (data pooled across countries)

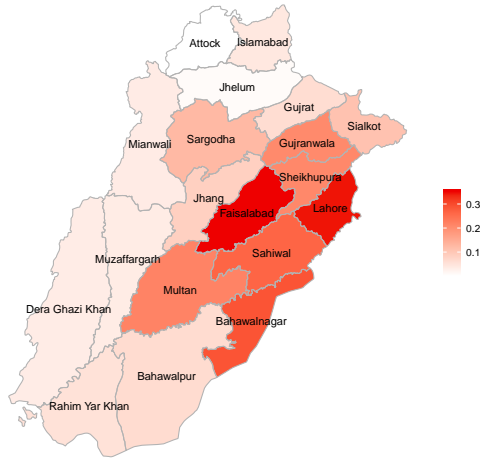


Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1 with Country X Year fixed effects. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is pooled over all countries, excluding Pakistan (since Partition occurred 26 years prior to survey year).

Figure 2: Migration timing of Indian-born females

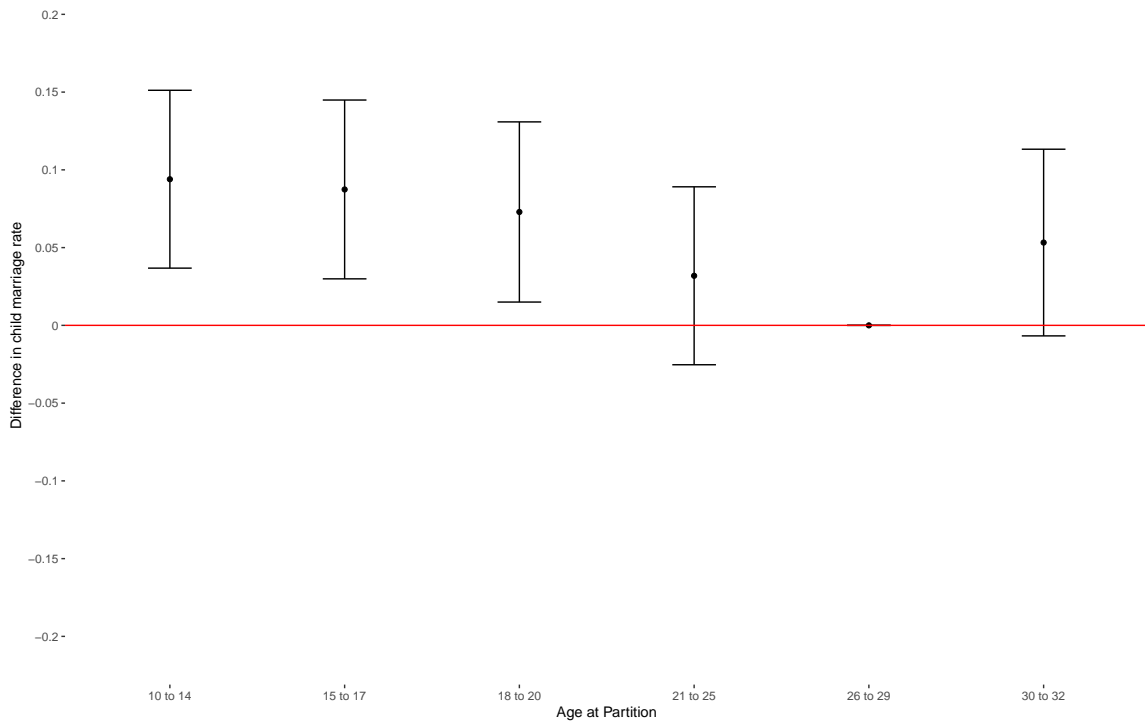


This figure plots the year of last migration for Indian-born females. The analysis sample is Indian-born women aged 1 to 32 at time of Partition who are living in Punjab.



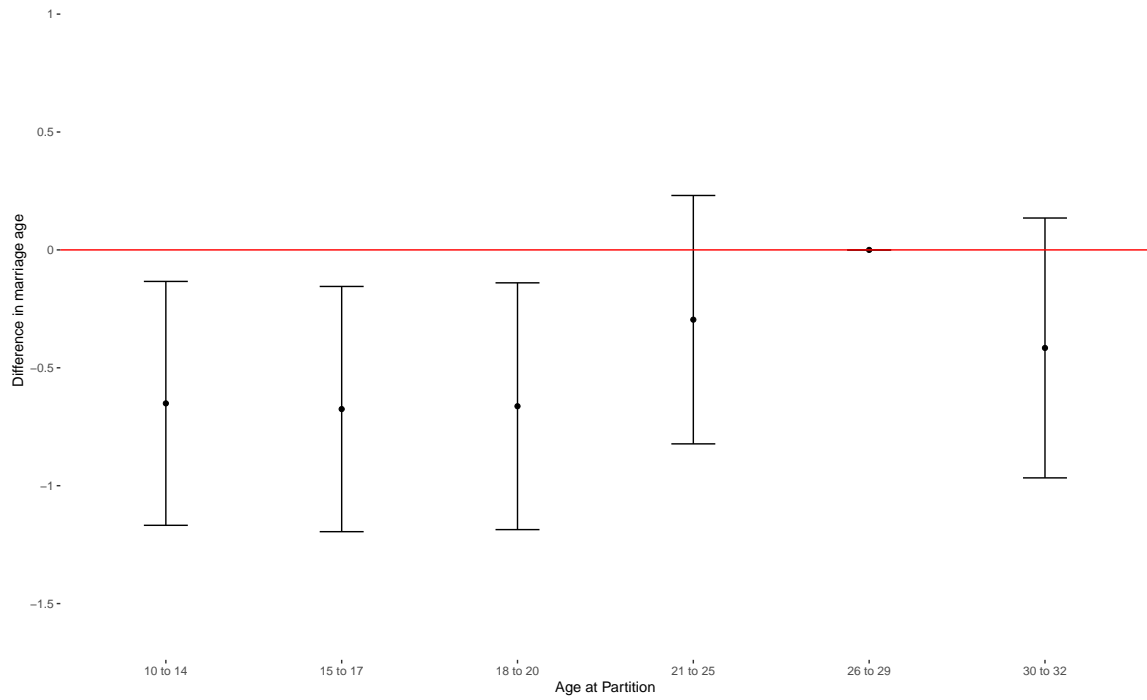
This map plots the proportion of women that are displaced by district. The analysis sample is women aged 1 to 32 at time of Partition who are living in Punjab at the time of enumeration.

Figure 3: Effect on child marriage by age at Partition



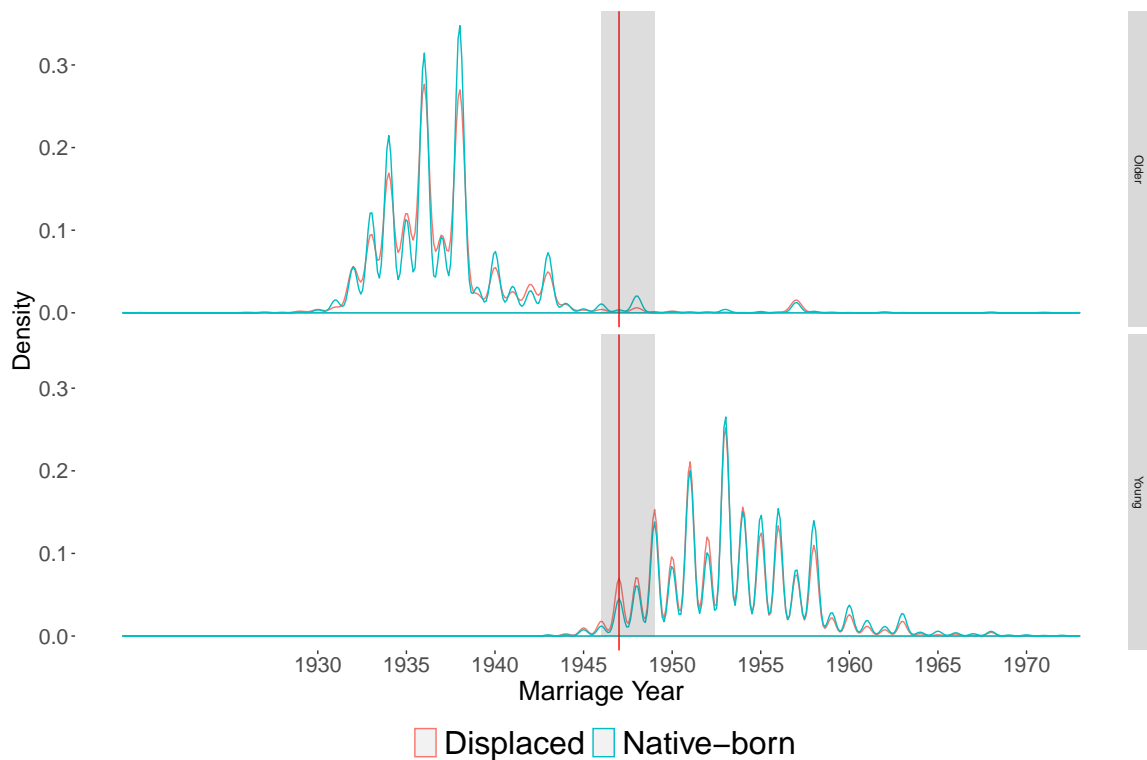
Each dot represents the interaction coefficient of $Age_a^i * Displaced_d$ from a single regression estimated from Equation 3 where the dependent variable is whether the respondent was married by the age of 18. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Data is from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced and non-migrant women that were aged 10 to 32 at the time of Partition.

Figure 4: Effect on marriage age by age at Partition



Each dot represents the interaction coefficient of $Age_a^j * Displaced_d$ from a single regression estimated from Equation 3 where the dependent variable is whether the respondent's age at first marriage. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Data is from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced and non-migrant women that were aged 10 to 32 at the time of Partition.

Figure 5: Distribution of year of marriage by age at Partition



This figure plots smoothed densities of the distribution of year of first marriage for displaced and native-born (control group) women.

Table 1: Summary statistics (by country)

(a) Sample composition

Country	Percent of women				Percent of men			
	Displaced	Recently displaced	Marriage migrant	Non-migrant	Displaced	Recently displaced	Marriage migrant	Non-migrant
Armenia	1.6	0		69.2	1.4	0		80.5
Cambodia	0.6	0.1	3.4	70.5	0.6	0.1	6.8	68.9
Colombia		0.8		76.1		0.9		76.8
India	0.4	0.1	31.3	60.5	0.5	0.1	0.6	88.1
Iraq	0.5	0.1	3.1	87.5	0.6	0.1	0.2	88.1
Kyrgyz Republic	0.2	0.1		68.7	0.2	0.1		76.2
Nepal	0.1	0	8	81.6	0.1	0	0.1	86.3
Pakistan	5			74.6	5.6			78.4

(b) Marriage statistics for women

Country	Average marriage age		Percentage married									
	Displaced	Non-migrant	Displaced	Non-migrant	Displaced	Non-migrant	Displaced	Non-migrant	Displaced	Non-migrant	Displaced	Non-migrant
			10 to 17	18 to 20	21 to 25	26 to 29	30 to 40					
Armenia			0.0	0.5	50.0	12.7	83.3	41.0	81.2	66.0	79.3	80.4
Cambodia	20.76	20.69	3.7	1.2	43.8	23.5	80.2	59.0	88.0	80.4	93.5	90.0
Colombia			5.4	3.6	33.8	24.9	56.6	44.4	72.4	62.5	81.0	76.5
India			20.3	5.2	81.8	39.6	91.8	71.8	98.3	90.5	99.6	97.0
Iraq	20.65	20.61	3.3	3.7	50.0	27.8	63.2	52.7	77.5	71.8	93.0	85.9
Kyrgyz Republic			0.0	0.6	44.4	22.8	61.5	61.5	90.0	84.5	90.6	94.1
Nepal	17.45	17.28	8.6	4.6	28.6	46.7	84.4	79.2	95.0	93.4	95.2	97.5
Pakistan	18.18	18.39										

This table reports summary statistics by country. Panel (a) reports the proportion the population classified as displaced, recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years), marriage migrants, and non-migrants by gender for each country. Panel (b) reports for average marriage ages and marriage rates by group for country. In the columns that report average marriage ages, the displaced category is comprised of women that have ever been displaced. In the columns that report marriage rates, the displaced category is comprised recently displaced women. A recently displaced women is defined as a displaced women who was displaced in the last 5 years. The rates for recently displaced women are reported by age group at time of enumeration. Blank boxes indicate that the relevant data was not available for that country. All statistics are weighted using inverse sampling probabilities.

Table 2: Age at the time of Partition and marriage outcomes
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Ever Married	Child Marriage	Marriage age	Married at Partition
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Young X Displaced	.012*** (.0017)	.04*** (.015)	-.23* (.12)	.054*** (.0061)
Young	-.016*** (.00098)	.074*** (.0073)	-.76*** (.063)	.12*** (.0031)
Displaced	-.00027 (.0011)	.018 (.013)	-.24** (.11)	-.015*** (.003)
Comparison mean	.998	.301	19.3	.0227
Adjusted R ²	.00	.01	.01	.02
N	42761	42761	41503	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9				
	Ever Married	Child Marriage	Marriage age	Married at Partition
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Young X Displaced	-.0055 (.0034)	-.0037 (.015)	.09 (.12)	.015*** (.003)
Young	-.041*** (.0013)	.11*** (.0073)	-1.2*** (.062)	-.022*** (.0021)
Displaced	-.00027 (.0011)	.018 (.013)	-.24** (.11)	-.015*** (.003)
Comparison mean	.998	.301	19.3	.0227
Adjusted R ²	.01	.01	.02	.02
N	42805	42805	40218	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India around the time of Partition (between 1947-1949). The dependent variable “Ever married” is an indicator of whether the respondent has ever been married. The dependent variable “Married at Partition” is an indicator variable of whether a respondent was first married between 1946 - 1949. The dependent variable “Marriage age” is the respondent’s age at first marriage. The dependent variable “Married by 15” is an indicator of whether the respondent was married at or before the age of 15. The dependent variable “Child marriage” is an indicator whether the respondent was married before the age of 18. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 3: Age at the time of Partition and marriage outcomes (including destination fixed effects)
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Ever Married	Child Marriage	Marriage age	Married at Partition
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Young X Displaced	.012 (.0033)	.032 (.018)	-.18 (.097)	.054 (.031)
Young	-.015* (.0012)	.068 (.014)	-.72* (.078)	.12 (.062)
Displaced	.00055 (.00084)	.036* (.0038)	-.4* (.036)	-.009 (.004)
Comparison mean	.998	.301	19.3	.0227
Adjusted R ²	.01	.04	.05	.03
N	42761	42761	41503	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Ever Married	Child Marriage	Marriage age	Married at Partition
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Young X Displaced	-.0071** (.0035)	-.015 (.015)	.16 (.12)	.015*** (.0031)
Young	-.041*** (.0014)	.11*** (.0072)	-1.1*** (.061)	-.022*** (.0021)
Displaced	.006*** (.0016)	.042*** (.013)	-.42*** (.11)	-.016*** (.0031)
Comparison mean	.998	.301	19.3	.0227
Adjusted R ²	.01	.04	.05	.02
N	42805	42805	40218	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2 including destination (district x urban) fixed effects. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India around the time of Partition (between 1947-1949). The dependent variable “Ever married” is an indicator of whether the respondent has ever been married. The dependent variable “Married at Partition” is an indicator variable of whether a respondent was first married between 1946 - 1949. The dependent variable “Marriage age” is the respondent’s age at first marriage. The dependent variable “Married by 15” is an indicator of whether the respondent was married at or before the age of 15. The dependent variable “Child marriage” is an indicator whether the respondent was married before the age of 18. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 4: Age at the time of Partition and other own outcomes
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Literate	Years of schooling	Children Born	Children Surviving	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	.012** (.0048)	.11*** (.032)	.38*** (.095)	.56*** (.074)	-.0069 (.0052)
Young	.031*** (.0024)	.11*** (.021)	-.69*** (.045)	-.42*** (.035)	.016*** (.0031)
Displaced	.00026 (.0038)	-.074*** (.026)	.34*** (.087)	-.094 (.067)	-.016*** (.0045)
Comparison mean	.0284	.191	5.64	4.77	.0376
Adjusted R ²	.00	.00	.02	.01	.00
N	42761	41808	42142	39785	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Literate	Years of schooling	Children Born	Children Surviving	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	.027*** (.0057)	.26*** (.041)	.036 (.094)	.44*** (.073)	-.0054 (.0053)
Young	.066*** (.0026)	.34*** (.022)	-2.2*** (.044)	-1.6*** (.035)	.015*** (.0031)
Displaced	.00026 (.0038)	-.074*** (.026)	.34*** (.087)	-.094 (.067)	-.016*** (.0045)
Comparison mean	.0284	.191	5.64	4.77	.0376
Adjusted R ²	.01	.01	.12	.10	.00
N	42805	41436	41067	37573	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Young” is an indicator of whether the respondent was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India at the time of Partition. The dependent variable “Literate” is an indicator of whether the respondent is literate (regardless of formal school attendance). The dependent variable “Disabled” is an indicator of whether the individual has a physical or mental disability (i.e. blindness, deafness, physical handicap). The dependent variable “Years of schooling” is the number of years of schooling the respondent has completed. The dependent variable “Children ever born” is the total number of children ever born to the respondent. The dependent variable “Children surviving” is the number of surviving children the respondent has at the time of survey. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 5: Age at the time of Partition and other own outcomes (including destination fixed effects)

(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Literate	Years of schooling	Children Born	Children Surviving	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	.0005 (.0047)	.046 (.032)	.36*** (.094)	.55*** (.073)	-.0088* (.0052)
Young	.026*** (.0024)	.089*** (.021)	-.73*** (.045)	-.44*** (.035)	.015*** (.003)
Displaced	-.019*** (.0039)	-.16*** (.026)	.1 (.088)	-.27*** (.068)	-.0015 (.0045)
Comparison mean	.0284	.191	5.64	4.77	.0376
Adjusted R ²	.09	.05	.04	.03	.06
N	42761	41808	42142	39785	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Literate	Years of schooling	Children Born	Children Surviving	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	.0099* (.0056)	.15*** (.041)	.028 (.093)	.43*** (.073)	-.0087* (.0053)
Young	.056*** (.0026)	.29*** (.022)	-2.2*** (.044)	-1.6*** (.035)	.016*** (.003)
Displaced	-.023*** (.0041)	-.21*** (.028)	.2** (.087)	-.2*** (.068)	-.0009 (.0045)
Comparison mean	.0284	.191	5.64	4.77	.0376
Adjusted R ²	.12	.08	.14	.11	.05
N	42805	41436	41067	37573	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2 including destination (district x urban) fixed effects. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Young” is an indicator of whether the respondent was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India at the time of Partition. The dependent variable “Literate” is an indicator of whether the respondent is literate (regardless of formal school attendance). The dependent variable “Disabled” is an indicator of whether the individual has a physical or mental disability (i.e. blindness, deafness, physical handicap). The dependent variable “Years of schooling” is the number of years of schooling the respondent has completed. The dependent variable “Children ever born” is the total number of children ever born to the respondent. The dependent variable “Children surviving” is the number of surviving children the respondent has at the time of survey. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 6: Age at the time of Partition and spousal characteristics
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.22 (.2)	.027*** (.0054)	.0035 (.013)	.073 (.091)	.029* (.015)
Young	.56*** (.098)	-.013*** (.002)	.095*** (.0064)	.65*** (.041)	.14*** (.0074)
Displaced	.024 (.17)	-.96*** (.0046)	.019* (.011)	.16** (.077)	.0031 (.014)
Comparison	6.00	.99	.15	.72	.63
Adjusted R ²	.001	.85	.0073	.0065	.017
N	34532	34526	34532	32287	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.6*** (.2)	.073*** (.0059)	.044*** (.014)	.44*** (.1)	.028* (.015)
Young	-.23** (.098)	-.043*** (.0023)	.17*** (.0065)	1.2*** (.044)	.11*** (.0074)
Displaced	.024 (.17)	-.96*** (.0046)	.019* (.011)	.16** (.077)	.0031 (.014)
Adjusted R ²	6.00	.99	.15	.72	.63
Comparison	.0012	.71	.022	.019	.011
N	33588	33586	33588	30921	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Young” is an indicator of whether the respondent was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India at the time of Partition. The dependent variable “Age Difference” is the difference between the spouse’s age and the respondent’s age. The dependent variable “Literate” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is literate (regardless of formal school attendance). The dependent variable “Years of schooling” is the number of years of schooling the respondent’s spouse has completed. The dependent variable “Born in Pakistan” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is native-born. The dependent variable “Currently employed” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is currently employed. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 7: Age at the time of Partition and spousal characteristics (including destination fixed effects)
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.21 (.2)	.029*** (.0055)	-.018 (.013)	-.13 (.088)	.034** (.015)
Young	.51*** (.098)	-.013*** (.002)	.085*** (.0062)	.56*** (.04)	.14*** (.0073)
Displaced	.28 (.18)	-.95*** (.0049)	.00067 (.011)	-.083 (.076)	-.016 (.014)
Comparison mean	6	.988	.151	.717	.626
Adjusted R ²	.01	.85	.10	.12	.03
N	34532	34526	34532	32287	42761

(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.62*** (.2)	.075*** (.0061)	.021 (.014)	.19* (.1)	.033** (.015)
Young	-.28*** (.098)	-.039*** (.0023)	.16*** (.0064)	1.1*** (.043)	.11*** (.0074)
Displaced	.31* (.18)	-.93*** (.005)	.002 (.011)	-.14* (.078)	-.016 (.014)
Comparison mean	6	.988	.151	.717	.626
Adjusted R ²	.01	.72	.11	.14	.03
N	33588	33586	33588	30921	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Young” is an indicator of whether the respondent was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India at the time of Partition. The dependent variable “Age Difference” is the difference between the spouse’s age and the respondent’s age. The dependent variable “Literate” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is literate (regardless of formal school attendance). The dependent variable “Years of schooling” is the number of years of schooling the respondent’s spouse has completed. The dependent variable “Born in Pakistan” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is native-born. The dependent variable “Currently employed” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is currently employed. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table 8: Age at the time of Partition and spousal characteristics (including destination fixed effects)
(a) Young is 10 to 17

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.21 (.2)	.029*** (.0055)	-.018 (.013)	-.13 (.088)	.034** (.015)
Young	.51*** (.098)	-.013*** (.002)	.085*** (.0062)	.56*** (.04)	.14*** (.0073)
Displaced	.28 (.18)	-.95*** (.0049)	.00067 (.011)	-.083 (.076)	-.016 (.014)
Comparison mean	6	.988	.151	.717	.626
Adjusted R ²	.01	.85	.10	.12	.03
N	34532	34526	34532	32287	42761

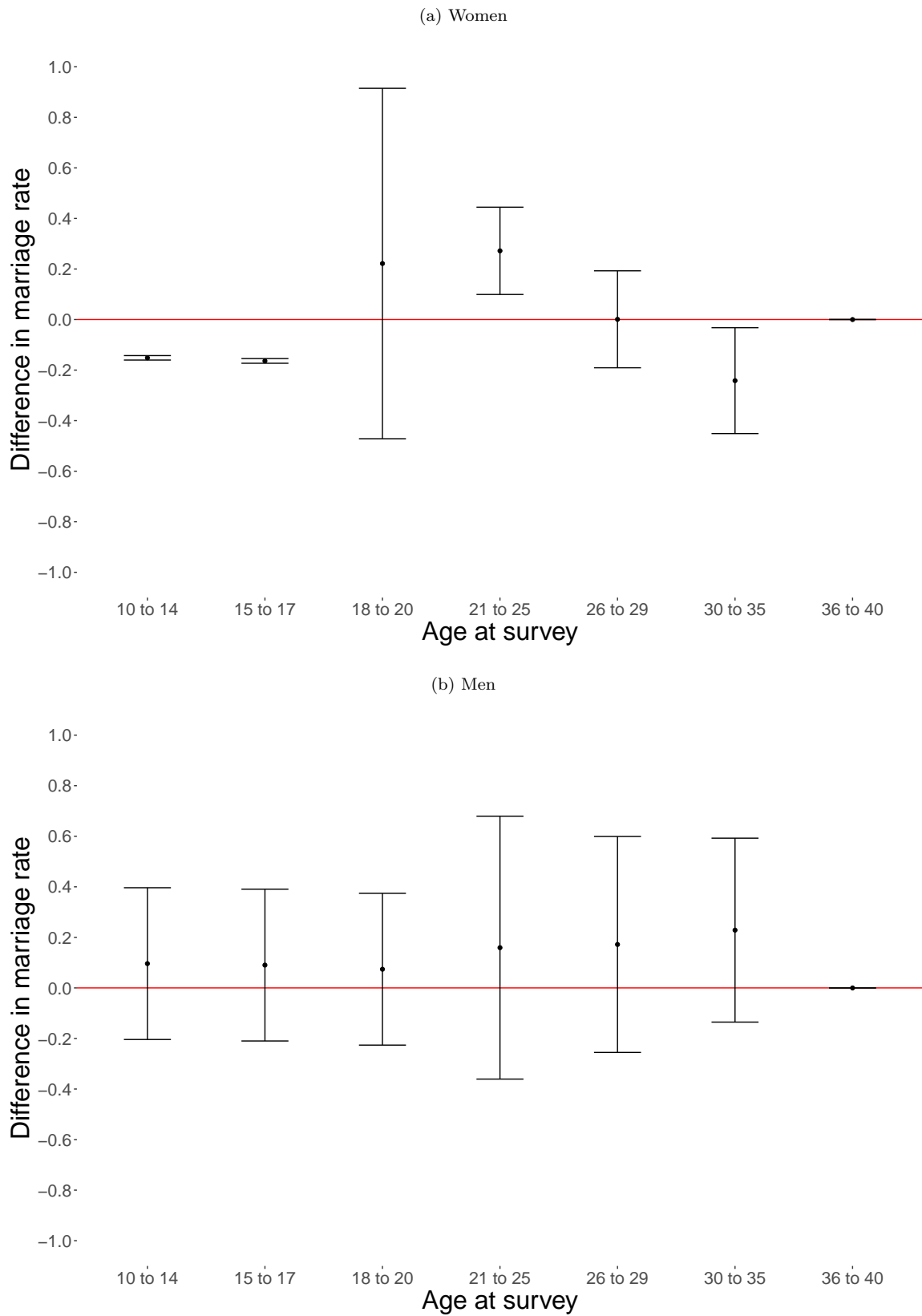
(b) Young is 1 to 9

	Age Difference	Nativity	Literate	Years of Schooling	Employed
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Young X Displaced	-.62*** (.2)	.075*** (.0061)	.021 (.014)	.19* (.1)	.033** (.015)
Young	-.28*** (.098)	-.039*** (.0023)	.16*** (.0064)	1.1*** (.043)	.11*** (.0074)
Displaced	.31* (.18)	-.93*** (.005)	.002 (.011)	-.14* (.078)	-.016 (.014)
Comparison mean	6	.988	.151	.717	.626
Adjusted R ²	.01	.72	.11	.14	.03
N	33588	33586	33588	30921	42805

Each column represents a single regression estimated from Equation 2 including destination (district x urban) fixed effects. The data from the 1973 Pakistan HED survey. The analysis sample is restricted to displaced (treatment group) and native-born (comparison group) females living in Punjab at the time of enumeration that were aged (a) 10 to 17 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition or (b) 1 to 9 or 30 to 32 at the time of Partition. “Young” is an indicator of whether the respondent was between the ages of 10 and 17 at the time of Partition. “Displaced” is an indicator of whether the respondent was displaced from India at the time of Partition. The dependent variable “Age Difference” is the difference between the spouse’s age and the respondent’s age. The dependent variable “Literate” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is literate (regardless of formal school attendance). The dependent variable “Years of schooling” is the number of years of schooling the respondent’s spouse has completed. The dependent variable “Born in Pakistan” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is native-born. The dependent variable “Currently employed” is an indicator of whether the respondent’s spouse is currently employed. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported in parentheses. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. Statistical significance is denoted as: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

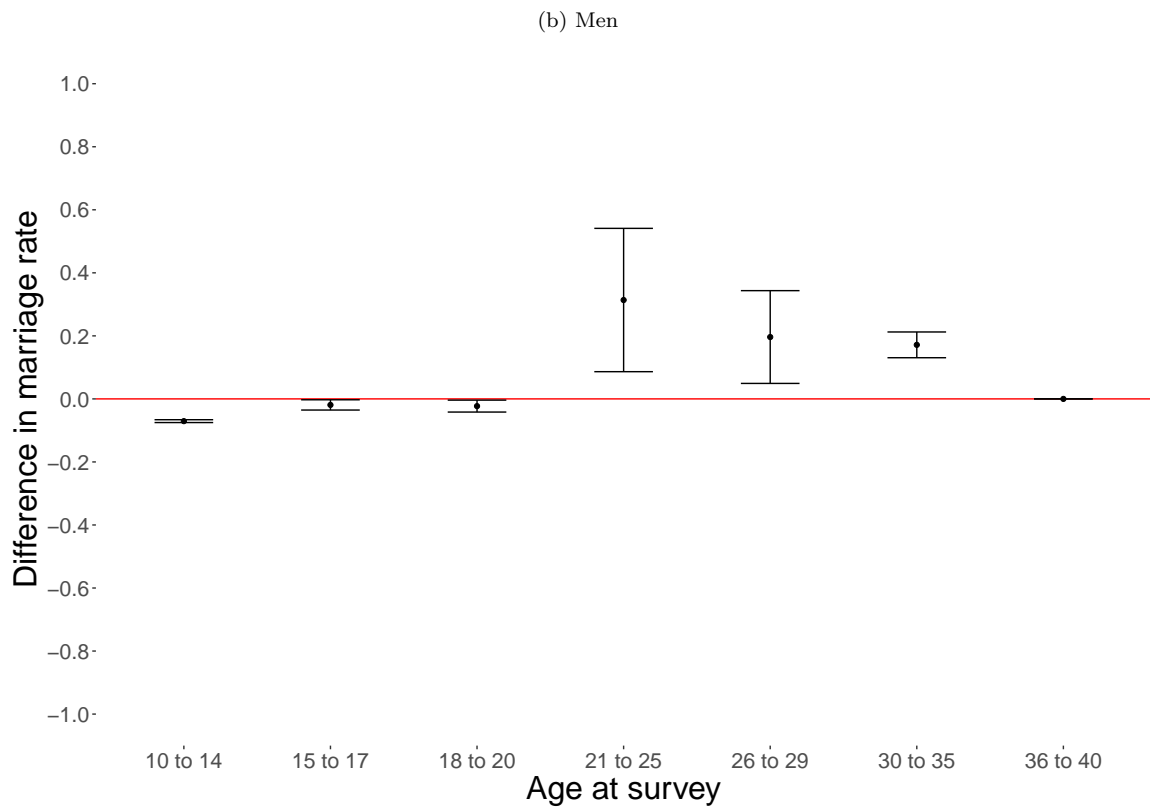
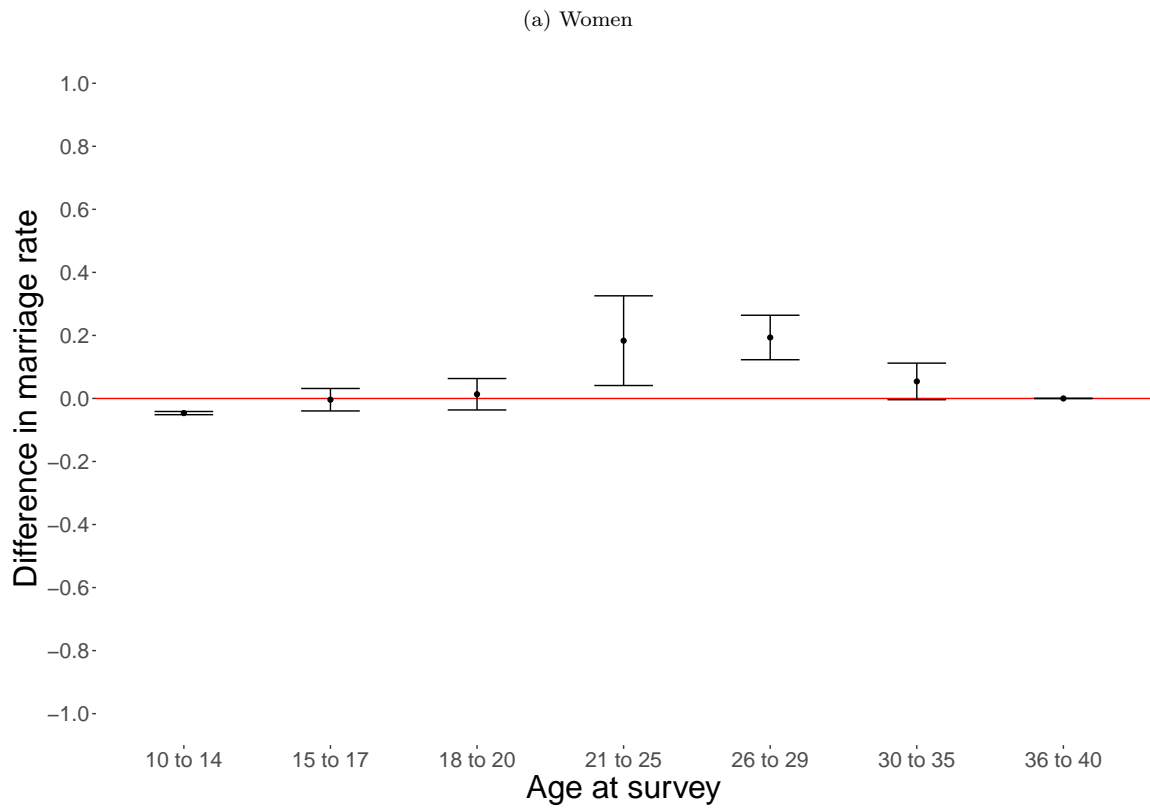
7 Appendix

Figure A.1: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Armenia)



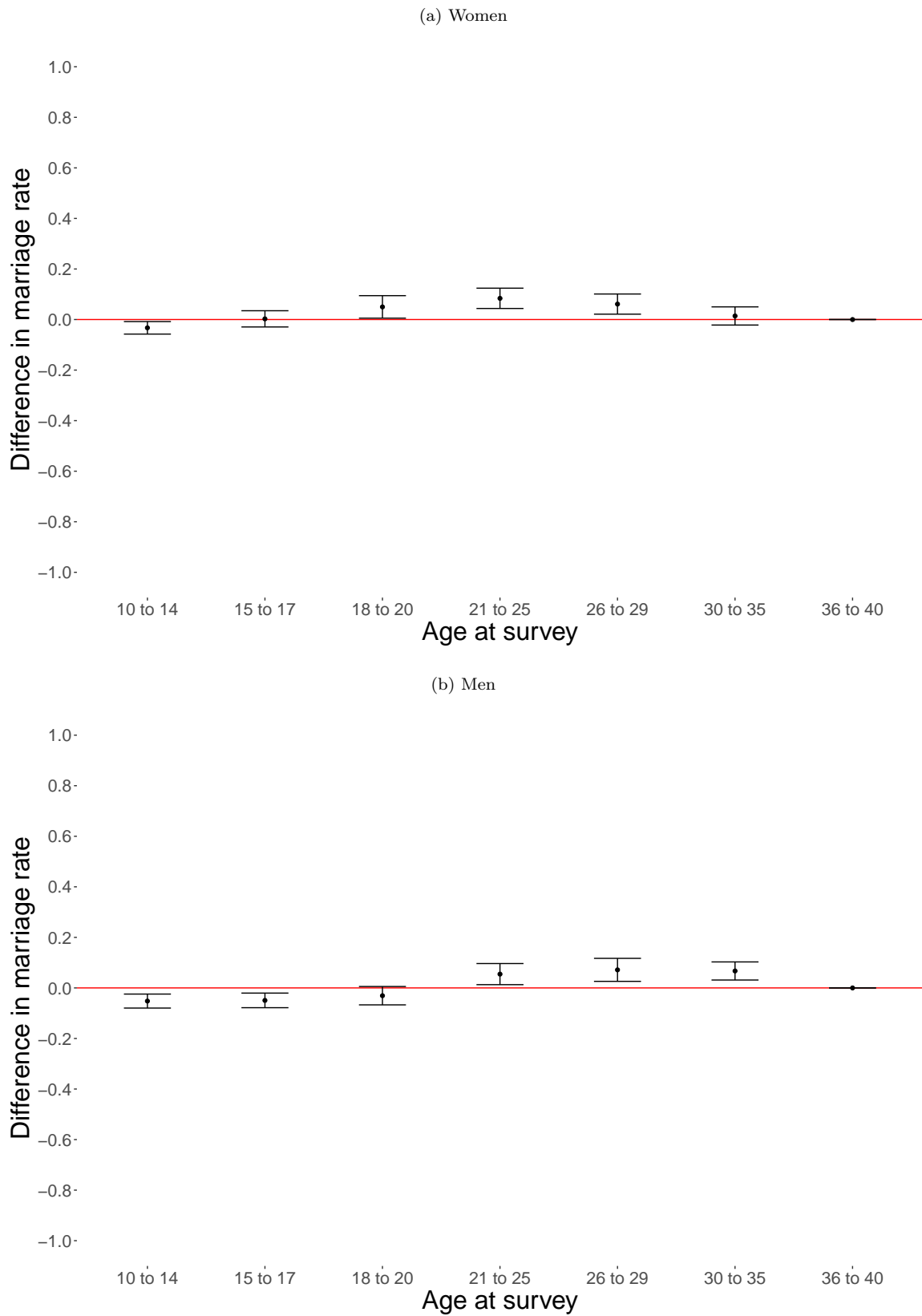
Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is from the Armenia 2011 sample.

Figure A.2: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Cambodia)



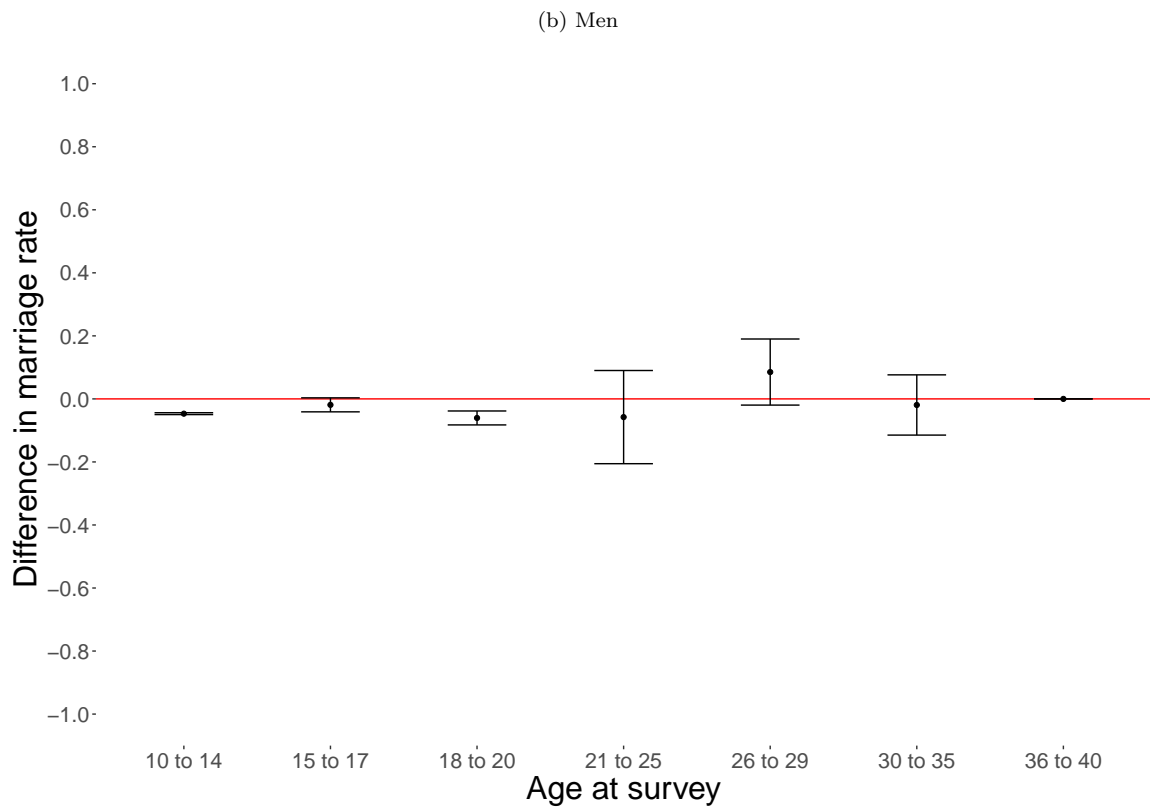
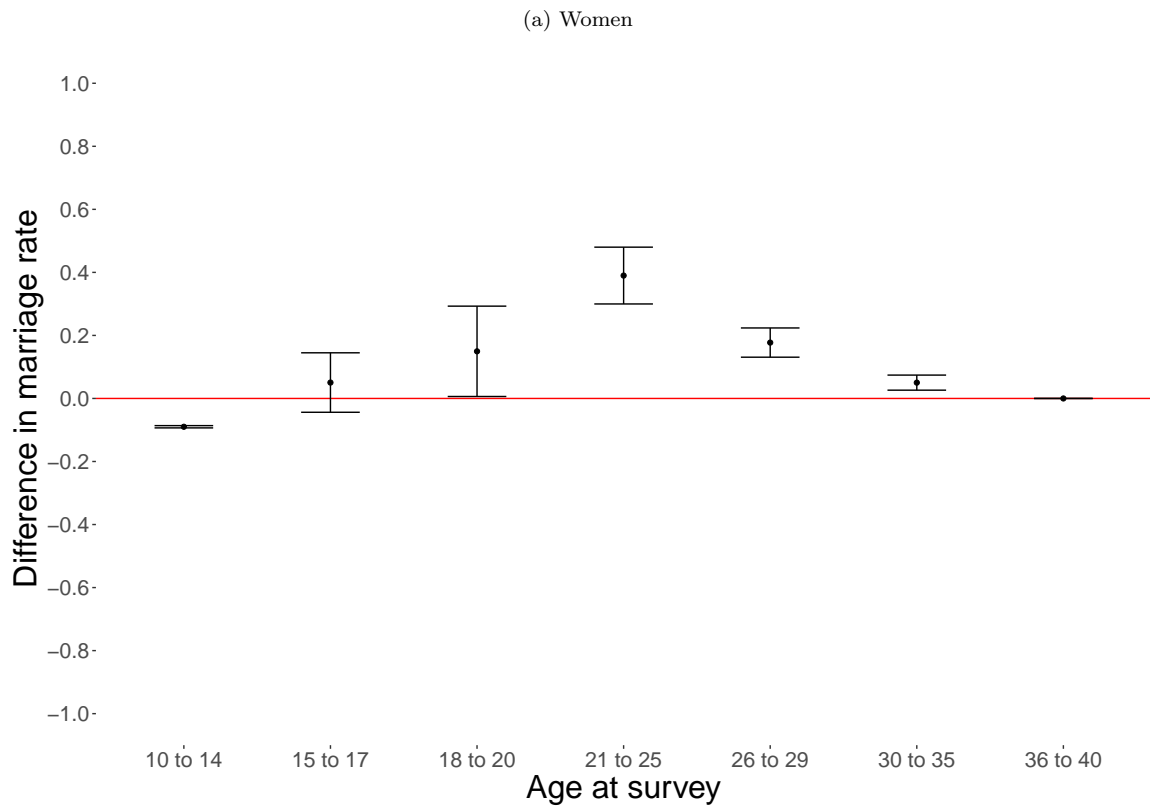
Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1 with year fixed effects. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is pooled over the Cambodia 1994, 2004, 2008, and 2013 samples.

Figure A.3: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Colombia)



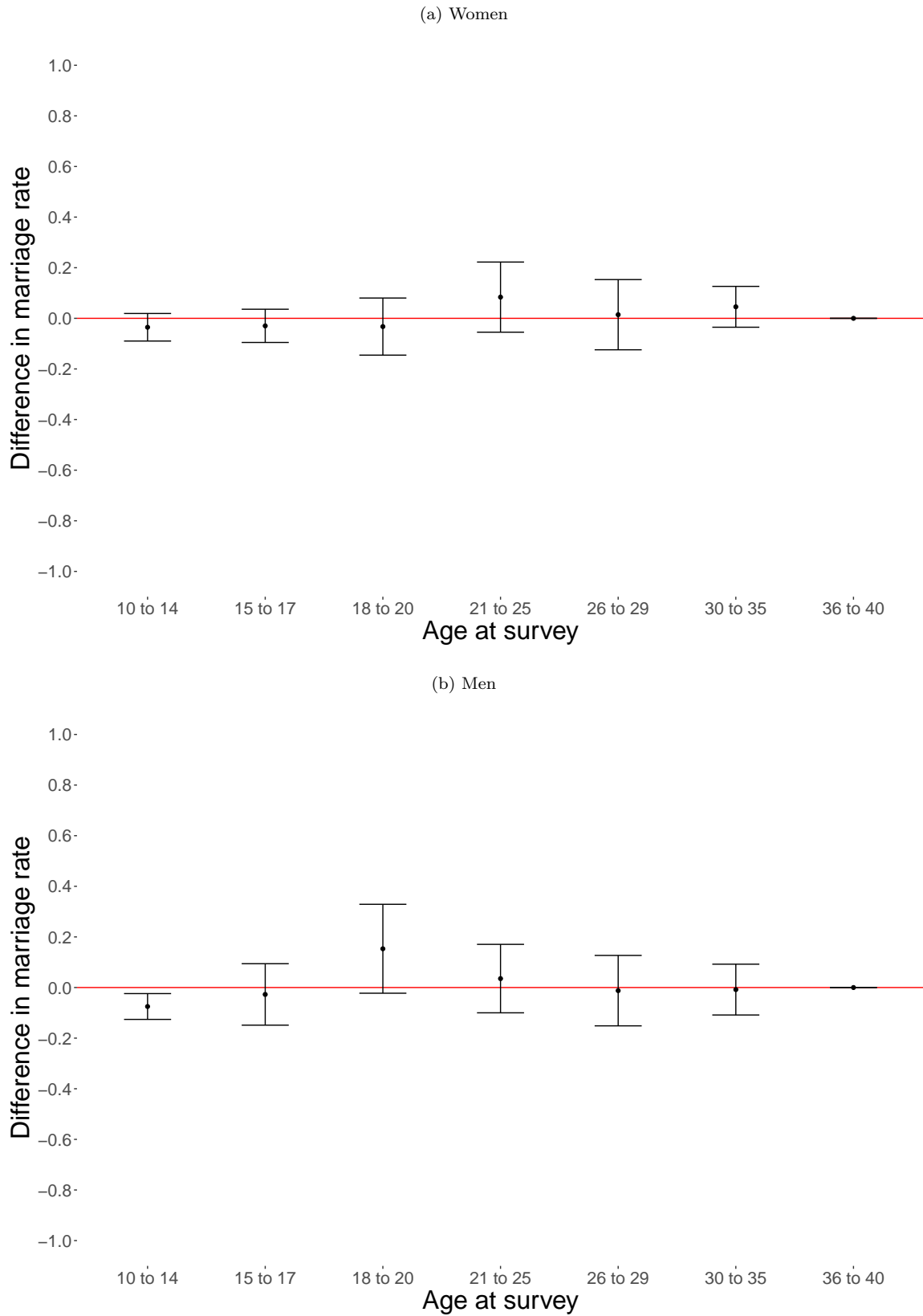
Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is from the Colombia 2005 sample.

Figure A.4: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (India)



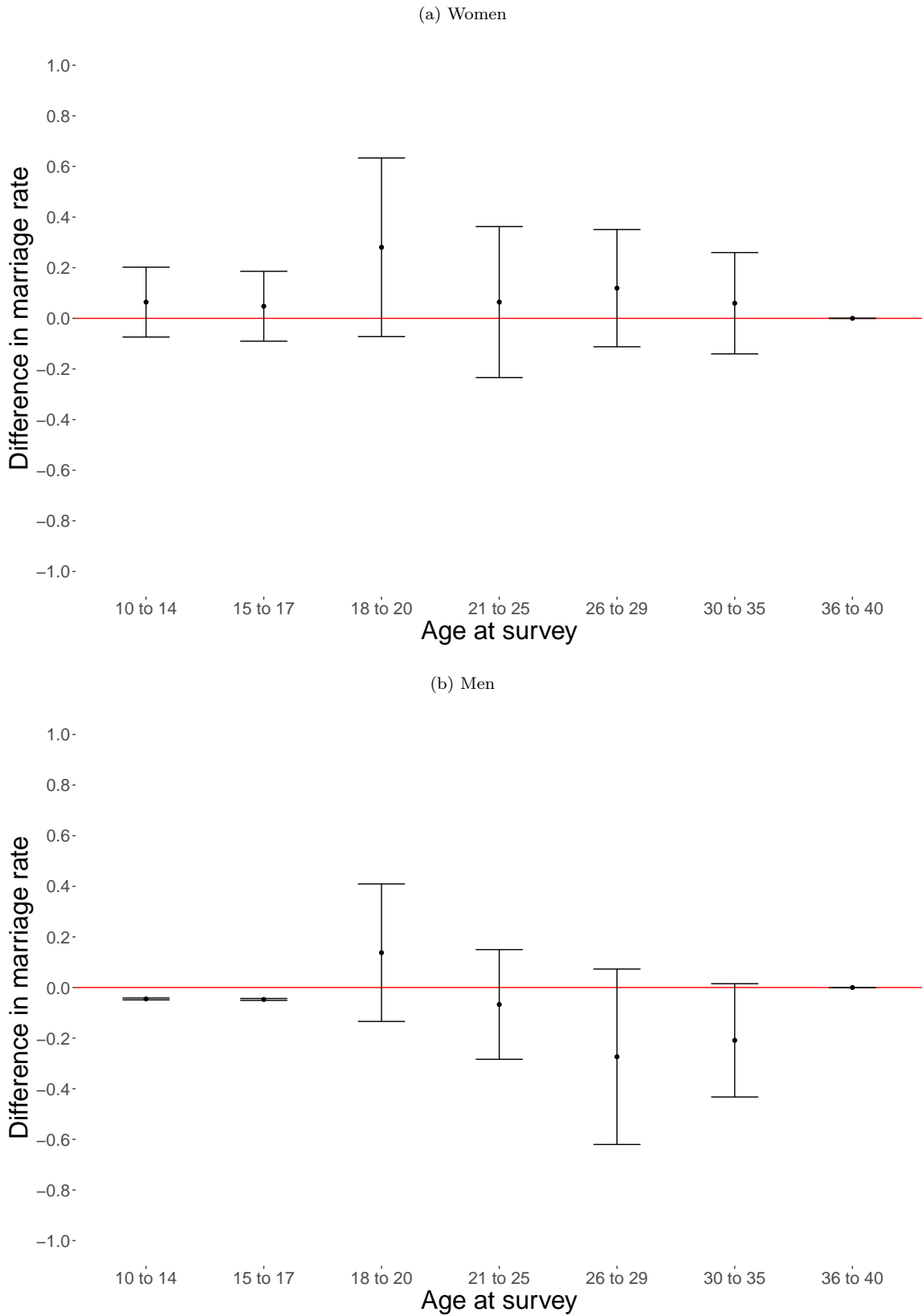
Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1 with year fixed effects. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is pooled over the India 1983, 1987, and 1999 samples.

Figure A.5: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Iraq)



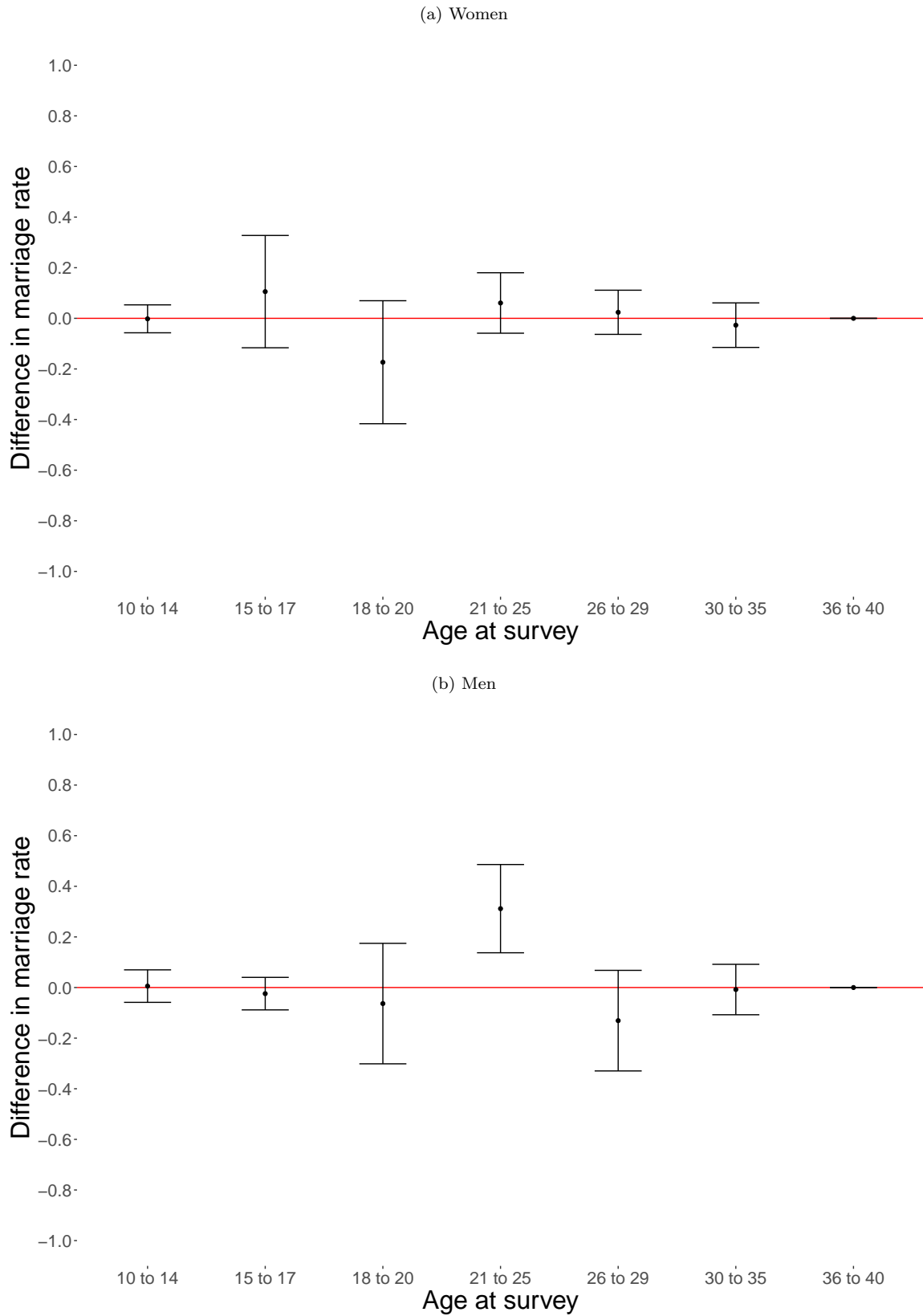
Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is from the Iraq 1997 sample.

Figure A.6: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Kyrgyz Republic)



Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is from the Kyrgyz Republic 2009 sample.

Figure A.7: Effect of displacement on marriage rates (Nepal)



Each dot represents the coefficient from a separate regression estimated from Equation 1. The dependent variable is whether the respondent has ever been married and the independent variable is whether the respondent was been displaced. The error bars report a 95% for each coefficient estimate using robust standard errors. Individual observations are weighted by inverse sampling probability. The analysis sample consists of recently displaced (displaced in last 5 years) and non-migrants of the indicated gender and age at survey. Data is from the Nepal 2011 sample.