

# Religious Teachings as an Agent of Development: Evidence from Early Marriage and Polygamy in Malawi<sup>†</sup>

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## Abstract

Using individual-level data provided by the Demographic and Health Survey (2000, 2004, 2010) merged by GPS-based coordinates with community-level data sourced from the Integrated Household Survey (2010-2011) in Malawi, this paper asks the question of whether religious teachings affect women's marital practices. To address endogeneity associated with an individual's religious affiliation, the analysis takes an instrumental variable (IV) approach by exploiting a unique setting of the Christian mission, which dates back to the late 19th century. Being exposed to the mission, measured by geographical distance (km) to the influential station, Livingstonia, enabled the indigenous population to gradually convert to Christianity when they were not the Yao, an ethnic group that was proselytized into Islam because of their ivory and slave trades with the Arabs that had existed prior to the arrival of the mission. The IV approach shows that the religious affiliation cannot always be taken as exogenous in an empirical analysis. Using the distance-ethnicity (non-Yao) interaction as an IV for the religious distribution of the current generation with a control of ethnicity-level historical covariates (e.g., slave exports, access to railway networks) and abundance of community-level local conditions (e.g., geography, climate) or community-fixed effects, this study finds that compared to those practicing the other religions (Islam and other) or no religion, Christian females are more likely to postpone their marriage by 1-3 years with less likelihood of engaging in polygynous relationship by approximately 30 percentage points. Formal educational attainment, fear of HIV infection, and religion-based segmentation in both the marriage and labor markets are less likely to explain the religious effects. While it is difficult to completely rule out alternative mechanisms, these findings are consistent with the view that religious education plays a role.

**Keywords:** Culture, Education, Gender, Marriage, Mission, Religion

**JEL classification:** I25, J12, N37, Z12, Z13

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## 1 Introduction

During the recent decade, many political efforts have been expended to put religious forces and institutions on development agenda (Haar and Ellis (2006)). For instance, UNDP (2004) lists religion (in parallel to ethnicity) as sources of cultural diversity and sees the cultural liberty as a vital part of human development.<sup>1</sup> In addition, Commission for Africa (2005) (p.31; pp.127-129) highlights the potential of religion, which provides both the material and spiritual services, to play a positive role in the development process on this continent, referring to the fact that non-state organizations having an explicit religious basis often take much responsibility for offering welfare services (e.g., education, health). The UK Department for International Development (DFID) also financed a series of multi-million-pound comparative research that the Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium undertook between 2005 and 2010.<sup>2</sup> This trend seemingly builds on the political society's firm belief that by understanding socio-economic roles played by religion, one may remove political aspects from the dimension as well as design effective policy tools that exploit and/or change its economic impacts on the economy. In fact, religious denomination typically carries attitudes, values, skills, and knowledge of its own, such as asceticism (or austerity, thrift), diligence, fidelity, honesty, work ethic, and absenteeism from sinful activities (e.g., drug, alcohol). The followers can acquire those intellectual resources from relevant actors (e.g., parent, priest, sheikh) in various circumstances (e.g., church, mosque, madrasa). Provided that the lifelong learning process alters people's assessment about the material world, it is certainly possible that religious instruction has economic consequences.

In contrast to the recent resilience, however, an international society traditionally excluded consideration of religion in formulating policies towards developing countries. One reason for the lack of the prior discussions may be that religion was regarded as irrelevant to the development process.<sup>3</sup> Related to this point, Lewis (1955) provided deliberate discussions about the relationship between religion and economic development. According to him, while some religious codes are more compatible with economic growth than others, the causal relationship is not always explicit. In particular, he notes not only that people are prone to ignoring religious precepts that conflict with their economic interest but also that religious doctrines often change as social conditions change (pp.103-104). In addition to his thoughtful observations, people also tend to show veneration for their ancestors as well as for religious authority in the developing world. In Africa whereby

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<sup>1</sup>Ethnicity is another important social fabric in the developing world and evidence has increasingly emerged showing the relationship between ethnic diversity and economic development at both the macro- (e.g., Alesina et al. (2003); Alesina and Ferrara (2005); Easterly and Levine (1997)) and micro-levels (e.g., Barr and Oduro (2002); Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2013); Miguel and Gugerty (2005)).

<sup>2</sup>See <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/Project/3896/> and [http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/index.php?section=10#mod\\_58](http://www.religionsanddevelopment.org/index.php?section=10#mod_58) for the details.

<sup>3</sup>Another reason may be that religion is politically sensitive.

syncretism often abounds, it is not uncommon that few people devote themselves to all of one religion. All these considerations yield skepticism against the idea that religion has an independent effect in shaping socio-economic behavior.

While several empirical attempts have been made to test if religion causally affects economic development (e.g., Barro and McCleary (2005); McCleary and Barro (2006); Noland (2005)), it seems that general agreement about the relationship has not yet been obtained. As indicated in the previous literature (Aldashev and Platteau (2014); de Jong (2011)), the ambiguity is in part attributed to difficulty in establishing a solid empirical strategy to identify the causal effects as well as the lack of theoretical understandings behind the identified impacts. By paying careful attention to these two issues, the current study attempts not only to fill the knowledge gap but also to inform the public of the potential of religion as development forces.

Broadly speaking, two considerations may be given to the theoretical channels through which religion causes economic or social changes; firstly, religion can function as an institutional constraint that affects an individual's decision-making. Secondly, it alters people's perceptions about values and beliefs attached to the material world (i.e., preferences), which in turn changes their choices. Focusing on the second mechanism, specifically, this study asks the question of whether religious teachings affect women's marital practices in Malawi, namely age at marriage and an entry into polygynous relationship. This decision stems from several reasons. Firstly, as religious doctrine often includes marriage-related contents, it is quite likely that religious education produces the stock of knowledge or beliefs relevant to marriage conducts among the adherents, which actually characterizes women's marital behavior. Secondly, based on a short questionnaire-based survey that the author conducted in rural Malawi, some of the respondents indeed had own understandings about those practices from the religious standpoint.<sup>4</sup> For example, whether the respondents were Christian or Muslim, they usually perceived that Christianity prohibited polygyny but Islam did not. In addition, part of both Christian and Muslim respondents also remarked that religion provided them with some sort of moral guidance about sexual behavior and appropriate age at

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<sup>4</sup>In order to examine people's perception about marital practices, inheritance practices, and the relationship between those practices and religious beliefs, the author conducted a short questionnaire-based survey in three districts (Machinga, Mulanje, and Zomba) in southern Malawi in 2013. After obtaining the village list from the respective district council, in this survey, the author randomly selected at least one village from each district, resulting in five villages surveyed in all those three districts. In each village, two to five residents were interviewed and each of those interviews required approximately one hour to one hour and a half for the completion. In order to ensure confidentiality as well as to increase data reliability, the interviews were conducted in an environment where the respondent was alone with the author and the research assistant (for translation to Chewa). While the interviewed respondents were not randomly selected because of the author's limited resources (i.e., convenience sampling) and so it is difficult for the current study to generalize the findings from the field interviews, the survey eventually reached eight male and 12 female adult respondents. Among the respondents covering four ethnic groups (Lomwe, Ngoni, Nyanja, and Yao), 11 respondents were Muslim and nine were Christian. The author plans to implement a similar survey in northern districts in 2014.

marriage, probably due to the spread of HIV/AIDS (Trinitapoli and Weinreb (2012)), complication of delivery associated with physical immaturity, or social understandings about economic roles of females. These pieces of background information demonstrate understandable reasons to expect that by generating intellectual or spiritual capability pertaining to those marital conducts, religious teachings may indeed affect women's marital behavior. Thirdly, while some marriage-related practices against women's human rights (e.g., child marriage, female circumcision, polygamy) are often discussed in association with religious beliefs, it is not clear whether they are indeed the consequence of religious teachings or some other mechanisms drive them in the name of religion.<sup>5</sup> From the perspective of female human rights, the question should also deserve investigating.

In order to estimate impacts of religious education on women's marital practices, this paper uses repeated cross-sectional data drawn from the Malawi Demographic and Health Surveys (MDHS) 2000, 2004 and 2010. The data contains a variety of information pertaining to marriage, fertility, family planning, reproductive health, child health, and HIV/AIDS at the individual level. This makes the MDHS data highly valuable resource for an empirical study. The selection of the country also fits the purpose of the current study for two reasons. Firstly, the MDHS data set contains a good variation of females that practiced Christianity, Islam, other or no religions that is useful in an empirical analysis. As reported in Table 1, in the data set, approximately 85.9% of the sample females believed some Christianity, in contrast to about 13.0% and 1.0% of Islam and other/no religions, respectively.<sup>6</sup> In addition, this country's experience of the Christian mission (Livingstonia Mission) produces a quasi-experimental setting that helps identify the causal impacts of interest.

This study will take two steps to meet the research objectives. Firstly, it is attempted to show that an individual's religious affiliation has causal influence on marital practices, because the MDHS data set does not provide a direct measure of religious education acquired by the respondents. Consequently, in the second step, it will be needed to make every effort to exclude alternative mechanisms that prevent this study from interpreting the identified religious effects as impacts of religious teachings.

Regarding the first-step exercise, the descriptive analysis presented in this paper will reveal a statistically significant association between Christianity and women's marital practices. However, this relationship cannot simply be taken as evidence supporting causality from religion to the

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<sup>5</sup>In some societies, female circumcision is seen as a rite of passage into womanhood (e.g., Oloo et al. (2011)). In some of such societies, females are not allowed to get married unless they go for the circumcision.

<sup>6</sup>In Table 1, the proportion is unweighted. In order to calculate the true proportion of the entire population from the sample data, appropriate sample weights need to be used. However the weighting may not significantly affect the overall picture. For example, based on the recent estimate in 2010 provided by Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (<http://features.pewforum.org/global-christianity/total-population-percentage.php>), approximately 82.7% of the total population was Christian in Malawi, which is very close to the unweighted proportion observed in the MDHS data.

marital outcomes. This is because the current Christianity's supremacy in this country has its origin in the Christian mission in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that preceded the colonization periods and consequently, the religious distribution of the current generation may be correlated with the mission's decision to establish the work stations. If the determinants of the locational choices have long-term independent influence on women's marital practices, this will bias the estimates of interest.

To address this potential endogeneity, two strategies will be taken in this paper. The first approach attempts to control for as many determinants as possible. Several key factors such as access to clean water as well as disease-preventing low temperature and high altitude are often indicated as the missionaries' consideration in Johnson (1967) and elsewhere (e.g., Nunn (2010); Nunn (forthcoming)). As it appears that those items are primarily characterized by local geographic and climate conditions, an attempt will be made to control for them. In the attempt, as no such data is available in the MDHS, ample community-level information on the geography and climate will be taken from another survey of the third Integrated Household Survey (IHS) 2010-2011. Using the GPS-based coordinates provided by both the surveys, this exercise will be made by identifying an IHS community located in the closest proximity to a community surveyed in the MDHS.

The second approach will address the endogeneity problem by taking an instrumental variable (IV) strategy. This study notes that Christianity was less appealing to the Yao, an ethnic group that were proselytized into Islam due to their ivory and slave trades with the Arabs that had existed before the arrival of the mission. Then, a MDHS community's distance to the mission's influential station, Livingstonia, interacted with an indicator variable for non-Yao ethnic groups will be used as an instrument for an individual's religious affiliation. One advantage of this instrument enables this study to use it to identify the religious effects even with a control of community-level fixed effects. Compared to the OLS estimations, the IV approach will considerably alter the estimates of interest, although the fundamental implications remain unchanged. A discussion about the possible factors that might have confounded the OLS estimates will be made, followed by three separate falsification tests to check the exclusion restriction of the instrument. Using population data in the early 20th century, one of those tests attempts to see if within the non-Yao ethnic groups, the distance to Livingstonia was associated with the outcomes of interest, proxied by population density, in the periods *before* the missionary contacts.

After showing the religious effects on women's marital practices, then, the analysis will turn to the question of whether receiving religious teachings is indeed a source of the identified religious effects. This study aims at achieving this goal by excluding major alternative mechanisms that might explain the impacts. Given evidently significant educational facilitation provided by the mission, it will be checked whether an individual's educational attainment can fully account for

the religious effects. This paper will also explore whether an individual's fear of HIV infection as well as religion-based segmentation in both the marriage and labor markets drives the religious effects.

This study contributes to many strands of the extant literature. First of all, within the field of economics, not many empirical studies have explored the relationship between religion and economic outcomes (e.g., Barro and McCleary (2005); McCleary and Barro (2006); Noland (2005)), and the causal relationship is not always explicit. In addition, most of those studies were typically based on the cross-country comparison or the analysis at the sub-national level and consequently, micro evidence from within countries is highly scarce. Even in case of studies using micro-level data, most of them investigate the role of religion in high-income countries (e.g., Dehejia et al. (2007)). In contrast to those studies, by using large-scale micro-level data collected within a low-income country, this study will attempt to identify causal effects of an individual's religious affiliation in a rigorous manner. Using an individual as a unit of observations allows this study to directly evaluate impacts of religious values that are internal to individuals and facilitated by religious education. The in-depth within-country nature of the analysis also helps disentangle the complexity between religion and socio-economic environment, which is usually difficult in macro-level studies.

As already noted above, secondly, two sets of explanations may broadly be given to theoretical mechanisms that link religious forces to people's decision making; one emphasizes institutional aspects of religion and the other focuses on direct influence of religious beliefs or teachings on an individual's preferences. Regarding the institutional role, for example, it has been studied that religious organizations provide public goods such as social insurance (Chen (2010); Dehejia et al. (2007); Hungerman (2005); Scheve and Stasavage (2006)) and educational services (Botticini and Eckstein (2005, 2007)) as well as club goods that induce social cooperation among group members (Berman (2000); Levy and Razin (2012, forthcoming)). From the preference perspective, several attempts have been made to explore the relationship between religion and people's attitudes towards political participation (Gerber et al. (2010)); religiously prohibited activities (Carvalho (2013); Gruber and Hungerman (2008)); work ethic (Arruñada (2010)); women's social role (Clingsmith et al. (2009); Guiso et al. (2003)); government, legal rules, and the market economy (Guiso et al. (2003)); and equality and harmony among ethnic groups (Clingsmith et al. (2009)). By adding a new piece of empirical evidence from attitudes towards marital conducts, the current research will contribute to this second line of research.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>More generally, there has been a recent effort made by economists to better understand the role played by culture, norms, and beliefs in an individual's decision making (e.g., Greif (1994); Bénabou and Tirole (2006); Fernández (2011); Luttmer and Singhal (2011); Fernández (2013); Henrich et al. (forthcoming)) as well as intergenerational transmission of such cultural values (Bisin and Verdier (2001); Dohmen et al. (2011); Alesina et al. (2013); Cipriani et al. (2013); Farré and Vella (2013); Zumbuehl et al. (2013)). By adding a new piece of empirical evidence from the religious perspective, the current study will also make contribution to this rapidly growing body of research.

Moreover, this study can also be seen as one of few empirical studies exploring determinants of early marriage and polygamy in the developing world. In addition to roles played by a mother's intra-household bargaining power (e.g., Luke and Munshi (2011)) and external labor market opportunities available to females (e.g., Jensen (2012)) in explaining the age at marriage as well as roles of women's agricultural productivity (e.g., Jacoby (1995)) and historical events (e.g., Fenske (2012); Dalton and Leung (forthcoming)) in accounting for the prevalence of polygamy, this study underscores the contribution of religious teachings to those practices.

Finally, the research showing that historic events and the associated social institutions have long-term impacts on development has recently been growing (e.g., Acemoglu et al. (2001); Acemoglu et al. (2002); Nunn (2008); Cantoni and Yuchtman (2012)). In the context of the current study, for example, with careful attention given to the endogeneity, Gallego and Woodberry (2010) and Nunn (forthcoming), by using region- and individual-level data sets, respectively, estimated lasting impacts of the Protestant and Catholic missions on educational promotion in colonial Africa. In addition to the reduced-form effects of the Christian mission on formation of women's marital relationship, the IV approach used in the current study will also reveal the influence of religious conversion itself that was prompted by the mission. However, due to the lack of an adequate number of good instruments, this study will not be able to disentangle the Christianity effects, although the previous studies often emphasized differing influence of the Protestant and Catholic missions on the level of economic development today (e.g., Weber (1958)).<sup>8</sup>

This paper is organized in seven sections. To find a clue to make a polished identification strategy, Section 2 provides a historical overview of the Livingstonia Mission, highlighting the manner in which the mission established the central station in Malawi as well as that of the mass conversion of the Yao to Islam. The identification strategy is discussed in Section 3, followed by data overview given in Section 4. The main findings of this paper are presented in Section 5. Section 6 discusses several mechanisms that may prevent this study from interpreting a source of the identified religious effects as religious teachings, with concluding remarks summarized in Section 7.

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<sup>8</sup>For example, using province-level data that covered 17 sub-Saharan African countries, Gallego and Woodberry (2010) found that the Protestant missionary activities had larger long-term impacts on educational attainment, in contrast to the Catholic mission contributing less to increasing the level of schooling today. They also extended the analysis to argue that the Protestant missionary effects were mainly observed in Catholic areas, whereby Catholic missionaries occupied a sort of 'monopolistic position' in a religious market due to protection provided former colonial governments, and therefore in order to gain converts, the Protestant missionaries had to be efficient enough to overcome their institutional disadvantage. In addition, using 2005 Afrobarometer data covering 17 sub-Saharan African countries, Nunn (forthcoming) also found long-run positive influence of both the Catholic and Protestant missions on the present education level as well as that the Protestant effects reduced the gender gap, whereas the Catholic mission increased it.

## 2 Historical background

The Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland was founded in 1875 and has long been recognized as one of the most important missions that introduced Christianity into Malawi (more generally, Central Africa) in the late 19th century.

As explained in subsection 3.1.2, this study uses a community's distance from the influential station, Livingstonia (also known as Khondowe), as an instrumental variable for an individual's affiliation with Christianity in present days. This strategy will be taken by assuming that those who live long distance away from Livingstonia are less likely to be Christian because their ancestors that passed the religious beliefs over to the offspring must have been less exposed to Christian tenets. In practice, the distance will be interacted by an indicator variable for non-Yao ethnic groups, as the Yao are predominantly Muslim due to strong alliance of their ancestors with the Arabs that existed prior to the arrival of the mission. Largely sourced from Pike (1968), McCracken (1977), and Msiska (1995), this section attempts to outline the history of the mission with a particular emphasis placed on their settlement pattern as well as the Yao's conversion to Islam. Further historic accounts can be found in more detail in those literature sources and elsewhere (e.g., Pike (1965), Kalinga (1985), Thompson (1995)).

### 2.1 Livingstonia Mission

David Livingstone (1813-1873), one of the most outstanding explorers that made a transcontinental journey across Africa during the middle years of the 19th century, laid the groundwork for the mission that was named 'Livingstonia' in honor of Livingstone. Sponsored by the British government, the Scottish missionary headed 'Zambezi expedition' between the years of 1858 and 1863 that aimed to catalogue natural resources of the Zambezi River area as well as to identify trade routes needed for transporting raw materials from the African interior to coastal trading points that could eventually be sold on a British market. The opening of the African continent to a world economy and the promotion of local commercial activities were believed to contribute to uprooting the African slave trade by creating 'legitimate' trade of products (e.g., cotton, ivory), whereby Africans did not have to sell their own people to obtain guns, gun-powder and cloth that they desired. The expedition was also greatly motivated by Livingstone's zeal for cutting off the slave trade and bringing Christianity and civilization into the heathens. He also urged the cultivation of cotton (and other crops) in the unexplored territory to make the missionary activities self-supporting as well as to bypass the slave-owning American states from which most of Britain's raw cotton came.

In this expedition, he reached conclusions that the only practicable means of linking the interior



with the coast was to take a deep-water route from the Shire River to Lake Malawi by steamer and that the Shire Highlands, a plateau in southern Malawi, was a suitable area for white settlement as well as for the creation of a cash-crop economy.<sup>9</sup><sup>10</sup> However, his statements were shortly censured by James Stewart (1831-1905), a devout adherent of Livingstone's model of an 'industrial mission', that in order to realize an agricultural and Christian settlement, traveled to the Shire Highlands in 1861. Stewart made the harsh criticism, because as opposed to indication provided by Livingstone, in the journey, he saw no expected commercial benefits obtained from the settlement in the region and discovered that the Zambezi-Shire route was shallow and difficult to navigate by steamship.<sup>11</sup> Concurrently, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), which had been founded inspired by Livingstone's speeches made at Cambridge and Oxford in 1857 and set up the station at Magomero between modern Zomba and Blantyre in 1861, made a decision to evacuate the work center to Zanzibar in 1862.<sup>12</sup> A few months later, the British government determined to withdraw the Zambedzi expedition that had lasted six years, and many at the time commented that it was a failure with none of its purposes fulfilled.<sup>13</sup>

After ten-year ignorance shown by the Free Church and other societies about the Livingstone's proposals, Stewart, now the head of Lovedale Institution in South Africa, drew up a memorandum on 'Livingstonia, Central Africa' after his return to Scotland in 1874.<sup>14</sup> To some extent ironically, he presented the essence to the General Assembly of the Free Church that as suggested by Livingstone, the southern end of Lake Malawi could be reached from the coast by waterway via the mouth of the Zambezi to the Shire and that Lovedale could be an operational base of a new mission.<sup>15</sup> In

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<sup>9</sup>Livingstone rejected the overland route from the south because of the presence of tsetse fly in the Zambezi valley and his expectation that the enormous amount of capital required to build railways would not be raised outside the boundaries of a European colony. Initially, he had an opinion that the best route to reach the interior lay along the Rovuma (Ruvuma) River. On the investigation, however, it became clear that this route did not meet his anticipation, and in May 1861, the Livingstone's party returned to Zambezi to follow the Shire route.

<sup>10</sup>To Livingstone, it seemed that the region had laid the foundations of the successful cash-crop economy, as cotton of good quality was already cultivated in many villages in the region.

<sup>11</sup>In contrast to Livingstone's view described in footnote 10, when Stewart arrived at the highlands, he found that no cotton was produced in the region and that such slow and primitive methods of spinning were exploited. Nevertheless, even after the recall of the expedition ordered by the British government, Livingstone still insisted on the importance and practicability of introducing small colonies into the region, deploring that the cotton production was not in full swing at the moment of Stewart's visit.

<sup>12</sup>UMCA (1857-1965) was a missionary society established by members of the Anglican Church within the universities of Cambridge, Dublin, Durham and Oxford.

<sup>13</sup>Up to the 1860's, Livingstone's concept of the industrial mission was closely allied with one important school of the government opinion. For example, Livingstone's scheme received a considerable amount of financial support from the government under the patronage of Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) that severed as the Prime Minister. However, Stewart's criticism, together with the other failures of 'East Africa expedition' and the 'Niger expedition' as well as Palmerston's death, rapidly changed official views of the government about the Livingstone's theory.

<sup>14</sup>Lovedale was a mission station and educational institute established in Cape Province, South Africa.

<sup>15</sup>At that time, Stewart was eager to develop a new inland mission station that might work as a satellite for Lovedale.

response to his presentation, the Free Church authorities decided to found the Livingstonia Mission that (at the start-up) was largely financed and administered by a small group of philanthropic industrialists, most of them had the operational base in Glasgow (e.g., James Stevenson).<sup>1617</sup> At this moment, Livingstone's 'Commerce and Christianity' theory was to be put into action by well-qualified people for the first time in its history.<sup>18</sup>

In 1875, the Livingstonia Mission established the central station at Cape Maclear (see Figure 1), a hilly promontory at the south end of Lake Malawi, that served as a good port for the mission steamer. Based on a 'residential' mission policy, by which it was desired that Africans be raised in mission sites isolated from 'temptations' of their own society, the mission attracted a couple of groups to the site (e.g., freed slaves returning to their homeland, a local chief's son sent to acquire a Western education, refugees defiant of the authority of local rulers). However, the settlement expansion revealed several issues such as shortage of sanitation facilities and the mission's insufficient ability to feed the settlers as well as to regulate their behaviors in many spheres of social life (e.g., violence, theft, Sunday meetings, beer drinking, polygamy).<sup>19</sup> Moreover, it was soon evident that the mission station was nearly useless, because with a great distance away from the nearest villages, it was situated on the edge of barren and tsetse-infested plains unfriendly to animal life, whereby fertile land needed for cotton production was also almost absent. These unfavorable environments made the pioneer party decide to move the central station to Bandawe, halfway up the west coast of Lake Malawi, in 1881.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, the years spent by the missionaries at Cape Maclear were seen as a period of adjustment that accustomed themselves to the realities of the African situation.

The relocation to Bandawe was a milestone in the history of the Livingstonia Mission for several reasons. Firstly, it showed the mission's intention to shift the whole axis of the activities to the Northern Province. Such a switch of attention partly stemmed from a proposal made by James Stevenson, one of directors of the African Lakes Company (ALC) at that time, a trading body formed by the aforementioned Glasgow industrialists, to build a road between Lake Malawi and

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<sup>16</sup>Until the early 20th century, the mission had to rely for much financial support on the Glasgow businessmen that discerned the economic potential of the Lake Malawi, rather than on the Free Church official funds.

<sup>17</sup>James Stevenson, a chemical manufacturer, viewed the mission as one among several instruments of change to integrate East Central Africa into a world economy. He believed that the mission would not succeed in making the agricultural settlement unless legitimate trade was, by reducing transportation costs of the products, introduced into the region as well as adequate commercial enterprises that exploited the arbitrage opportunities were established. Accordingly, he contributed to founding a trading company, 'The Livingstonia Central Africa Company', in 1878 that was a predecessor of the 'African Lakes Company (ALC).'

<sup>18</sup>At the outset, the leadership of the mission was vested in the hands of E. D. Young, a navy officer that had been seconded to Livingstone's Zambezi expedition, as Stewart could not join the Livingstonia Mission due to his commitments at Lovedale. After Young's immediate leave from the Malawi region in 1877, Robert Law (1851-1934), a Scottish missionary, headed the mission for more than 50 years.

<sup>19</sup>The early settlers were given food supplies until they could grow their own crops.

<sup>20</sup>The missionaries' departure immediately weakened their influence on the promontory.

Lake Tanganyika that enabled the ALC to distribute commercial products to a wide inland area as well as to work in close co-operation with the missionaries.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, the mission abandoned the previously employed residential policy and alternatively decided to act on the village level with only a small residential element. The exploratory and evangelistic visits to neighboring villages made under the new strategy helped the missionaries considerably extend their Christian and educational influence outside the settlement place. Thirdly, in the early stage of the Livingstonia Mission, in the absence of any local authority, the missionaries often exercised civil powers to impose discipline on the settlers as well as to counter a rash of crimes (e.g., thefts) occurring in the vicinity of the settlement. Similarly, the mission was frequently required by indigenous headmen to involve in the native disputes as an authoritative third party. At Bandawe, however, it was strongly recommended that the missionaries should reject their involvement in local politics.<sup>22</sup><sup>23</sup>

Despite the landmark nature of the move to Bandawe, however, both the missionaries and the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church at home regarded the location as a provisional outstation until another better site was found.<sup>24</sup> Several issues accounted for this negative enthusiasm shared among them. First of all, the low-lying site on the lake shore seemed malarial due to the near proximity to swamps and marshes. In addition, its susceptibility to a blow and no protection from the waves made the site inadequate as a harbor of the mission's steamship. While the missionary activities at Bandawe made an unparalleled achievement in East or Central Africa in this period, in 1894, the mission eventually decided to re-move the central station to further north, Khondowe, that later developed into a small town now known as Livingstonia. The new site lay on the highlands between Lake Malawi and Nyika Plateau and was not prone to mosquitoes carrying malaria.

Under the directorship vested in the hands of a Scottish missionary, Robert Laws (1851-1934), at Livingstonia (Khondowe), the mission contributed much to providing educational facilities and services at both the primary and post-primary levels. In particular, the Overtoun Institution

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<sup>21</sup>Stevenson also demanded that both the Livingstonia and the London Missionary Society should establish the stations near the south and north end of the road, respectively.

<sup>22</sup>This policy change may partly be attributed to the Blantyre Mission that the Church of Scotland set up in 1876. At the central station, Blantyre, the missionaries often imposed harsh punishments (e.g., flogging, lashing) on the settlers in the name of civil jurisdiction, which received wide publicity in the British press. To avoid the intervention of the British government and risk of being exposed to the torch of publicity, the Livingstonia Mission decided to abstain from its involvement in civil administration and discard much of their colonial apparatus. On the other hand, the Blantyre Mission still retained powers of jurisdiction.

<sup>23</sup>In 1911, the Livingstonia and Blantyre Synods agreed to join together to form the Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian (CCAP).

<sup>24</sup>The representatives of the Foreign Missions Committee and the Glasgow Livingstonia Committee formed a joint sub-committee of the Livingstonia Mission. While this sub-committee was nominally subordinate to the Foreign Missions Committee, in reality, it dealt with everything related to the Livingstonia's affairs. The activities were primarily managed by the aforementioned Glasgow businessmen, and James Stevenson was one of the committee members that had the power of vetoing issues.

founded at the new site, a training center of post-primary education, supplied a great amount of skilled labor (e.g., clerks, typists, telegraphists, mechanics) not only to European-controlled economy of the Northern Province but also to other parts of South and Central Africa (e.g., Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia).<sup>2526</sup> The educational expansion was followed by the widespread adoption of evangelical Christianity, and a significant improvement in the evangelist techniques (e.g., use mission-educated natives as evangelists) enabled Christianity to spread as a genuinely popular movement from the mid-1890s. On the long-term venture set about 20 years earlier at Cape Maclear, the mission finally established the solid base of its activities at Livingstonia, and a great movement towards Christianity began in northern Malawi.<sup>27</sup>

## 2.2 The spread of Islam among the Yao

The Yao people are a major ethnic group primarily settling at the southern end of Lake Malawi. They originally inhabited in northern Mozambique, and after the attack launched by the Makua people, in about 1830, they migrated from their traditional home to present-day Malawi and Tanzania, which shaped the current distribution of the populations (See Figure A.2 for the recent spatial distribution of linguistic groups). The Yao are predominantly Muslim and indeed, Table 1 using the pooled data set of 2000, 2004 and 2010 MDHS reports that 76% of the interviewed Yao females had Islamic faith.

Historically, the Yao were under considerable Islamic Influence because of their allies with the Arabs in the caravan trade through which the east coast was linked to markets in the African interior. For example, it was observed that by the middle years of the 18th century, the Yao caravan came to Kilwa, a great Arab port, to trade with the Arabs (Pike (1968), pp.58-59). The Yao-Arab relationship was that of a senior and a junior business partner, whereby the Arabs learnt of the interior of Africa from the Yao that in turn traded beads, cloth, guns and gun-powder for ivory, tobacco, and slaves.

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<sup>25</sup>In the absence of significant commercial opportunities in the Northern Province, the Livingstonia elites often migrated to seek for wage jobs provided in other areas. This played a crucial role in creating the migrant labor system that was a central feature of Malawi's colonial economy.

<sup>26</sup>In the field of education, the institution occupied the preeminent position until the counterpart institutes were founded elsewhere, e.g., the Henry Henderson Institute at Blantyre in 1909 and the Kafue Training Institute in Northern Rhodesia in 1918.

<sup>27</sup>Thus, this paper conceptually regarded the 'north' as an important Christian center and attempted to use a community's distance from the area as an instrumental variable. In practically measuring the distance from the 'north', Livingstonia (Khondowe) was selected as the epicenter. However, the author does not intend to mean that the site was the *only* place of importance. Rather, the location was selected as it is a symbolic place of the Livingstonia Mission. Similarly, the author does not necessarily mean to disregard other missions and the associated places of importance in the central and southern regions (e.g., Nkhoma Synod of the CCAP, Blantyre Mission, Zambezi Industrial Mission). Nevertheless, as shown in the subsequent analysis, it seemed that the distance from Livingstonia worked quite well as the instrument.

While the Yao had maintained the relationship with the Arab traders, at latest, since the early 18th century, it was not until 1870s-90s that the rapid expansion of Islam among the Yao became apparent (Pike (1968), p.69; Msiska (1995), p.52). It was believed that several factors contributed to the mass conversion of the Yao. Firstly, powerful Yao chiefs (e.g., Makanjira, Mponda) adopted Islam to strengthen their economic ties with the Arab trading partners and using the commercial prowess, to command the subjects' loyalty. The chiefs' conversion was typically followed by that of their subjects. Secondly, after the arrival of the Christian mission, Islam provided a more acceptable solution to the Yao's cultural requirements for several reasons than Christianity did. For example, the Islamic faith did not interfere with the Yao's traditional customs and social institutions such as polygamy and partial circumcision. In addition, in the Yao society, slave labor was a fundamental feature and the chiefs needed slaves not only for selling them on an export market but also using them for domestic physical labor (e.g., farming, building, making baskets, sewing garments). Thus, it was not surprising that Christianity attempting to stop the slave trades lost the battle to entice the Yao into its religious domain. Another reason for the conversion may be attributed to the Yao's ongoing clashes with the Ngoni people, another powerful group that migrated from the Natal region of present-day South Africa. For fear of raids made by the Ngoni on their territories, by adopting Islam, the Yao chiefs attempted to make tactical alliance with the Arab traders that supplied flintlocks and Enfield rifles.<sup>28</sup>

### 3 Empirical strategy

As explained in Section 4, the primary data used in this study comes from the Malawi Demographic and Health Survey (MDHS) that aimed to collect representative data on population, health, and nutrition of females of reproductive age (15-49). The current study reports the estimation results of two marital outcomes, namely age at marriage (years) and a dummy variable equal to one if the marriage-type is polygyny and zero otherwise.

For a female  $i$  living in a community  $j$  that were currently in the first marital union, this study

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<sup>28</sup>In fact, in the literature, much more reasons are indicated for the spread of Islamic faith in Malawi. For instance, Islam was simply considered fashionable among the Yao in the late 19th century (Pike (1968), p.69). In addition, people were sometimes eager to be Muslims because they perceived becoming so as a means of earning income (Msiska (1995), p. 61). This is because once they became Muslim teachers, they could typically collect fairly substantial fees from their disciples. Those disciples also had to administer to the teachers until they left as fledged Muslims. Moreover, the colonial administration also indirectly contributed to the spread of Islam because government officials sometimes preferred and helped Muslims to build mosques, and for the period from 1888 to 1889, the Nyasaland Government banned Christian missionaries from working in Muslim areas, for example (Msiska (1995), pp. 63-64).

models the outcomes  $y_{ij}$

$$y_{ij} = \alpha_1 + \alpha_2 c_{ij} + \alpha_3 e_{ij} + \alpha_4 \mathbf{x}_{ij} + \epsilon_{ij}, \quad (1)$$

whereby  $c_{ij}$  takes the value of one if she was Christian and zero otherwise; a dummy variable for non-Yao ethnic groups are measured by  $e_{ij}$ ; the vector  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$  contains other determinants of the outcomes specific to her, her original household, and her natal community; and  $\epsilon_{ij}$  represents a stochastic error.<sup>29</sup> As noted from the specification, due to the limitations imposed by the data analyzed in the current research, this study refers to an individual's religious affiliation as receiving religious teachings. This way of treating data allows the identified religious effects to have many interpretations. This issue will carefully be discussed in Section 6.

Ideally, the  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$  is expected to be evaluated at the point when she entered into a marriage market. In addition to her birth order and other standard controls such as age, hence, to capture the levels of wealth at a household's disposal at that point, the  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$  included the number of both the young and elderly siblings that had passed away as well as the number of siblings that were alive when she was 15 years old, based on recall information indicated by the survey responses.

The number of late siblings is included in the  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$ , given the presumption that the mortality information may positively correlate with her original household's poverty status. This study also expects the information to capture a household's affordability of children's schooling and thus her educational qualification that had been obtained by her marriageable age, as the pre-marital level of her education could not be discerned from the available data. However, this study admits that the mortality information does not control for an individual's intellectual capability (unobservable to researchers) that may affect her marital decision.<sup>30</sup> The number of existing siblings as well as the birth order is likely to express social understandings of, among siblings, who takes main responsibility for taking care of family members at natal home.

The dummy variable for females being currently in a polygynous union does not make a distinction between those that got married with a partner who had already had a wife (or wives)

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<sup>29</sup>As including ethnicity-level historical controls explained below prevents this study from controlling for ethnicity-level fixed effects, the main analysis presented in this paper treats the non-Yao people as one group. However, it was also confirmed that eliminating the ethnicity-level historical controls from regressors and instead including the ethnicity-level fixed effects yielded similar implications obtained from the main analysis. The estimation results with a control of the ethnicity-fixed effects corresponding to those in Tables 3 and 4 are reported in Tables A.4 and A.5.

<sup>30</sup>However, this may not be a serious concern in identifying the religious effects, provided that the personal capability is an innate endowment that does not change over time. This view is taken because it is less likely that the distribution of the initial endowment has significant correlation with religious beliefs. Nevertheless, this study's limited ability to control for the pre-marital level of education may bias the religious effects in case that the intellectual capability is affected by religious teachings or upbringing provided by parents and so time-varying. This study expects the IV approach explained below to solve this problem as well.

and those who entered into monogamous marriage that resulted in a polygynous union. As the data contained information on the rank of the respondent among the partner's wives, alternatively, the analysis also used the rank as a dependent variable, whereby the rank took the value of one for all females in monogamous marriage.<sup>31</sup> This dependent variable allowed the current study to make a distinction between the first wife, whose marriage was likely to start with monogamous relationship, and wives of the other ranks, who entered into polygynous marriage from the beginning of the marital relationship, within a polygynous union. As the alternative estimations yielded similar implications obtained from the analysis using the dummy variable for polygyny, this study mainly reports the estimation results based on the polygyny dummy, except for a couple of exercises conducted to address the selectivity concern discussed in subsections 3.3 and 5.3.2.<sup>32</sup>

The estimated  $\alpha_2$  does not necessarily imply the causal relationship with the marital practices of the interest. Below, this study discusses several major factors that make the causal identification challenging as well as a number of strategies taken in this paper to address those issues.

### 3.1 Omitted variables bias

In the estimations, the possible correlation between Christianity and the outcomes could be explained by omitted variables that correlate with an individual's religious affiliation as well as with the outcomes. The mass conversion of Africans to Christianity can be attributed to the missionary penetration followed by British colonial administration. In addition, the missionary contacts must have lasting impacts on the subsequent religious distribution of the country, by parents passing the religious beliefs and values on to their children (Nunn (2010)). This suggests that controlling for pre-determined local conditions that characterized the entry and explosion of the missionary venture (as well as colonial rule) is crucial to identify the causal impacts of an individual's religious faith. This study addresses this issue by pursuing two strategies, namely indeed attempting to control for the initial conditions that are observable and taking an instrumental variable approach.

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<sup>31</sup>However, since only the current rank of the respondent was identified from the data, it may not necessarily be identical with the rank when she got married with the current husband. For example, it is certainly possible that she got married as a second wife, followed by the death of her husband's first wife. In this case, in the data set, she would be recorded as the first wife at the point of the survey. However, as this is measurement noise of the dependent variable, as long as the error is classical, it primarily affects the precision of the estimates, not the consistency.

<sup>32</sup>The results using the rank as a dependent variable are available from the author upon request.

### 3.1.1 Controlling for initial conditions

#### *Geographic and climate controls*

The settlement pattern of the missionaries was influenced by a number of factors. As indicated in Johnson (1967) and elsewhere (e.g., Nunn (2010); Nunn (forthcoming)), the key elements generally included health-related items such as availability of clean water and malaria-preventing geographic and climate conditions (e.g., low temperature, high altitude); economic considerations such as access to trade routes from/to Europe (that might have been affected by railway networks in colonial periods) and affluence of fertile land needed for the creation of a cash-crop economy; and the mission's benevolent nature to eradicate slave trades. Indeed, all these points are indicated in the Livingstonia Mission as described in Section 2.

To attenuate the possibility that these factors confound the causal inference of the religious effects, this paper firstly attempted to control for a great number of geographic and climate conditions that must have been encountered by the missionaries. However, it appears that no such pre-missionary data tenable to an empirical analysis exists. Thus, given the assumption that those conditions have not noticeably changed over the last century, the current study alternatively decided to use such information collected in the relatively recent past. In the subsequent analysis, this information was provided by another survey of the third Integrated Household Survey (IHS) 2010-2011, as no such information was included in the MDHS data.

With technical assistance offered by the World Bank LSMS-ISA (Living Standards Measurement Study-Integrated Surveys on Agriculture) team, the National Statistical Office (NSO) in Malawi implemented the IHS in the period of March 2010-March 2011. With stratification based on geography, respondents belonging to 12271 households located in 768 enumeration areas (communities)<sup>33</sup> were randomly contacted in the IHS that provided information on various aspects of welfare and socio-economic status of the population.<sup>34</sup> The IHS data also contained ample information on geography and climate conditions surrounding the surveyed communities, such as climatology, landscape typology, soil and terrain, and crop season parameters (see Appendix A for the details).

Both the MDHS and IHS projects publicized GPS-based coordinates of the surveyed communities after - to maintain the confidentiality of the surveyed respondents but still to partially satisfy the demand for the positional information from the public - displacing the coordinates by applying a random offset within a specified range to the positions (see Appendix B.1 for the details).

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<sup>33</sup>This study interchangeably uses the word “enumeration areas” and “communities.”

<sup>34</sup>For the details of sampling design, see ‘*Third Integrated Household Survey (IHS3) 2010-2011 Basic Information Document, March 2012*’ at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLSMS/Resources/3358986-1233781970982/5800988-1271185595871/IHS3.BID.FINAL.pdf>.



The GPS latitude and longitude position allowed this study to calculate the great-circle distance (GCD) between the MDHS and IHS communities, i.e., the shortest distance between any two points on the surface of a sphere measured along a path on the surface of the sphere (as opposed to going through the sphere's interior). As both the MDHS and IHS communities spatially spread all over the country (see Appendix Figure A.3, whereby the sample communities in both the surveys are dotted, although for easeness of visual identification, only the 2010 MDHS communities were compared to the IHS ones in the figure), it was not difficult to identify an IHS community located in the closest proximity to a community surveyed in the MDHS (see Appendix B.2 for the details of the identification process). As a matter of fact, approximately 95% (99%) of the MDHS communities were matched with the nearest IHS community situated less than 10 (15) kilometers away from them. Consequently, the analysis used, as the geographic and climate information of the MDHS communities, that of the corresponding nearest IHS communities. In Appendix B.3, goodness of the fit of the IHS community-characteristics to the MDHS data was informally checked by performing a couple of exercises. Those exercises gave some ease to the subsequent analysis using community-level information sourced from the IHS.

In addition to the geographic and climate conditions, for each sample community, the IHS also provided information that might have had historical persistence to some extent: (i) decent rules (i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal or dual descent); (ii) the most common language spoken at home in a community (i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other. See Figure A.2 for the distribution); (iii) the most common religion practiced in a community (i.e., Christianity, Islam, or African tradition. See Figure A.1 for the distribution); (iv) a community's population; and (v) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; and (vi) whether a community is situated in a major urban center. In several exercises, as a robustness check, all these characteristics of the IHS communities in the immediate vicinity to the MDHS ones were also included in the  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$ .

While the informal analysis conducted in Appendix B.3 provides some support for the quality of the match between the two data sets, the current study cannot exclude the existence of measurement noise in evaluating local conditions of the MDHS communities. Two factors may account for the potential noise, one of which stems from the adjustment of the GPS-based coordinates made in both the surveys for the public use before the dissemination. However, the *random* offset applied to the coordinate values to displace the community-level positions may make the causal effects of religious faith unaffected by this measurement noise, because due to the random nature, the noise that may be contained in the error terms of equation (1) are unlikely to be correlated with the religious beliefs. The other concern is solely based on the likelihood that irrespective of the displacement of the GPS-based coordinates, the IHS communities positioned in the closest

proximity to the MDHS ones may not have similar local characteristics. To mitigate this problem, the subsequent empirical analysis used females residing in the MDHS communities located less than 10 kilometers away from the nearest IHS communities, although this sample restriction almost unaffected the estimation results using all the sample females that were in the first marital union. Finally, the second concern may partly be checked by replacing all those community-level variables with community-fixed effects in estimating (1) to see the extent to which the estimates are sensitive to this replacement.

### *Historical controls*

The detailed information on geography and climate in a community is primarily supposed to control for the missionaries' considerations of health-related factors and land productivity in selecting the settlement. While the information (e.g., elevation, slope, terrain roughness) may be even associated with administration of trade routes from/to the coast and intensity of slave trades, it may still be strong to assume this issue. Thus, to reinforce the primary instruments of the geography and climate, an empirical analysis exploited additional covariates that measured European influence during colonial periods as well as severity of slavery during the 19th century.

All these pieces of information were directly taken from data used in Nunn and Wantchekon (2011) that contained (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure). Unlike the aforementioned geographic and climate controls that were measured at the community-level, these items were evaluated at the ethnicity-level. Thus, the information was appended to the MDHS data using the name of ethnic groups provided by the two independent data sets. Consequently, a few ethnic groups in the MDHS that were not identified in the Nunn and Wantchekon (2011) data were excluded from the subsequent regression analysis.<sup>35</sup> These omitted groups corresponded to approximately 8% of all the sample females.

Two limitations should be recognized in using both the aforementioned community-characteristics and the ethnicity-level historical controls. Regarding the first case, the information on the current residential place may not sufficiently be able to control for issues that women took into account when they got married with a spouse living long distance away from their natal home. This case may typically apply to females coming from an ethnic group that traces their descent through fa-

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<sup>35</sup>The following ethnic groups were identified in both the MDHS and Nunn and Wantchekon (2011) data sets: Chewa, Lomwe, Ngoni, Lambya, Nkhonde, Sena, Tonga, Tumbuka, and Yao.

thers, i.e., a patrilineal ethnic group.<sup>36</sup> This is because in such an ethnic group, when she marries, a rural woman usually leaves her kin to reside with her husband living outside her original village (i.e., patrilocal marriage). The other issue is that the historical information is specific to location *historically* inhabited by each ethnic group. In the current context, it may also be desirable to control for the pre-colonial and/or colonial controls associated with an individual's present residential area, in addition to those associated with historical settlement of ethnic groups. This concern becomes more evident for ethnic groups that migrated into the present residential space long away from the original settlement place. It is expected that the instrumental variable (IV) approach explained below to address this study's limited ability to control for socio-economic conditions prior to the arrival of the mission.

### 3.1.2 Instrumental variable approach

The second strategy taken by this study is to exploit instrumental variables that are correlated with an individual's affiliation with Christianity, but are uncorrelated with other omitted factors that determine the outcomes of interest.

To identify a reasonable instrument, this study notes that broadly speaking, the present popularity of Christianity is determined by two factors: (i) the date on which Christian ideas arrived at a community and (ii) the speed at which the doctrine spread through the society that is in turn governed by the frequency of social contacts among the members and the rate of transmission of the religious values.<sup>37</sup> As the frequency involving the transmission of the religious faith would not be discerned from available data, to find an adequate instrument, this study focuses on the arrival date of Christianity, namely, the date on which the missionaries had a contact with members in a community; the earlier they preached the Gospel in a community, the earlier the society members converted to Christianity, and consequently, the descendants are more likely to be Christian.

Regarding the date of the first missionary contact, the information is not contained in the data used in this study and probably elsewhere.<sup>38</sup> However, it appears that the arrival date has close relationship with a community's distance to the mission's central station, as people living in the proximity to the station might have earlier chances to encounter the missionaries. Given the indication provided in Section 2 that in Malawi, Christianity exploded from the northern area,

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<sup>36</sup>While a patrilineal descent system is quite popular in many sub-Saharan African countries, matrilineality is also commonly observed in Malawi. For example, the Chewa, Lomwe and Yao typically refer to matrilineal ethnic groups.

<sup>37</sup>Discussions made in this paragraph refer to Oster (2012) that exploited a community's distance to the origin of the virus in the Democratic Republic of the Congo as an instrumental variable for the rate of HIV prevalence in the community in estimating the causal effects of the prevalence on an individual's sexual behavior.

<sup>38</sup>A parish register might have been used to identify the arrival date if this study had surveyed churches established around the MDHS communities.

this study uses the distance between each community and the influential station in the region, i.e., Livingstonia, as an appropriate instrument. As for the distance, based on the GPS-based coordinates provided by the MDHS, the analysis calculated the great circle distance  $d_j$  between the MDHS communities and Livingstonia. As discussed in subsection 2.2, since Christianity was less appealing to the Yao people, the distance was interacted with a dummy variable for non-Yao ethnic groups, when used as an instrumental variable for an individual's religious faith in an empirical analysis.

To sum up, the assumption eventually made here to exploit the instrument is that since the non-Yao Africans residing a great distance away from Livingstonia in the late 19th or early 20th century are expected to have been less exposed to the missionary contacts as well as parents have passed the religious beliefs over to children (Nunn (2010)), the distance measure multiplied by the dummy is likely to explain the probability of the current generation being Christian. This statement can be checked by estimating the following first-stage equation as well as testing that  $\beta_2 = 0$  and  $\beta_3 < 0$ :

$$c_{ij} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 d_j + \beta_3 d_j e_{ij} + \beta_4 e_{ij} + \beta_5 \mathbf{x}_{ij} + u_{ij}. \quad (2)$$

It seems that the instrument relevance argument is made by implicitly assuming that the spatial mobility of the population has been completely limited at the ethnicity-level over time. However, it might have been possible that the mission's involvement in political disputes between indigenous headmen that was sometimes observed in the early periods of the missionary penetration altered the spatial distribution of ethnic groups to a certain degree.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the assumption made here actually allows for the spatial mobility of the ethnic groups that might have existed but might not have been strong enough to invalidate the instrument relevance. Another issue to be recognized is that once the propagation of Christianity reaches the steady state, the date of the first missionary contact and so the distance from Livingstonia may no longer explain the distribution of Christianity of the present generation. Thus, the distance could be used as a valid instrument only when the study uses data drawn from periods during which the mission's arrival date still plays a role. Indeed, the first-stage estimation results reported below provide strong support for the instrument relevance arguments, which makes these concerns less serious.

Using the interaction term between the community-level distance and an individual's ethnicity (a dummy for the non-Yao people) as an instrumental variable has two merits for the analysis. Firstly, it allows the analysis to test whether the pre-determined community-level variables that

<sup>39</sup>For example, see the relationship of the mission with the lakeside Tonga and the northern Ngoni in the early periods of the Livingstonia Mission (McCracken (1977), pp. 73-99).

were explained in the previous subsection 3.1.1 sufficiently control for all time-invariant community-level characteristics that affected the outcomes, because one can instead estimate equations (1) and (2) by replacing those community characteristics with community-level fixed effects.<sup>40</sup> Secondly, it will be possible to conduct a falsification test of the type used in Nunn and Wantchekon (2011), which will be explained below.

### *Falsification tests*

While it is multiplied by a dummy variable for non-Yao ethnic groups, to instrument an individual's religious affiliation, the aforementioned approach fundamentally uses the distance between each community and Livingstonia that may also be correlated with distances to other locations, which were important for the missionaries as well as for the British Government that maintained the colonial state.<sup>41</sup> If such distances had independent influence on an individual's marital decision, the excludability of the instrument would not be supported. In addition, one may also doubt that (even if it is interacted with the distance to Livingstonia as well as the level effect is already controlled for) the ethnicity  $e_{ij}$  characterizes the marital practices only through its influence on an individual's religion beliefs.

To check the exclusion restriction of the instrument, thus, this study will conduct three falsification tests. The first test follows a technique employed in Nunn and Wantchekon (2011). To identify causal relationship between the exposure of ancestors belonging to the same ethnic group to slave trades and the current differences in trust levels within Africa, they exploited the historical distance of ethnic groups from the coast at the time of the slave trade as an instrumental variable for the number of slaves taken. After showing the reduced-form relationship between the distance and the trust levels, to remove a concern that the distance directly affected the trust levels not only through the slave trades, they showed that there was no relationship between the distance and trust *outside* of Africa, where there was no slave trade. In the current context, due to the less sensitivity of the Yao people to the Livingstonia Mission, the following reduced-form equation can be estimated

$$y_{ij} = \gamma_1 + \gamma_2 d_j + \gamma_3 d_j e_{ij} + \gamma_4 e_{ij} + \gamma_5 \mathbf{X}_{ij} + \nu_{ij}, \quad (3)$$

to show that there is no systematic relationship between the distance to Livingstonia and the outcomes for the Yao people, i.e.,  $\gamma_2 = 0$ . Also, note that given the likely negative correlation

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<sup>40</sup>In this case,  $d_j$  will also be removed from regressors in estimating the first-stage equation (2) to avoid perfect multicollinearity.

<sup>41</sup>Such locations may include other major mission stations such as Bandawe and Cape Maclear and/or slave-market centers such as Nkhotakota and Mangochi (previously called Fort Johnson), for example.

between Christianity and the distance within the non-Yao people ( $\beta_3 < 0$ ), it is expected that the  $\gamma_3$  has an opposite sign value of  $\alpha_2$ .

However, the fact that the distance has no impacts on the outcomes of Yao Africans does not necessarily mean that the non-Yao-distance interaction term is uncorrelated with other omitted factors that affected the outcomes. While it is unlikely that the distance actually *drives* marital behavior, it is still important to consider more carefully whether the instrumental variable satisfies the exclusion restriction. This check may be performed by exploring the relationship between the distance and the outcomes in the periods *before* the missionary contacts. If the distance has no impacts on the outcomes in the pre-missionary periods, the subsequently emerged differences in the outcomes between Christian and non-Christian people may indeed be attributed to the impacts of religious affiliation that originates from the Christian mission. Unfortunately, the information on the outcomes of interest (age at marriage, polygyny) in the late 19th century was not available. However, as it is likely that all these outcomes are correlated with economic prosperity that may in turn be measured by population density (Acemoglu et al. (2002)), this study will more elaborately discuss and report the relationship between the population density and the distance in subsection 5.2.2.

Regarding the endogeneity concern of the non-Yao dummy, after replacing the distance to Livingstonia with a community's distance to three communities randomly selected from all the MDHS ones, the equation (3) will be estimated. As the three communities are randomly selected, there is no reason to assume that the distance to those communities has an impact on the outcomes. However, if the non-Yao indicator (interacted with the distance to Livingstonia) has a direct effect on the outcomes not through its influence on religious beliefs, the interaction with the distance to those randomly selected communities is also likely to affect the outcomes. Then, to informally check the excludability of the non-Yao indicator (interacted with the distance to Livingstonia), it may deserve observing that the interaction terms between the non-Yao dummy and the distance to those three communities do not significantly affect the marital practices. While the concern of the exclusion restriction is clearly the limitation to be admitted, the excludability of the instrument may find some consolation in these falsification tests.

### 3.2 Measurement concerns

While the inter-faith marriage may typically be less preferred in some African countries (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life (2010), p.40), this may not necessarily be true in Malawi. In the short questionnaire-based survey that in order to complement the analysis based on the MDHS data, the author conducted in southern region in Malawi in 2013 (see footnote 4 for the details),

for example, more than 75% of the respondents answered that the inter-religious marriage was common and all mentioned that after the marriage, women typically follow a husband's religion in such a case.<sup>42</sup> Related to this point, in the MDHS data, approximately 80% of the surveyed (7287) couples had the same religious faith.<sup>43</sup> This high degree of homo-religiosity among couples observed in the MDHS indeed suggests the conversion of married females to their husband's religion.

Because the MDHS data contains information only on an individual's *current* religious affiliation, it would be true that for the purpose of the research, the religion measure used in this study has noise to some extent.<sup>44</sup> Two remarks may be expressed regarding this issue. Firstly, while the inter-faith marriage is often observed, it may still be a difficult decision for Christian (Muslim) females to get married with Islam (Christian) males, compared to the case of inter-religious marriage within Christian denominations. This view was indicated by the respondents in the aforementioned survey that the author implemented. Secondly, as long as the measurement errors are classical, the instrumental variable approach described above would correct the potential attenuation bias of the OLS estimates, which is indeed the case in the estimation results reported below.

Somewhat related to the measurement issue, given the Islamic law that allows for polygyny, Christian females may allow their Christian husband to convert to Islam to have multiple wives. As females usually follow their husband's religion, in this case, married females may also convert to Islam as well (reverse causality).<sup>45</sup> This study addresses this concern again by relying on the IV strategy.

### 3.3 Selectivity bias

The preceding strategies may primarily solve the bias arising from community-level omitted variables that correlate with the religious distribution of the population as well as from measurement noise associated with observed Christianity. However, another empirical challenge may also arise, as this study uses the selected females that were only in the first marital union. For example, if Christian females show little propensity to marry as well as, conditional on getting married, tend to do so late (early) or to make a union with males having a larger (smaller) number of wives due

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<sup>42</sup>In addition to the religious dimension, in the short-questionnaire based survey, the author also asked the respondents if the inter-ethnic marriage was common. Approximately 90% of the respondents agreed to the commonality and as a matter of fact, approximately 33% of marriage cases observed in the couple-level data of the MDHS were inter-ethnic.

<sup>43</sup>A partner's religion and ethnicity were not indicated by questionnaire responses from the surveyed females. However, in the MDHS, although it placed the emphasis on the collection of data of females, males between the ages of 15 and 54 were also surveyed in one-third (one-fourth in 2000) of the selected households. This feature allows this study to analyze the data from a perspective of couples.

<sup>44</sup>In addition to the inter-religious marriage, the author's field survey also identified those who converted to another religion because of their inability to afford the amount of donation.

<sup>45</sup>In this case, the relationship between Christianity and polygamy identified in the OLS estimations may be biased downwards.

to their unobserved personality traits, this would make the estimated  $\alpha_2$  biased upwards (downwards).<sup>46</sup> In addition, if Christian females that got married late (early) with males having a larger (smaller) number of wives are less likely to get divorced or be widowed in some unobserved way, this would also overestimate (underestimate) the impacts of Christianity on the marital formation. While it is difficult to identify such personality traits precisely as well as the use of the distance to Livingstonia as a statistical instrument may even solve this problem, it may still be important to assess the potential bias associated with using the selective females in the analysis.

One possible way to solve the selection problem is to use a selection correction methodology by explicitly modeling the selection process. However, this strategy often yields evidence that is sensitive to a parametric assumption made in the process and needs good instruments that explain the selection but not the outcomes. As a matter of fact, in the current context, this approach would be much harder to be taken, because once a distinction between females that had never been married, females that were in the first marital union, females that were separated from their husband due to divorce or the husband's death, and females that formed the second (or further) union is required, the approach needs to take into account not just selection into the first marriage, but also selection into divorce/widowhood and/or the second marriage. Due to the complexity in modeling these selection mechanisms and the lack of good instruments that may be exploited to control for each selection process, this is not the strategy taken in the current study.

Alternatively, this study attempts to check if the obtained results are entirely attributed to the selection problem by performing two informal checks. The first test, although it can be conducted only for checking the selection concern associated with the religious effects on age at marriage, explores differences in the probability of getting married between Christian and non-Christian females by exploiting observations of both the single and married females less than the ages of 25 years. To address the concern associated with the religious effects on the entry into polygynous marriage, again by exploiting observations of both the single and married females aged less than 25 years, the second exercise will estimate the rank of the respondent among the partner's wives, whereby the rank was assumed to be zero for females that were not married as well as one for females in monogamous marriage. These exercises will be explained more clearly in subsection 5.3 after presenting the main estimation results. While these checks undoubtedly fall short of providing evidence that rules out the selectivity concern, this study may still obtain some comfort from these exercises regarding this issue.

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<sup>46</sup>Note that this is a standard selection problem. A similar issue arises when estimating the impact of educational attainment on earnings, for example. If the educated show high propensity to get employed as well as, conditional on obtaining a job, tend to be paid nicely due to their (unobserved) ability, the educational effect on earnings would be biased upwards, unless the employment selection is appropriately addressed.



## 4 Data

This study primarily uses repeated cross-sectional data drawn from the Malawi Demographic and Health Surveys (MDHS) 2000, 2004 and 2010 that were implemented by the National Statistical Office from July to November 2000, October 2004 to January 2005, and from June to November 2010, respectively. The MDHS is a nationally-representative household survey that provided information in the areas of population, health, and nutrition such as marriage, fertility, family planning, reproductive health, child health, and HIV/AIDS. Due to the areas of interest, women of reproductive age are the main target of this survey. In the 2010 MDHS, 23020 females aged 15 to 49 years old that resided in 24825 households located in 849 enumeration areas (communities) were interviewed in total, with 11698 and 13220 resident females of 13664 and 14213 households situated in 521 and 559 communities in the 2000 and 2004 MDHS, respectively.<sup>47</sup> The MDHS sample households are a stratified random sample based on a study domain and urban/rural considerations.<sup>48</sup> Although the MDHS has been run multiple times, there is no panel element in terms of both the clusters and households. As explained in subsection 3.1.1, this study also uses community-level information sourced from the third Integrated Household Survey (IHS) 2010-2011 as a complement to the MDHS that had no such information.

By religious affiliation, Table 2 provides summary statistics of selected variables of females that were in the first marital relationship, with a check of the equality of the mean between these two groups. First of all, notice from the panel *B* (see “the most common religion”) that Christian females resided in communities that were primarily settled by Christian people more evidently than the non-Christian counterpart did. As a matter of fact, this observation establishes one of several checks performed in Appendix B.3 in order to verify goodness of the fit of community-level characteristics sourced from the IHS to individual characteristics of the MDHS females.

Secondly, Christian and non-Christian females were found to be significantly different in an observed way in terms of all the individual- (panel *A*), community- (panels *B* and *C*), and ethnicity-level characteristics (panel *D*). For example, compared to non-Christian ones, Christian females obtained more education and had fewer siblings that had passed away when they were 15 years old. As often indicated by the relevant historical research, both the greater educational achievement

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<sup>47</sup>In the survey, all females between the ages of 15 and 49 in the selected households and all males between 15 and 54 in one-third (one-fourth in 2000) of the selected households were eligible to be interviewed.

<sup>48</sup>Similar sampling exercises were implemented in all the surveys. For example, the 2010 MDHS sample households were selected in two stages. By separating the 27 study domains (districts) into urban and rural areas, first of all, the nation was stratified into 54 sampling strata that consisted of 9144 enumeration areas established in the 2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census (PHC). The selection of 849 clusters from those enumeration areas was made in the first stage, with 158 urban and 691 rural ones. In the second stage, it was designed to select 20 households in an urban cluster and 35 households in a rural cluster, which generated the target sample size of 27345 households at the national level. See ‘*Malawi DHS Final Report*’ (2000, 2004, 2010) for details of the sampling framework.

and lower level of siblings-mortality of Christian females may suggest that the Christian mission has made a significant contribution to economic development over the last century by creating the legal, institutional, and economic basis of a modern market economy as well as offering both the educational and health-related facilities.

In contrast to the economic advantage that might have been enjoyed by Christian females at the individual level, it appears from the panels *B* and *C* that Christian females dwelled in relatively less modernized areas than non-Christian females did, as the communities largely occupied by the former group were less populated as well as located a greater distance away from the nearest population center (although this view may be challenged due to the weakly significant but still higher likelihood of Christian females living in a major urban center). This country-like nature of communities mostly settled by Christian females may be elucidated by the fact that the Livingstonia Mission established the central station in relatively uncivilized areas.<sup>49</sup>

These significant differences in observed traits between Christian and non-Christian females indeed underscore the importance of, to make causal inferences, controlling for unobserved factors (as well as observed ones) associated with an individual's religious faith in the subsequent empirical analysis. In addition, given the likelihood of correlation between prospects for economic success and women's marital practices, the apparent discrepancy in the association of Christianity with the success-related attributes between the individual- (i.e., education, mortality) and community-levels (i.e., modernization, urbanization) suggests that the estimated religious effects may involve any direction of bias, unless the relevant personal characteristics that are correlated with religious beliefs but unobservable to researchers are appropriately controlled for. Moreover, the potential noise contained in the measured Christianity (see subsection 3.2) may also make the direction of bias more complicated.

While it is not a sufficient condition, successful implementation of the instrumental variable procedure requires strongly negative association between the distance to Livingstonia and the prevalence of Christianity within non-Yao ethnic groups. Although the summary statistics do not provide a formal assessment about the negative relationship, the observations that Christian females largely lived in communities in closer proximity to Livingstonia than the non-Christian counterpart as well as that the former group was primarily non-Yao Africans residing in communities predominantly occupied by non-Yao ethnolinguistic groups may give some credit to the validity of the instrument relevance. In addition, the nearly absence of the Yao among Christian females is also consistent with the historic account that they were less amenable to Christianity

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<sup>49</sup>For example, while the Overtoun Institution at Livingstonia was intended to create commercial expansion in the Northern Province, the expansion took place elsewhere, leaving the site quite set apart from the material opportunities. (McCracken (1977), p.138). In addition, in the mid-1890s, one missionary also commented about the northern areas as 'the population in this locality was thin and very unevenly distributed' (ibid, p. 115).

than the other ethnic groups due to their strong socio-economic ties with Arab Muslims that had existed before the advent of the Christian mission and, as explained below, probably a matrilineal descent rule employed by them. Related to this Yao-Christianity relationship, it seems that as the Yao have historically inhabited in southeast areas of a thin strip of land of this country, Christian females were more likely to be located in the western part of this country than the non-Christian equivalent.

Following these observations, the descriptive statistics also provide several other findings that may be compatible with historic records on the advancement of the mission. For example, the smaller number of matrilineal communities among Christian females relative to that of the non-Christian counterpart may be explained by Christianity's mythical view of the origin of gender relationship. As this view might have been against the beliefs carried by matrilineal ethnic groups such as the Chewa and the Yao that an original human being was a female, with the blood line flowing from a mother to a daughter and/or a son (Davison (1997), p.101), this belief system might have somewhat discouraged local inhabitants in those communities to come under the mission's full influence. In addition, as explained in Section 2, in the pioneer years, the Livingstonia Mission moved to the Northern Province to find the settlement partly to evade unhealthy climate conditions in the south (e.g., Cape Maclear, Bandawe) that sometimes proved malarial. This resulted in the establishment of the mission's main work centers in northern highlands in the later periods. In consistent with this view, it is shown that that in contrast to the non-Christian equivalent, Christian females were largely found in northern areas characterized by low temperature and a high altitude as well as a steep ascent.

In panel *D*, it is also shown that Christian females belonged to ethnic groups that had historically inhabited land on which fewer railway networks were built and slavery was less intense. It may be difficult to obtain a coherent picture from these observations, partly, due to the fact that these pieces of information were evaluated at the historical settlement of ethnic groups, not at an individual's present residential space. Nevertheless, at least, the latter aspect may indicate that the slave trade was more apparent among the Yao that mostly became Muslim.

Finally, the panel *A* suggests that Christian females got married later with less likelihood of engaging in polygynous relationship than non-Christian counterparts did. The purposes of this paper are to show that these are *consequence* of an individual's religious beliefs and then to discuss that religious teachings play a role in explaining the religious effects.

## 5 Estimation results

### 5.1 OLS estimates

The OLS estimation results of equation (1) are reported in columns (a) to (c) in Tables 3 and 4 for the respective outcomes of age at marriage and a dummy variable for polygynous marriage, whereby all the reported standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity as well as clustered residuals within a community. In addition to own age, birth order, both the number of alive and late siblings at the ages of 15 years, the ethnicity-level historical controls, geographic and climate conditions of each surveyed community, i.e., climatology, landscape typology, soil and terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates (see Appendix A for the details), were included in the  $\mathbf{x}_{ij}$  in the column (a) together with district- and year-fixed effects. The estimation in column (b) controlled for further community-level characteristics (e.g., descent rule, population) explained in subsection 3.1.1 that might have had historical persistence, in addition to the geographic and climate conditions. In the column (c), all those community-level characteristics were replaced by community-fixed effects.

With strong significance, the estimated religious effects revealed quite a stable pattern across the columns for both the outcomes. Compared to those practicing the other religions and no religion, Christianity was associated with delay of marriage by approximately 0.3 years and less likelihood of entering into a polygynous union by 8-9 percentage points. Also, note that replacing the community-level variables with the community-fixed effects almost unaffected the estimated religious impacts. This observation may provide the indication that all those community-level variables sourced from the IHS adequately controlled for all time-invariant determinants of the outcomes working at the community-level, as the community-fixed effects were supposed to do so.

In addition to the religious effects, the number of late siblings at the ages of 15 years had significantly negative relationship with age at marriage. Assuming that an impoverished household may experience a great number of child deaths, the finding may suggest that a deprived girl is likely to marry early. Related to this observation, the results also show that females that had a large number of living siblings at the ages of 15 years married late, compared to the counterpart. As this relationship was observed *conditional on* the mortality information, it may reflect that a girl belonging to a wealthy family tends to enter into marriage quite late, provided that the number of alive siblings evaluates a household's affordability to raise children.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>As reported in Section 6, the analysis in Table A.8 estimated own educational achievement by exploiting equation (1). These interpretations related to the number of late and alive siblings at the ages of 15 years may also apply to the estimation results.

## 5.2 IV estimates

### 5.2.1 Second-stage estimation results

Columns (d) to (j) in Tables 3 and 4 present the 2SLS estimation results of equation (1). In the columns (d) and (e), an individual's religious affiliation was instrumented with *both* the distance to Livingstonia and that interacted by a dummy variable for non-Yao ethnic groups. On the other hand, only the interaction term was exploited as the excluded instrument in all the remaining columns, whereby the columns (i) and (j) kept the distance in the included instruments, in contrast to the columns (f) to (h) that did not. As so in the OLS estimation results, a different set of controls included in each estimation is explained at the bottom of the tables. Unlike the OLS estimation results, due to computational difficulty primarily attributed to a great number of categorical variables used to control for the community-level characteristics, the standard errors were not corrected to allow for intra-community correlation in all the 2SLS estimations, although the columns excluding (h) that involved further difficulty because of a considerably large number of community-fixed effects still assumed the heteroskedasticity.

As before, for each outcome measure, all those 2SLS estimations provided a remarkably steady pattern on the estimated religious effects across the columns, keeping the implications obtained from the OLS estimates unchanged. However, the magnitude of the impacts was markedly altered by the instrumentation. Now, the results suggest that Christian females are more likely to postpone their marriage by 1-3 years with less likelihood of engaging in polygynous relationship by approximately 30 percentage points, compared to the non-Christian equivalent.

Given the presumption that the 2SLS estimations yielded more reliable point estimates, a comparison between the OLS and 2SLS estimation results suggest that the OLS estimations generated a considerably large downward bias on the positive Christianity effect on age at marriage as well as upward bias on the negative impact on polygyny. In Section 4, based on the two observations of the positive association of Christianity with educational attainment and siblings-survival in the childhood and the negative association with modernization and urbanization of the surveyed communities predominantly occupied by Christian females, it was argued that the religious effects estimated by OLS might involve (if any) any direction of omitted variables bias.

Nevertheless, the pattern of bias demonstrated in the current estimations provides the indication that the possible omitted regressors might have been related to the pre-missionary level of economic prosperity of the surveyed communities. This consideration refers to the second item of the two observations, recalling that the pioneer missionaries were willing to preach the great words of Jesus-Christ in primitive parts of the country. Intuitively, in developed areas, it is likely that women marry late (and attain more education) with less likelihood of entering into polygynous relationship.

If the pre-missionary level of economic development is negatively correlated with Christianity, the correlation is likely to generate exactly the bias observed in the current estimations of all those outcomes. Alternatively or together with this account, the difference between the OLS and 2SLS estimates may also be explained by the observed Christianity measured with classical errors.

Interestingly, the instrumentation considerably changed the ethnicity effects. The 2SLS estimation results suggest that with strong significance, the Yao females tend to marry late and avoid polygyny. Before the arrival of the mission, the Yao enjoyed the prosperity due to a fortune that they amassed through trading ivory and slaves to the Arabs. As the findings were obtained *conditional on* the religious effects, they may indicate long-lasting impacts of the wealth accumulated by the Yao in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Finally, while all the previous estimations exploited pooled cross-sectional data of the 2000, 2004, and 2010 MDHS females, using data coming from any single year of those three years yielded similar implications to those obtained so far. In addition, as explained in subsection 3.1.1, females living in the MDHS communities that were situated more than 10 kilometers away from the nearest IHS communities were excluded from the preceding analysis. Including those females in the estimations also unaffected the implications obtained up to the present. All these results are available from the author upon request.

### 5.2.2 Falsification tests

#### *Reduced-form and first-stage estimation results*

Three falsification tests were conducted to check if the instrumental variables could be excluded from the second-stage estimations. Following an idea drawn from Nunn and Wantchekon (2011), the first test attempted to show there was no significant association between the distance to Livingstonia and the outcomes *within* the Yao ethnic group by estimating reduced-form equation (3). If the distance is correlated with some unobserved determinants of the outcomes, it should have direct effects on marital practices of the Yao as well as those of non-Yao Africans. On the other hand, the distance indeed matters in accounting for the outcomes as a proxy for the missionary penetration, due to strong dedication of the Yao to Islam, only the interaction term between the distance and an indicator variable for the non-Yao ethnic groups should directly influence the outcomes.

The results are reported in columns (d) to (i) in Table 5, whereby standard errors were robust to heteroskedasticity as well as adjusted for clustering on a community. As before, a different set of regressors is explained at the bottom of the table. As expected, the distance *itself* indeed had no significant impacts on the outcomes, whereas the distance interacted with the non-Yao dummy

did.

In addition, it was anticipated that the impacts of the non-Yao-distance interaction on the outcomes (i.e.,  $\gamma_3$ ) would take an opposite sign value of  $\alpha_2$  in equation (1), provided non-Yao Africans residing longer distance away from Livingstonia were indeed less likely to be Christian due to their less exposure to Christian doctrine. Regarding the negative association of the distance with Christianity within non-Yao ethnic groups, the analysis in columns (a) to (c) in Table 5 estimated the first-stage equation (2) of the 2SLS. The results showed that the distance indeed had significantly negative correlation with the probability of being Christian only for non-Yao ethnic groups. Figure 2 also provides the graphical representation of the negative relationship. The semiparametric regression curve (Lowess) of a partial linear model based on Yatchew (1997, 1998)'s differenced-based method clearly shows that the negative relationship is observed only for non-Yao groups. The IV approach using too strong instrumental variables often yields estimates almost identical to OLS estimates, both of which are biased. The instrumental variables used in the current research appear to be quite strong but the IV estimates are significantly different from the OLS estimates. This observation may also give some credit to the reliability of the IV estimates. Moreover, the estimations in columns (d) to (i) in Table 5 also confirmed the expected relationship between the sign of the estimated  $\alpha_2$  and that of  $\gamma_3$ , suggesting that probably due to less familiarity with Christian tenet, non-Yao females living further away from Livingstonia were more likely to marry early as well as to choose polygynous marriage, than the non-Yao counterpart residing in closer proximity to Livingstonia.

#### *Pre-missionary economic prosperity*

The second falsification test checked whether there was a significant relationship between the distance to Livingstonia and the outcomes in the periods *prior to* the arrival of the mission within non-Yao ethnic groups. If the distance interacted with a dummy variable for non-Yao Africans was significantly correlated with the outcomes before the missionary penetration, it indicates violation against the excludability of the instrument. On the other hand, the absence of such a significant relationship provides additional confidence that the instrument satisfies the exclusion restriction.

The pre-missionary level of the outcomes was proxied by population density, because the density is likely to be correlated with economic prosperity that in turn seems to affect the outcomes (Acemoglu et al. (2002)). While it is somewhat difficult to obtain population data before the arrival of the mission, this study exploited two independent data sets. The first historical population data was sourced from the History Database of the Global Environment (HYDE) 3.1. Within the field of economics, Fenske (2013) has recently used this database to explain pre-colonial land tenure and slavery in Africa. The HYDE provides estimates of historical population from 10000 BC to

2005 AD with a spatial resolution of 5-minute longitude/latitude in raster format (Goldewijk et al. (2010)). The current research exploited the data on population density in 1900 that was plotted in Figure 3. In the regression analysis, the 5-by-5-minute cell was used as a unit of observations and accordingly, the distance to Livingstonia was calculated as that to the centroid of each cell.

Because the historical population estimates are unavoidably imprecise, this study also used census data as an alternative to the HYDE. However, it appeared that the earliest census data that was tenable to an empirical analysis could be sourced only from the post-colonial periods, more precisely, “Malawi Population Census 1966.”<sup>51</sup> In order to compensate for the shortcoming that the analysis had to use data on the post-colonial population density, this study explored the association of the distance to Livingstonia particularly with the density of the elderly population aged more than 60 years. This exercise was made, given the assumption that the density of the elderly cohort could still be used as a proxy for the true density of the total population in the late 19th or early 20th century.<sup>52</sup> The assumption may be strong, because the elderly who lived long until the middle 20th century might have been selected from the initial population born in those periods, due to some selection mechanisms that might have been related to the level of economic development in their residential areas. Acknowledging this limitation, nevertheless, the second analysis was conducted based on the population density of the elderly cohort identified in the 1966 census. In this analysis, a district was used as a unit of observations and accordingly, the distance to Livingstonia was measured by that to a district’s capital city or a major town.

After replacing the outcome with the pre-missionary population density, a version of equation (3) was estimated in Table 6. Column (a) and the other columns exploited population data sourced from the HYDE and the 1966 census, respectively. Instead of the non-Yao dummy used in equation (3), all the estimations in the table attempted to exploit the proportion of the non-Yao population (relative to an observational unit’s overall population). However, this information could only be discerned from the 1966 census. Consequently, as an alternative to the non-Yao dummy, the analysis exploited the 1966 non-Yao proportion of a district that each cell in Figure 3 was situated

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<sup>51</sup>Several documents also provide some information on the population in the early 20th century, such as “Census of the Nyasaland Protectorate 1911” and annual reports of “Colonial Reports-Annual, British Central Africa Protectorate” for the period from 1904 to 1936. The digital version of the latter documents can be obtained from <http://libsysdigi.library.illinois.edu/ilharvest/Africana/Books2011-05/469188/> thanks to a contribution made by University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The population information in those periods can also be obtained from Dixey (1928). However, these documents did not provide detailed figures that could be exploited in an empirical analysis.

<sup>52</sup>A similar idea can be found in Oster (2012)’s study noted in footnote 37. In the study, to check the exclusion restriction of an instrumental variable, she attempted to examine whether there was a relationship between a community’s distance to the origin of the HIV virus and an individual’s sexual behavior in the period before the epidemic. For this purpose, she investigated pre-marital sexual behavior of elderly individuals aged 45 years and above that were interviewed in the DHS, assuming that those people would have been engaged in such behavior before the epidemic.



in in column (a) and a district's 1966 non-Yao proportion in all the other columns.

Having a similar set of controls but using different sources for the population density revealed similar sign values of all coefficients in columns (a) and (b). The exclusion restriction of the non-Yao-distance instrument requires no significant relationship between the distance to Livingstonia and the population density of regions primarily settled by non-Yao ethnic groups. Indeed, the estimation results provided support for this view, because the interaction term between the distance and the non-Yao proportion had no significant impacts on the pre-missionary population density. In column (c), a district's gender composition and average age were additionally included. The analysis in columns (d) to (f) estimated the density of the overall population in 1966 and 1945 (again sourced from the 1966 census report). In Table A.3, the density of both the elderly and the general population in 1966 was also estimated by using a district-age-gender cohort as a unit of observations, rather than only a few district-level observations exploited in columns (b) to (f) in Table 6. All these estimation results also provided no support for that the instrumental variable approach may not make an extremely strong causal case.

#### *Distance to randomly selected communities*

Finally, it was tested if interaction terms between an indicator for non-Yao ethnic groups and a MDHS community's distance to three communities ( $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$ ) randomly drawn from all the MDHS ones had statistically significant association with the outcomes. If the non-Yao indicator (interacted with a community's distance to Livingstonia) directly influences the outcomes not through its impacts on religion, the interaction with the distance to those randomly selected communities is also likely to reveal the significant relationship. On the other hand, the absence of such significant association may alleviate the concern that the instrumental variable used in this study does not satisfy the exclusion restriction.

The OLS estimation results of equation (3) that replaces the distance to Livingstonia with a community's distance to those three communities are reported in columns (d) to (i) in Table 7. Since the three communities are randomly selected, as anticipated, the distance to those communities reveals no significant association with the outcomes, except for the distance to the community  $A$  in column (g) that shows the marginal significance. More importantly, all the interaction terms between the distance and the non-Yao indicator do not correlate with the outcomes. This suggests that the previously identified reduced-from impacts of the interaction between the non-Yao dummy and the distance to Livingstonia (see in Table 5) do not reflect spurious correlation attributed to the endogeneity of the non-Yao dummy.

In columns (a) to (c), the outcomes are replaced by a dummy for Christianity. While it was unanticipated (but still possible), the distance to the communities  $B$  and  $C$  was correlated

with Christianity with strong significance. However, interestingly, the interaction of the non-Yao indicator with the distance to those three communities has significant relationship with Christianity only in case that the distance itself does so. For example, the interaction with the distance to the community  $A$  is not significantly associated with Christianity, probably because the distance itself has no correlation with the religious beliefs. This observation displays a sharp contrast to the distance to the communities  $B$  and  $C$ , i.e., the interaction terms between the distance to these communities and the non-Yao dummy as well as the level effects are both significant. This contrast is not inconsistent with the instrument relevance argument that the distance to Livingstonia plays a role in characterizing the marital practices only for non-Yao ethnic groups.

### 5.3 Checking on selectivity concern

As discussed in subsection 3.3, one remaining concern is that all the previously identified religious effects may entirely be attributed to the use of the selective females that were in the first marital union. This subsection conducts two informal tests to check if the selection bias indeed accounts for all those impacts. Both checks attempt to exploit females that were not in wedded relationship as well as those who were, to avoid the concern associated with the sample selection.

#### 5.3.1 Checking on early marriage

To check if the estimated effects of Christianity on age at marriage is not solely the selection bias, the first test alternatively estimated for *both* the single and married females aged less than 25 years old

$$m_{ij} = \rho_1 + \rho_2 c_{ij} + \rho_3 e_{ij} + \rho_4 \mathbf{x}_{ij} + \mu_{ij}, \quad (4)$$

where  $m_{ij}$  takes the value of one if they were married and zero otherwise. In the absence of the causal impact of Christianity on age at marriage, it is likely that the estimated  $\rho_2$  is insignificantly different from zero, suggesting that the previously identified positive effects of Christianity on age at marriage was entirely the selection bias. On the other hand, if the estimated  $\rho_2$  takes a negative value, this may provide support for the causal interpretation that compared to those practicing other religions or no religion, Christian females are indeed more likely to postpone their marriage.

The OLS estimation results corresponding to those reported in columns (d) to (f) in Table 5 (i.e., the results of the reduced-form equation) are reported in columns (a) to (c) in Table A.6. As before, the results indicate that non-Yao Africans residing in areas less exposed to the Christian mission (i.e., areas a great distance away from Livingstonia) are more likely to form a marital union by the ages of 25 years, suggesting the existence of early marriage practices. Columns (d)

to (m) in Table A.6 correspond to columns (a) to (j) in Table 3 in terms of both the estimation methodologies (OLS or 2SLS) and the set of instruments exploited. All those estimation results show that Christian females are less likely to get married by the ages of 25 years, confirming the view that Christian females are indeed more likely to postpone their marriage than the non-Christian counterpart.

### 5.3.2 Checking on the rank of wives

The second test was exercised to address the selectivity concern associated with the religious effects on the entry into polygyny. Instead of estimating the probability of being in a polygynous union, this exercise estimated the rank of the respondent among a partner's wives by using *both* the single and married females. Since the information is absent for the single females, the rank was assumed to take the value of zero for them as well as one for females keeping a monogamous union. Again, the test limited the sample into single and married females less than the ages of 25 years. As these females are young, it appears that a distinction between those who were in wedded relationship and those who were not simply reduces into a distinction between females that had never been married and females that got married. Consequently, this sample restriction was made to enable the analysis primarily to consider the concern associated with selection into the first marriage (i.e., to focus on the formation of the first marital union), destressing the concerns associated with selection into separation and/or selection into the second (or further) marriage.

Both the reduced-form and structural estimation results of the rank among wives are reported in Table A.7, whereby columns (a) to (c) and (d) to (m) correspond to columns (g) to (i) in Table 5 and columns (a) to (j) in Table 4, respectively. Estimating the rank by using both the single and married females unaffected the implications obtained from the previous analysis, providing support for the view that Christian females are less likely to enter into the polygynous relationship.

While they are obviously not perfect, these two exercises provided some evidence indicating that the selectivity bias *alone* does not fully account for the previously identified religious effects. Last but not least, even if the selection problem biases the OLS estimation results, it may not be the case in the 2SLS estimations, provided that the non-Yao-distance interaction is uncorrelated with some unidentified attributes that not only drive the selection but also correlate with an individual's religious faith as well as the outcomes. This paper has difficulty in enumerating such personal traits.

## 6 Alternative interpretations about the religious effects

The preceding analysis has revealed the significant differences between Christian and non-Christian females in the marital practices. While this finding is consistent with this study's primary view that religious teachings affect an individual's marital decision, alternative mechanisms may also explain such differences. This may particularly be true because acquiring religious education is solely measured by an individual's religious affiliation in the current study. This section discusses some major alternatives.

### 6.1 Christianity and formal education

As reported in many literature sources, one of the most important services provided by the missionaries in colonial Africa was European education (e.g., Woodberry (2004); Woodberry and Shah (2004); Gallego and Woodberry (2010); Nunn (forthcoming)). The provision of education was primarily made to lure Africans into the Christian domain.<sup>53</sup> Considering the evident significance of the educational promotion made by the mission, the previously identified religious effects may be attributed to the formal schooling effects. Related to this point, by replacing the marriage-related outcomes with an individual's educational attainment, both the reduced-form (3) and structural (1) equations were estimated in Table A.8. Indeed, the 2SLS estimation results suggested that compared to the non-Christian counterpart, Christian females attained more formal education by 2-4 years.<sup>54</sup>

In order to test if the greater educational achievement of Christian females can account for the religious effects, the marriage-related outcomes (equation (1)) were re-estimated in columns (b) and (e) in Table 8 with a control of an individual's schooling level evaluated at the point of the survey as well as a set of the previously exploited community-level geography and climate information and ethnicity-level historical covariates.<sup>5556</sup> In the table, the estimation results with

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<sup>53</sup>As well discussed in the previous studies, the missionary activities have had long-term influence on educational advancement through two channels; firstly, their activities altered people's perceptions about values and beliefs attached to educational investment that might have been transmitted from parents to children. It is certainly possible that this change in the perceptions has encouraged descendants of those that were in contact with the mission to demand high-quality education. Secondly, the missionaries made a long-term investment in educational infrastructure. The establishment of educational facilities must have contributed to satisfying the demand for better education from the public, raising the equilibrium level of education.

<sup>54</sup>Note that the differences between the OLS and 2SLS estimates also provided similar indication about the potential omitted factors to that obtained from the estimation results of the marriage-related outcomes, as discussed in subsection 5.2.1.

<sup>55</sup>Alternatively, the analysis also conducted the estimations using community-level fixed effects. However, the implications were quite similar to those obtained from the analysis reported in columns (b) and (e) in Table 8.

<sup>56</sup>One may say that using the educational attainment as both the dependent (Table A.8) and independent variables (Table 8) makes the underlying theoretical mechanism behind the estimated empirical models ambiguous. This is indeed true. However, the main interest of the analysis presented in columns (b) and (f) in Table 8 lies in testing if

no control of the educational attainment in columns (a) and (d) were taken from Tables 3 and 4 to be compared to the results that controlled for the level of schooling.

The educational attainment has significantly positive correlation with age at marriage and negative association with polygynous marriage. However, including own educational achievement unaffected the religious effects previously identified in the 2SLS estimations. Considering the common belief that the Christian mission provided great education that might in turn have helped women avoid early marriage and polygyny, the finding that formal educational achievement did not change the religious effects is truly striking.

While the results are not reported here to save space, another exercise was also implemented that additionally controlled for a community's characteristics relevant to educational facilities again sourced from the IHS, namely (i) the number of teachers and pupils at the nearest government primary and secondary schools, (ii) the number of primary and secondary schools run by religious organizations, and (iii) the number of private primary and secondary schools.<sup>57</sup> The obtained implications remained unchanged. To sum up, it appears that formal education does *not* play a role in explaining the religious effects on women's early marriage practice and polygyny.

## 6.2 Fear of HIV infection

Malawi has one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the world. If women take the prevalence into account when they get married, the previously identified religious effects may be attributed to HIV/AIDS-related adult mortality that might have differed by religion. For example, Ueyama and Yamauchi (2009) showed that in Malawi, an increase in mortality among prime-age adult population lowered women's age at marriage and they interpreted this finding as women's attempt to avoid HIV infection associated with pre-marital sexual intercourse. Given this mechanism, if the rate of HIV prevalence is higher among the non-Christian than among the Christian for some reasons and marriage candidates refer only to the same congregation as a source of the prevalence information, then, non-Christian females may enter into marriage at earlier age than the Christian counterpart.

In order to test this possibility, firstly, this study checked if the rate of HIV prevalence varied by religion by estimating the versions of equations (1) and (3) in Table A.9, whereby the marriage-related outcomes were replaced with an individual's HIV serostatus. The 2004 and 2010 MDHS collected blood for HIV testing from the sample respondents who voluntarily tested for HIV. The analysis in Table A.9 exploited data pertaining to all (i.e., both single and married) available

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the religious effects disappear once an individual's educational achievement is controlled for, rather than in strictly modeling and identifying the structural relationship between educational attainment and marital practices.

<sup>57</sup>All these measures are evaluated at the point of the IHS.

females, because there is no reason to limit the attention to females in the first marital union in this exercise. The estimation results showed that the non-Yao Africans living in closer to Livingstonia - who were thus more likely to be Christian - and Christian females were less likely to be HIV positive, although the statistical significance was not always strong. The voluntary nature of the testing protocol requires more careful examination about the causal relationship between religion and HIV serostatus which is open for future research. In addition, simply exploring impacts of religious denomination may not be a worthwhile exercise for explaining the HIV prevalence, compared to considering influence of what religion means to people in a setting in which they live (Trinitapoli and Weinreb (2012), p.204). Nevertheless, the current data analysis still provided indication that the rate of HIV prevalence was lower among Christian females than among the non-Christian counterpart.

Given the significant association between religion and HIV serostatus, then, equation (1) was estimated by 2SLS in columns (a) and (c) in Table 9 to check if the previously identified religious effects could be attributed to the rate of HIV prevalence that differed by religion. The exercises attempted to additionally control for the rate of HIV prevalence at the community-level that females faced at the time of marriage. If the fear of HIV infection accounts for the religious effects, including the prevalence may absorb the effects.

To construct the prevalence measure, as Oster (2012) did, the analysis could have collapsed the HIV data to the cluster level. However, this exercise results in excluding the entire observations in 2000 MDHS from the analysis. It might also have been possible to estimate the past prevalence by using the current information (e.g., Oster (2010)). However, the implementation requires additional pieces of information that may not necessarily be available. With respect to these issues, using the DHS data drawn from 14 African countries including Malawi, Oster (2012) showed that a community's distance from the origin of the HIV virus in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (latitude, -6.31; longitude, 23.59) had significantly negative association with the rate of HIV prevalence in a community. Relying on this finding, the current study decided to use the distance between the origin point and each community's location as a proxy for the prevalence of HIV. In practice, the distance was interacted with an individual's age, considering its time-varying influence that may result from individually differing timing of marriage. Using the distance rather than the actual prevalence also helps this study avoid controlling for the endogeneity associated with the latter as well as simplify the analysis.

Before turning to a description of the estimation results, to confirm the negative association, it was attempted in columns (e) in Table 9 to relate HIV prevalence at the community-level, measured by the proportion of HIV positive (both male and female) respondents among those who tested for HIV in each community, to a community's distance from the origin of the HIV virus. The result

using the community-level data ensured the finding reported in Oster (2012).

Two major findings are obtained from the estimation results in columns (a) and (c) in Table 9. Firstly, the distance from the virus origin (interacted with an individual's age) were positively correlated with age at marriage and negatively with polygamy, suggesting that women living in a community severely affected by HIV were more likely to marry early as well as enter into polygamy. While giving theoretical interpretations to these observations is beyond the scope of this paper, the first finding may be consistent with that reported in Ueyama and Yamauchi (2009). Secondly and more importantly, while some relationship between religion and HIV serostatus might have existed, additionally controlling for the HIV prevalence unaffected the religious effects.

The analysis in columns (b) and (d) limits the attention to data pertaining to females living in a matrilineal community, where females usually stay in their natal village even after marriage. This exercise was made because the distance of the current community from the origin of HIV virus might be more relevant to those females than females that usually marry out their natal community due to social custom. While the reduced number of observations made the religious effects insignificant in case of age at marriage, the results still yielded similar implications to those obtained from the analysis using the full sample. The analysis in Table 9 might have fallen short of adequately testing the story of interest, because it did not make a distinction between the rate of HIV prevalence among Christian females and that among the non-Christian counterpart. However, the fact that additionally including (the proxy for) the overall HIV prevalence at the community-level made the religious effects intact is less likely to provide support for the story.

### **6.3 Search theoretic mechanisms**

Based on field interviews that the author made (see footnote 4), a groom typically initiates a process of marriage by proposing to a bride. While this observation cannot be generalized due to the non-random nature of convenience sampling as well as the small sample size, the religious effects may be explained by socio-economic factors that affect a bride's decision about whether to shop for grooms by refusing to accept unattractive terms of marriage contracts.

#### **6.3.1 Marriage market segmentation**

If people simply prefer to get married with those that follow the same religion, male-to-female ratio among the congregation in each religious denomination may affect the marital practices. For example, the lower sex-ratio among non-Christian people than that among the Christian may encourage females in the former group to accept an unwanted proposal, which may or may not include polygamy, at earlier age by reducing chances of receiving another offer.

One possible way to test this story is to see if additionally including the sex-ratio in a local marriage market associated with each religious sect absorbs the religious effects. However, this strategy cannot be taken because of the lack of such information. Alternatively, two exercises were implemented to test whether such segmentation existed; firstly, it was explored whether marital behavior of Christian females living in a community strongly governed by non-Christian culture varied by that of Christian females living in a Christian community. In the second exercise, it was also checked whether the marital outcomes of Christian females differed between those who got married with non-Christian males and those having Christian husbands.

With respect to the first exercise, the IHS collected information on the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christianity (reference group), Islam, or African tradition. In columns (a), (b), (d) and (e) in Table 10, equation (1) was estimated by 2SLS after including the information in regressors as well as that interacted with an individual's religious beliefs. If such market segmentation indeed existed, the interaction term is likely to be statistically significant.

The estimation result in column (a) indeed suggests that Christian females in a Muslim community (i.e., religious minority) are likely to marry earlier than those in a Christian community (i.e., religious majority), although the significance is marginal. However, such significant effect is absent in case of polygamy in column (d). Similar to the exercises conducted in subsection 6.2, the analysis in columns (b) and (e) restricted the sample to females living in a matrilineal community, given the presumption that the community-level religious information that was evaluated at the point of the IHS would be more relevant to those females. While the reduced number of observations might have made the estimation results less precise, the results provide no strong support for the presence of marriage market segmentation in religious line.

Regarding the second exercise, in the MDHS, a partner's religion was available only for males between the ages of 15 and 54 in one-third (one-fourth in 2000) of the selected households. Including this information and its interaction terms with a respondent's religion in regressors, the analysis in columns (c) and (f) in Table 10 estimated equation (1) by 2SLS. While measurement errors may exist, the difference/similarity between a respondent's and her husband's religion may capture the degree of her tolerance towards different religious doctrines at the time of marriage. If females who got married within the same religion indeed had preference to search for partners following the same religion at the time of marriage, the limited set of marriage candidates might have prompted them to marry earlier, compared to females that experienced inter-religious marriage. This suggests the presence of segmentation in the marriage market.

Due to the small number of observations, the estimation results in columns (c) and (f) in Table 10 appear to be somewhat imprecise. However, the results provide no strong evidence suggesting that Christian females who formed a marital union with Christian males did so at earlier age than



Christian females who entered into the inter-faith marriage, although the former females were less likely to create polygynous relationship, compared to Christian females having Muslim husbands.

In all the estimations in Table 10, both the variables of a community's major religion and a husband's religion were regarded as exogenous. Accordingly, the information interacted with both the  $d_j$  and  $d_j e_{ij}$  were used to instrument the interaction terms between those variables and an individual's religious beliefs. In addition, in the first exercise, it was also assumed that while the major religion was evaluated at the point of the IHS, the situation was not significantly different from the circumstance that the sample females in the MDHS faced at the time of marriage.<sup>58</sup> These assumptions should be recognized as analytic limitations. Nevertheless, as noted in subsection 3.2, from the author's view based on the field interviews, the inter-religious marriage is not strictly prohibited in Malawi (although Christianity-Islam marriage may sometimes be a difficult decision). Combining this qualitative information with evidence presented in Table 10, the marriage market segmentation along the religious line is less likely to explain the religious effects.

Furthermore, the community-level religious information exploited in the first exercise may be associated with religion-based infrastructure and governance structure in a community. The analysis in Table 10 indicates that the religious effects remain even after considering these issues.

### 6.3.2 Labor market segmentation

The present discounted value of future utility obtained from both the spinsterhood and marriage life and the associated uncertainty about access to such utility are likely to affect marriage decisions. For example, it is certainly possible that the labor market is segmented in line by religion for some reasons (e.g., either taste-based or statistical discrimination) and that accordingly future earnings opportunities vary by religious affiliation. If females take these issues into account when they decide whether to accept a proposal, the labor market fragmentation may also account for the religious effects.

The analysis in columns (c) and (f) in Table 8 tested this possibility by estimating equation (1) that included women's current occupational status in regressors, i.e., not working, professional/technician/management, clerical workers, salesperson, self-employed agricultural workers, employed agricultural workers, household/domestic service providers, service workers, skilled manual workers, and unskilled manual workers. This exercise was made given the presumption that the current activities were more or less similar to those that at the time of marriage, the sample females expected themselves to engage in in the future. If such segmentation explains the religious effects, including these occupational variables is likely to absorb the impacts.

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<sup>58</sup>In other words, this study assumed that a community's major religion has not significantly changed over the last several decades.

However, including the occupation-fixed effects unaffected the previously identified religious effects. This finding does not provide support for that the religious effects are attributed to religion-based labor market segmentation that might have existed.

## 7 Conclusion

Churches, mosques and other places of worship are commonly found in the developing world. In some policy spheres, by virtue of the close proximity to the population, the religious organizations may play a more effective role in the process of development than political infrastructure such as administrative agencies and governments does. One potential of religion guiding the growth of economy is religious education. However, within the field of economics, not many rigorous efforts have been made to better understand how such education (more generally, religious beliefs) causally affects socio-economic outcomes as well as whether and how the social fabric can be embedded in policy discourses. To fill this knowledge gap, using individual-level data provided by the MDHS (2000, 2004, 2010), this paper has attempted to present empirical evidence showing how religious teachings affect women's decision to enter into marriage.

Two steps were taken to meet the objective; firstly, due to the limitations imposed by the data, this study regarded an individual's religious affiliation as acquiring religious education and then tested if the affiliation had causal influence on marriage conducts. Secondly, the analysis explored whether receiving religious teachings was indeed the underlying mechanism of the causal effects.

In the first-step analysis, in order to address potential endogeneity associated with an individual's religious affiliation, two strategies were taken. Firstly, an attempt was made to control for a great number of local geographic and climate conditions that might have affected the mission's decision to establish the work stations. Such information was sourced from the IHS (2010-2011) that provided abundance of the details surrounding the surveyed communities. The GPS-based positional information of the surveyed communities made this implementation possible, as it allowed the current study to identify the IHS communities in the immediate proximity to those surveyed in the MDHS. While the information was provided at the ethnicity-level, not at the present community-level, the analysis also attempted to control for European influence during colonial periods as well as intensity of slave trade during the 19th century.

The second strategy exploited an instrumental variable, assuming that those who lived close to the mission's influential station, Livingstonia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as well as the descendants were more clearly familiarized with Christian ideas than the counterpart living away from Livingstonia, when they were not the Yao. The Yao converted to Islam because of their allies with the Arabs based on ivory and slave trades that had existed prior to the arrival

of the mission. Using a community's distance to Livingstonia interacted by an indicator variable for non-Yao ethnic groups as an IV for the religious distribution of the current generation with a control of the ethnicity-level historical covariates and abundance of community-level information or community-fixed effects, this study found that compared to those practicing the other religions (Islam and other) or no religion, Christian females were more likely to postpone their marriage by 1-3 years with less likelihood of engaging in polygynous relationship by approximately 30 percentage. Considering the mean age at first marriage, 17.39 years and the proportion of polygynous marriage among all (current) marriages, 16 percentage points that were discerned from the MDHS, the impacts are truly remarkable.

Referring to an individual's religious affiliation as receiving religious teachings makes it possible for the identified religious effects to have alternative interpretations. Then, in the second step, this study examined other major channels that might have underlain the causal impacts. Given the evident significance of educational facilitation made by the missionaries, of the presence of the HIV epidemic as well as of possible segmentation in both the marriage and labor markets, it was investigated whether those factors could account for the religious effects. This study did not find strong evidence supporting those alternative stories.

A few qualifications may be expressed with respect to this study's ability to make the findings relevant in a much broader context of the developing world. Firstly, influence of religious teachings may not be universal both spatially and temporally. Religious doctrines may be continuously adjusted to new situations (Lewis (1955), p.106). For instance, given potential adherents' strategic choice of religion, it is possible that each denomination may modify the codes to entice them in a competitive religious market. Priests may also differently (re-)interpret religious doctrines from their conviction, frustration, or ambition. Believers in the same religion may also have different understandings about the materials of the teachings. Even if they similarly understand the instruction, some may ignore teachings that prevent them from seizing own economic opportunities. All these suggest that it would be useful for future research to explore what teaching materials would be at play under what conditions. Secondly, in addition to the consideration of the external validity, even internally, it is also true that the current research has only established the causal relationship between religious education and one particular type of welfare outcomes. Consequently, neither which religion provides the superiority over others in term of prospects for economic growth nor whether religious teachings uniformly influence economic development across spaces and over time is not the argument of the current research. The main point presented in this paper is that whatever form they take, religious teachings would indeed have potential to constitute a social and economic reality as development forces.

## A Appendix: Geographic and climate controls

This section describes community-level geographic and climate controls (as well as the original sources) that are all publicly available in the IHS data set. The variables description refers to ‘Geovariables.Description.pdf’ (<http://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/catalog/1003>).

### A.1 Climatology

The original data on climatology is sourced from ‘WorldClim - Global Climate Data,’ University of California, Berkeley.<sup>59</sup>

**Mean temperature ( $Bio_1$ ):** average temperature (multiplied by 10 °C) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean diurnal range ( $Bio_2$ ):** average diurnal range - mean of monthly maximum minus minimum temperature (multiplied by 10 °C) - based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Isothermality ( $Bio_3$ ):** isothermality defined as  $\left(\frac{Bio_2}{Bio_5 - Bio_6} \times 100\right)$ .

**Temperature seasonality ( $Bio_4$ ):** standard deviation of temperature (multiplied by 100) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Maximum temperature of the warmest month ( $Bio_5$ ):** maximum temperature (multiplied by 10 °C) of the warmest month based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Minimum temperature of the coldest month ( $Bio_6$ ):** minimum temperature (multiplied by 10 °C) of the coldest month based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean temperature of the wettest quarter ( $Bio_8$ ):** average temperature of the wettest quarter (multiplied by 10 °C) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean temperature of the driest quarter ( $Bio_9$ ):** average temperature of the driest quarter (multiplied by 10 °C) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean temperature of the warmest quarter ( $Bio_{10}$ ):** average temperature of the warmest quarter (multiplied by 10 °C) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean temperature of the coldest quarter ( $Bio_{11}$ ):** average temperature of the coldest quarter (multiplied by 10 °C) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean precipitation ( $Bio_{12}$ ):** average annual precipitation (mm) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean precipitation of the wettest month ( $Bio_{13}$ ):** average precipitation (mm) of the wettest month based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

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<sup>59</sup>Temperature range ( $Bio_7$ ) defined as  $Bio_5 - Bio_6$  was not used in the estimations to avoid perfect multicollinearity among regressors.

**Mean precipitation of the driest month ( $Bio_{14}$ ):** average precipitation (mm) of the driest month based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Precipitation seasonality ( $Bio_{15}$ ):** coefficient of variation of annual precipitation (mm) based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

**Mean precipitation of the wettest quarter ( $Bio_{16}$ ):** average precipitation (mm) of the wettest quarter based on monthly climatology between 1960 and 1990.

## A.2 Landscape typology

**Land cover classes:** categorical variables for types of land cover within approximately 1km buffer in 2009 based on ‘GlobCover Version 2.3’ sourced from the European Space Agency (ESA) and Université Catholique de Louvain, i.e., (a) rainfed cropland (reference group); (b) mosaic cropland (50-70%)/vegetation(20-50%); (c) mosaic vegetation (50-70%)/cropland (20-50%); (d) closed (> 40%) broadleaved deciduous forest (> 5m); (e) open (15-40%) broadleaved deciduous forest/woodland (< 5m); (f) open (15-40%) needleleaved deciduous or evergreen forest, (g) mosaic forest or shrubland (50-70%)/grassland (20-50%); (h) closed to open (> 15%) - broadleaved or needleleaved, evergreen or deciduous - shrubland (< 5m); (i) closed to open (> 15%) herbaceous vegetation (grassland, savanna or lichen/moss); and (j) artificial surfaces and associated areas (urban areas > 50%).

**Agricultural land:** percentage under agriculture within approximately 1km buffer in 2009 based on ‘GlobCover Version 2.3’ sourced from the European Space Agency (ESA) and Université Catholique de Louvain.

**Agro-ecological zones:** categorical variables for agro-ecological zones in 2009 sourced from HarvestChoice and International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), i.e., (a) tropic-warm/semiarid (reference group); (b) tropic-warm/subhumid; (c) tropic-cool/semiarid; and (d) tropic-cool/subhumid.

## A.3 Soil and terrain

**Elevation:** elevation (m) based on the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) 90m data sourced from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

**Slope:** slope (percent) based on the SRTM 90m data sourced from the U.S Geological Survey (USGS)

**Topographic wetness index:** potential wetness index based on the modified SRTM 90m data sourced from the Africa Soil Information Service (AfSIS). This index is calculated as  $\ln\left(\frac{A}{\tan b}\right)$ , where  $A$  is flow accumulation or effective drainage areas and  $b$  is slope gradient.

**Terrain roughness:** categorical variables for terrain roughness based on the SRTM 90m data sourced from the Living Standards Measurement Study-Integrated Surveys on Agriculture (LSMS-ISA), i.e., (a) plains (reference group); (b) mid-altitude plains; (c) high-altitude plains; (d) lowlands; (e) rugged lowlands; (f) platform (very low plateaus); (g) low plateaus; (h) mid-altitude plateaus; (i) hills; (j) low mountains; and (k) mid-altitude mountains.

**Nutrient availability:** categorical variables for nutrient availability based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; (e) mainly non-soil; and (f) water.

**Nutrient retention capacity:** categorical variables for nutrient retention capacity based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; and (e) water.

**Rooting conditions:** categorical variables for rooting conditions y based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; (e) mainly non-soil; and (f) water.

**Oxygen availability to roots:** categorical variables for oxygen availability to roots based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; and (e) water.

**Excess salts:** categorical variables for excess salts based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; and (e) water.

**Toxicity:** categorical variables for toxicity based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; and (e) water.

**Field-management constraint:** categorical variables for Field-management constraint based on ‘Harmonized World Soil Database’ sourced from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), i.e., (a) no or slight constraint (reference group); (b) moderate constraint; (c) severe constraint; (d) very severe constraint; (e) mainly non-soil; and (f) water.

#### A.4 Crop season parameters

**Mean rainfall:** average 12-month total rainfall (mm) from July to June between 2001 and 2011 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Mean rainfall in the wettest quarter:** average total rainfall (mm) in the wettest quarter within 12 months from July to June between 2001 and 2011 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Mean onset date of the wettest quarter:** average onset date of the wettest quarter within 12 months from July to June between 2001 and 2011 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC). The date is measured by dekads ranging from 1 to 36, where the first dekad of July is normalized to one.

**Total rainfall, 2008-2009:** 12-month total rainfall (mm) from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Total rainfall in the wettest quarter, 2008-2009:** total rainfall (mm) in the wettest quarter within 12 months from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Onset date of the wettest quarter, 2008-2009:** onset date of the wettest quarter within 12 months from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC). The date is measured by dekads ranging from 1 to 36, where the first dekad of July in 2008 is normalized to one.

**Total rainfall, 2009-2010:** 12-month total rainfall (mm) from July in 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Total rainfall in the wettest quarter, 2009-2010:** total rainfall (mm) in the wettest quarter within 12 months from July in 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC).

**Onset date of the wettest quarter, 2009-2010:** onset date of the wettest quarter within 12 months from July in June 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Rainfall Estimates (EFE),’ the Climate Prediction Center (NOAA CPC). The date is measured by dekads ranging from 1 to 36, where the first dekad of July in 2009 is normalized to one.

**Greenness changes:** mean total change in greenness (averaged by district), integral of daily Enhanced Vegetation Index (EVI) values, within a primary growing season between 2001 and 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University.

**Mean onset timing of greenness increase:** mean onset timing of greenness increase (averaged by district) within 12 months from July to June between 2001 and 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356,

where the 1st July is normalized to one.

**Mean onset timing of greenness decrease:** mean onset timing of greenness decrease (averaged by district) within 12 months from July to June between 2001 and 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356, where the 1st July is normalized to one.

**Greenness changes, 2008-2009:** total change in greenness (averaged by district), integral of daily Enhanced Vegetation Index (EVI) values, within a primary growing season from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University.

**Onset timing of greenness increase, 2008-2009:** onset timing of greenness increase (averaged by district) within 12 months from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356, where the 1st July in 2008 is normalized to one.

**Onset timing of greenness decrease, 2008-2009:** onset timing of greenness decrease (averaged by district) within 12 months from July in 2008 to June in 2009 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356, where the 1st July in 2008 is normalized to one.

**Greenness changes, 2009-2010:** total change in greenness (averaged by district), integral of daily Enhanced Vegetation Index (EVI) values, within a primary growing season from July in 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University.

**Onset timing of greenness increase, 2009-2010:** onset timing of greenness increase (averaged by district) within 12 months from July in 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356, where the 1st July in 2009 is normalized to one.

**Onset timing of greenness decrease, 2009-2010:** onset timing of greenness decrease (averaged by district) within 12 months from July in 2009 to June in 2010 sourced from ‘Land Cover Dynamics - MODIS,’ Boston University. The timing is measured by days ranging from 1 to 356, where the 1st July in 2009 is normalized to one.

## **B Appendix: Merging the IHS community-level information with the MDHS data**

### **B.1 Community-level positions**

The MDHS collected coordinates of the groupings of households known as clusters (communities). In order to maintain the confidentiality of the surveyed respondents, the GPS latitude/longitude



position was publicized after displacing the coordinates by applying a random offset within a specified range to the position. After this adjustment made, urban clusters contained 0-2 kilometers of positional error. On the other hand, rural clusters contained 0-5 kilometers of error with a further 1% of them displaced 0-10 kilometers. Nevertheless, this displacement still made the surveyed clusters fall within an original surveyed area of the country's second administrative level (district). For the details, see <http://www.measuredhs.com/What-We-Do/GPS-Data-Collection.cfm>.

In the IHS, GPS-based household location was collected. Similar to the case in the MDHS, to enforce respondent confidentiality, this information was disseminated as a community-level value after manipulating those household-level GPS coordinates. This manipulation included computing the average of household-level coordinates in a community (enumeration area) at first and then following the MDHS methodology, applying a random offset to the average coordinate value. For urban areas, a range of 0-2 kilometers was applied as the random offset, in contrast to a range of 0-5 kilometers offset used in rural areas. An additional 0-10 kilometers offset was also exploited for 1% of the rural clusters effectively to raise the publicly known range of positional displacement (for all rural points) to the level of 10 kilometers with minimal noise. Again, this displacement was made, keeping a community's representative location remain in the original district. For the details, see '*Third Integrated Household Survey (IHS3) 2010-2011 Basic Information Document, March 2012*' (<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLSMS/Resources/3358986-1233781970982/5800988-1271185595871/IHS3.BID.FINAL.pdf>).

## B.2 Finding the nearest IHS community

By using the community-level GPS coordinates provided by both the MDHS and IHS, this study selected, from 768 communities surveyed in the IHS, the geographically nearest one to each community surveyed in the MDHS that contained more than 1900 communities over all three rounds of 2000, 2004, and 2010.

When calculating the distance between the MDHS and IHS communities, this study used the great-circle distance (GCD), i.e., the shortest distance between any two points on the surface of a sphere measured along a path on the surface of the sphere (as opposed to going through the sphere's interior). More specifically, in this paper, the GCD between two points  $i$  and  $j$  was computed as:

$$\text{Radius (6378.7 km)} \times \arccos \left[ \sin \left( \frac{\text{latitude}_i}{57.2958} \right) \times \sin \left( \frac{\text{latitude}_j}{57.2958} \right) + \cos \left( \frac{\text{latitude}_i}{57.2958} \right) \times \cos \left( \frac{\text{latitude}_j}{57.2958} \right) \times \cos \left( \frac{\text{longitude}_j}{57.2958} - \frac{\text{longitude}_i}{57.2958} \right) \right]. \quad (\text{B.1})$$

Because both the MDHS and IHS communities spatially spread all over the country ( see Appendix

Figure A.3, whereby the sample communities in both the surveys are dotted, although for easeness of visual identification, only the 2010 MDHS communities were compared to the IHS ones in the figure), it was not difficult to identify an IHS community in the closest proximity with relatively short distance to all the MDHS communities. As a matter of fact, approximately 95% (99%) of the MDHS communities was matched with the nearest IHS community less than 10 (15) kilometers away from them, with a MDHS community having the maximum distance of approximately 67 kilometers to the nearest IHS one.

### **B.3 Goodness of fit of the IHS data to the MDHS data**

In order to see the goodness of fit of the characteristics of the nearest IHS communities to the MDHS data, three informal checks that used the merged MDHS data were invented. Firstly, this study regressed a dummy variable, equal to one if the MDHS sample females were Christian and zero otherwise, with a dummy variable, which takes one if Christianity was the most common religion practiced in the nearest IHS communities, in column (a) in Appendix Table A.1. If the community-level characteristics of the IHS data fit well to the MDHS data, the significantly positive relationship is likely to be found. The result indeed supports this view. Similar exercises associated with Islam and other or no religion were also conducted in columns (b) and (c) in the table, providing further support for the fitness.

The second exercise imported the idea used from the first test but now with an emphasis placed on ethnicity, rather than religions. For example, in column (d) in Appendix Table A.1, a dummy variable that takes the value of one if the MDHS sample females were identified as Chewa (ethnic group) was estimated by a dummy variable, equal to one if the most common language spoken at home in the nearest IHS communities was Chewa and zero otherwise. Again, given the good fit of the IHS community-characteristics to the MDHS data, these two variables are likely to reveal significantly positive association that was indeed confirmed in the column. The remaining columns in the table report the estimation results implemented for the other ethnic groups. As a whole, it appears that the results provided some comfort for the goodness of fit between the two data sets.

Finally, in columns (f) to (j) in Appendix Table A.2, a dummy variable, which takes one if the MDHS sample females that were in wedded relationship were not born in the current residential place and zero otherwise, was regressed by a dummy variable, equal to one if the nearest IHS communities traced their descent through their mothers and zero otherwise. This exercise was made to confirm that married females were less likely to be migrants in the present residential place if the nearest IHS communities had traditionally adopted a matrilineal descent system. This is because the default norm of the marriage-related relocation associated with the matrilineality is

matrilocal, i.e., females stay in their natal villages that their husband marries into, as opposed to patrilocal (i.e., females leave their natal home and marry into their husband's villages) associated with a patrilineal descent system. Since the norm may not be strictly enforced in urban areas, the analysis allowed for heterogeneity in the relationship between the matrilineal descent rule and the migrant probability according to this dimension, namely by interacting the dummy for the nearest IHS communities characterized by the matrilineality with the distance (km) to the nearest town having population over 20000. In the analysis, the distance took a categorical form, whereby the communities were split into 6 groups in the column (f), 5 in (g), 4 in (h), 3 in (i) and 2 in (j) as well as the reference group was always a group in the farthest distance.

As expected, the results show that compared to the counterpart in patrilineal communities, on average, married females residing in matrilineal communities were less likely to be migrants in the current residential place as well as that within matrilineal communities, married females were more likely to stay in their natal home as the current residential place was situated a greater distance away from the nearest population center. The analysis in columns (k) to (o) that limited the sample into females residing in the MDHS communities located less than 10 kilometers away from the nearest IHS communities revealed the similar pattern.

The relationship between the migrant probability and matrilineality provides another support for the goodness of fit of the community-level characteristics of the nearest IHS communities to the individual characteristics of the MDHS females. Moreover, in columns (a) to (d) in Appendix Table A.2, the migrant probability was again estimated now by using only the IHS data (i.e., female observations of the IHS), with a similar set of controls and specification used in columns (f) to (o) in the table. The estimation results revealed a remarkably similar pattern to the association of the migrant probability with the matrilineal descent rule identified in the estimations that exploited the merged MDHS data. This finding may give this study further encouragement to use the MDHS data joined with the characteristics of the nearest IHS communities in an entire empirical analysis.

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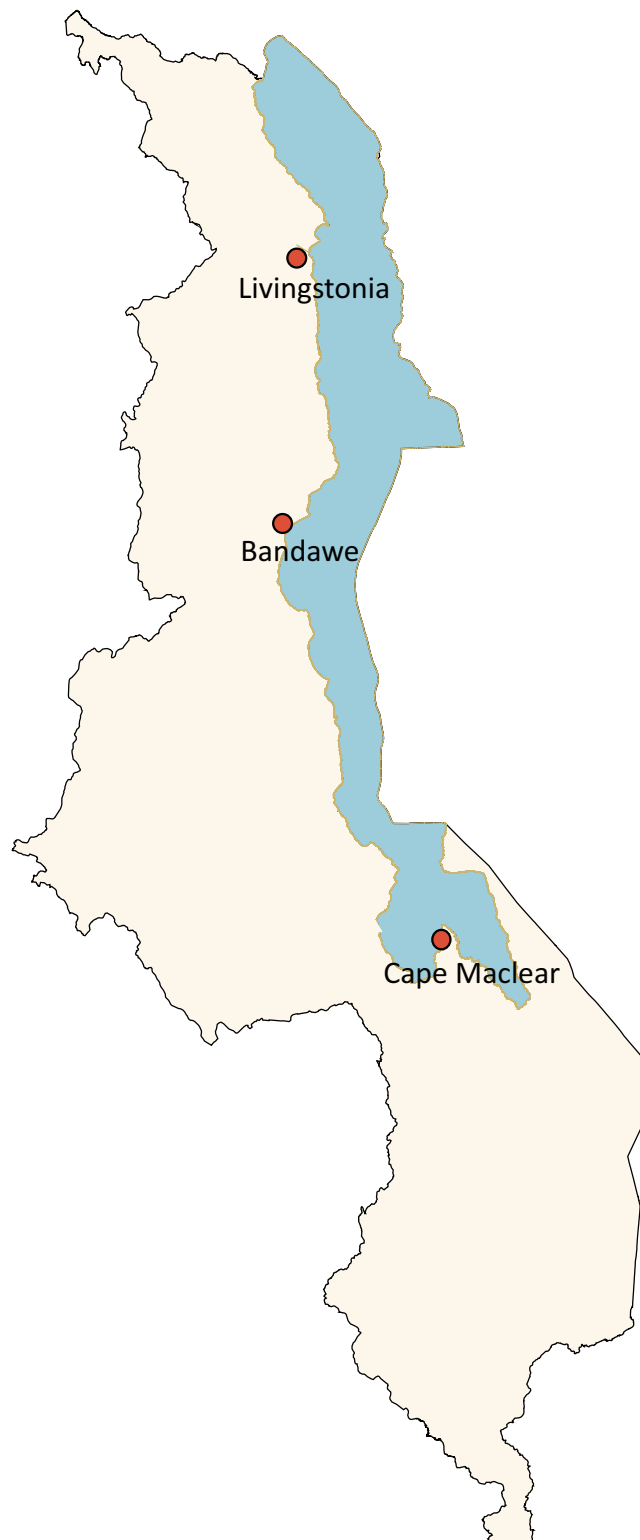


Figure 1: Major mission stations

Note: The background map is sourced from UN-SALB (Second Administrative Level Boundaries, period 22.08.2002-21.06.2010).

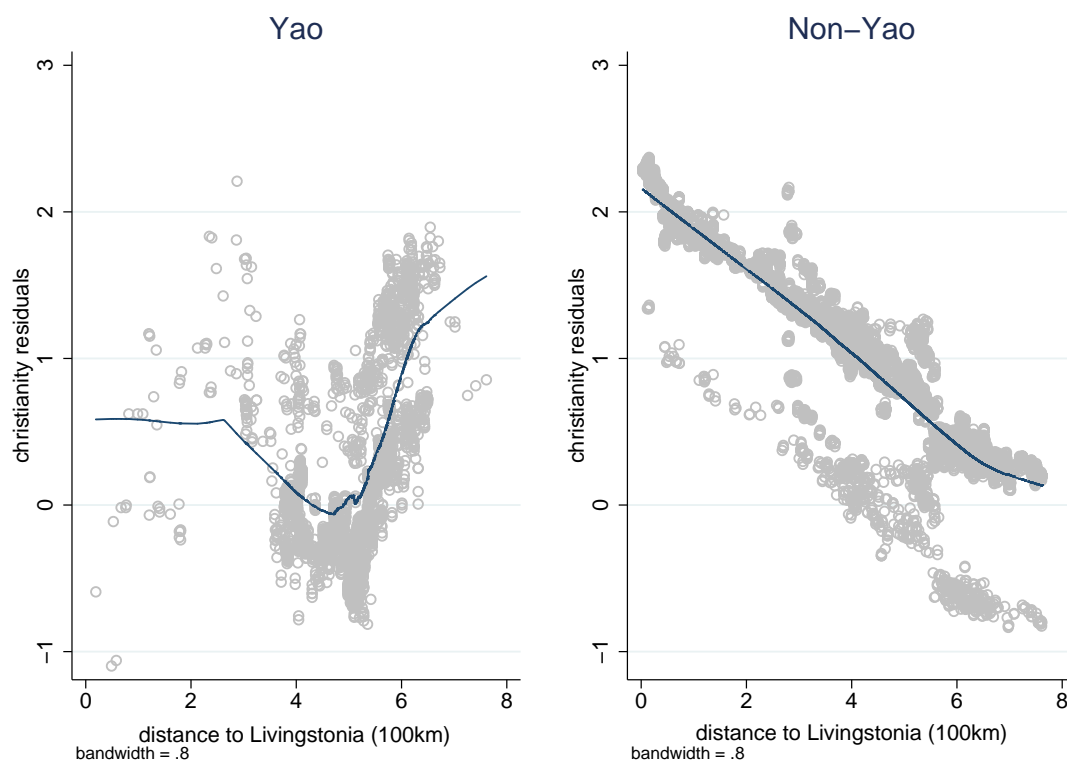


Figure 2: Semiparametric regression curve (Lowess): Christianity and distance to Livingstonia

Notes : (1) This figure is based on Yatchew (1997, 1998)'s differenced-based semiparametric estimations of a partial lineal model. (2) Christianity residuals are  $c_{i,j}$  minus the estimated parametric part. (3) Regressors in the parametric part contain age, age squared, birth order, no. of alive siblings at age 15, no. of older late siblings at age 15, no. of younger late siblings at age 15, geographic and climate controls, and ethnicity-level historical controls. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

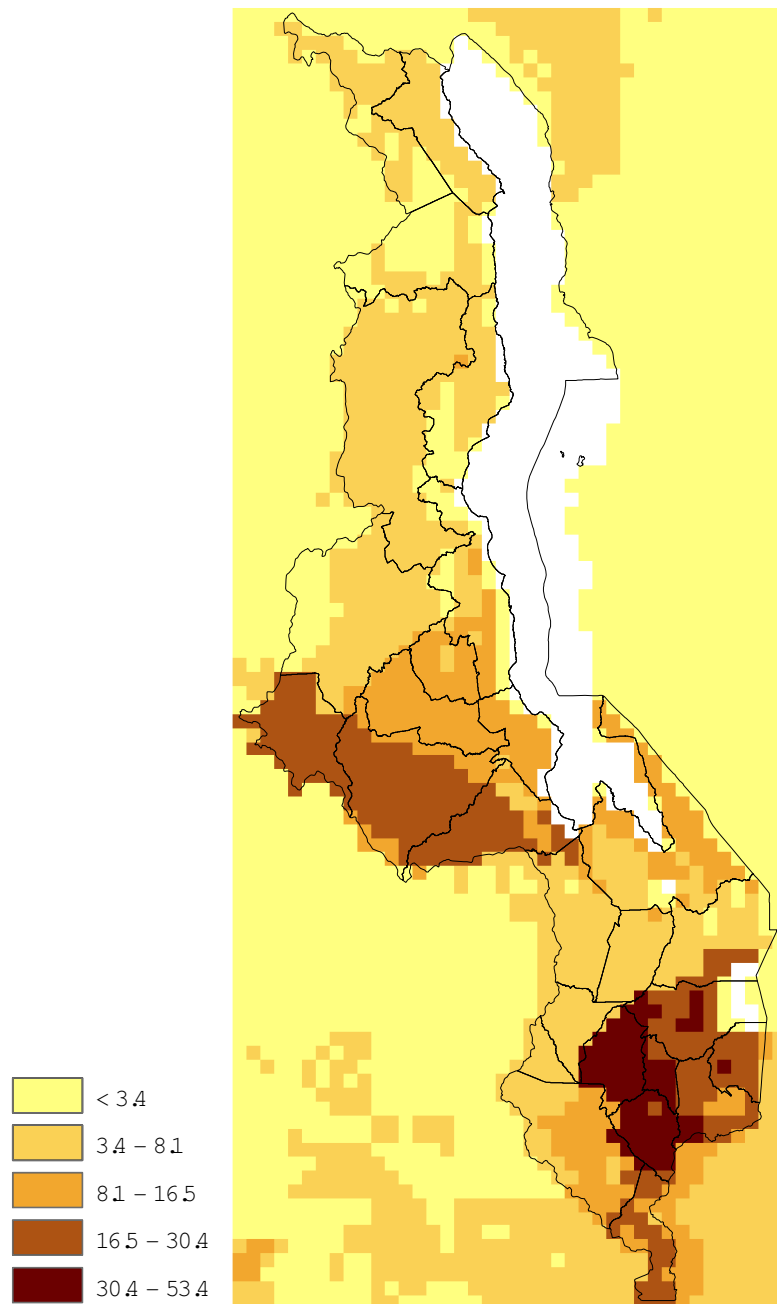


Figure 3: Historical population density in 1900 (inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>)

Notes: (1) The data on population density is sourced from History Database of the Global Environment (HYDE) version 3.1. (2) The map of Malawi is sourced from UN-SALB (Second Administrative Level Boundaries, period 22.08.2002-21.06.2010).

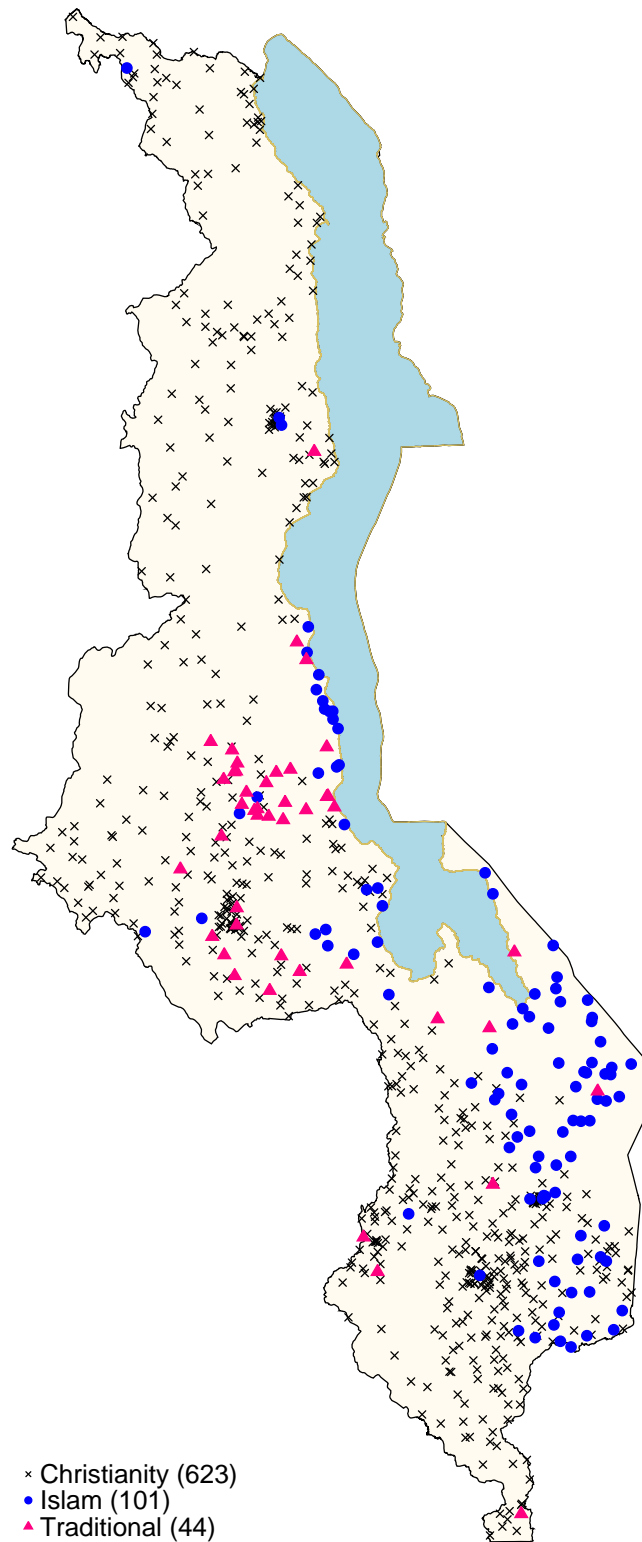


Figure A.1: Spatial distribution of the most common religion practiced in a community (IHS)

Notes: (1) Figure in ( ) is the number of communities. (2) The background map is sourced from UN-SALB (Second Administrative Level Boundaries, period 22.08.2002-21.06.2010).

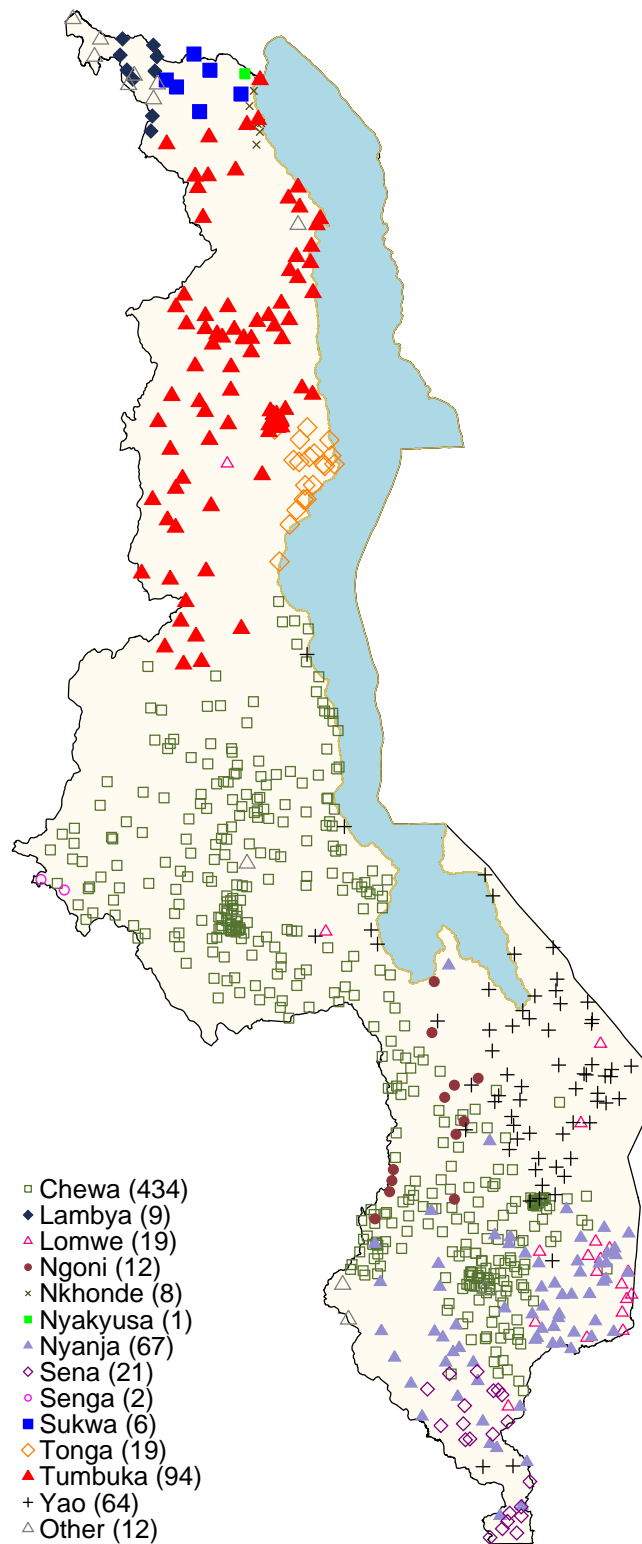


Figure A.2: Spatial distribution of the most common language spoken at home in a community (IHS)

Notes: (1) Figure in ( ) is the number of communities. (2) The background map is sourced from UN-SALB (Second Administrative Level Boundaries, period 22.08.2002-21.06.2010).

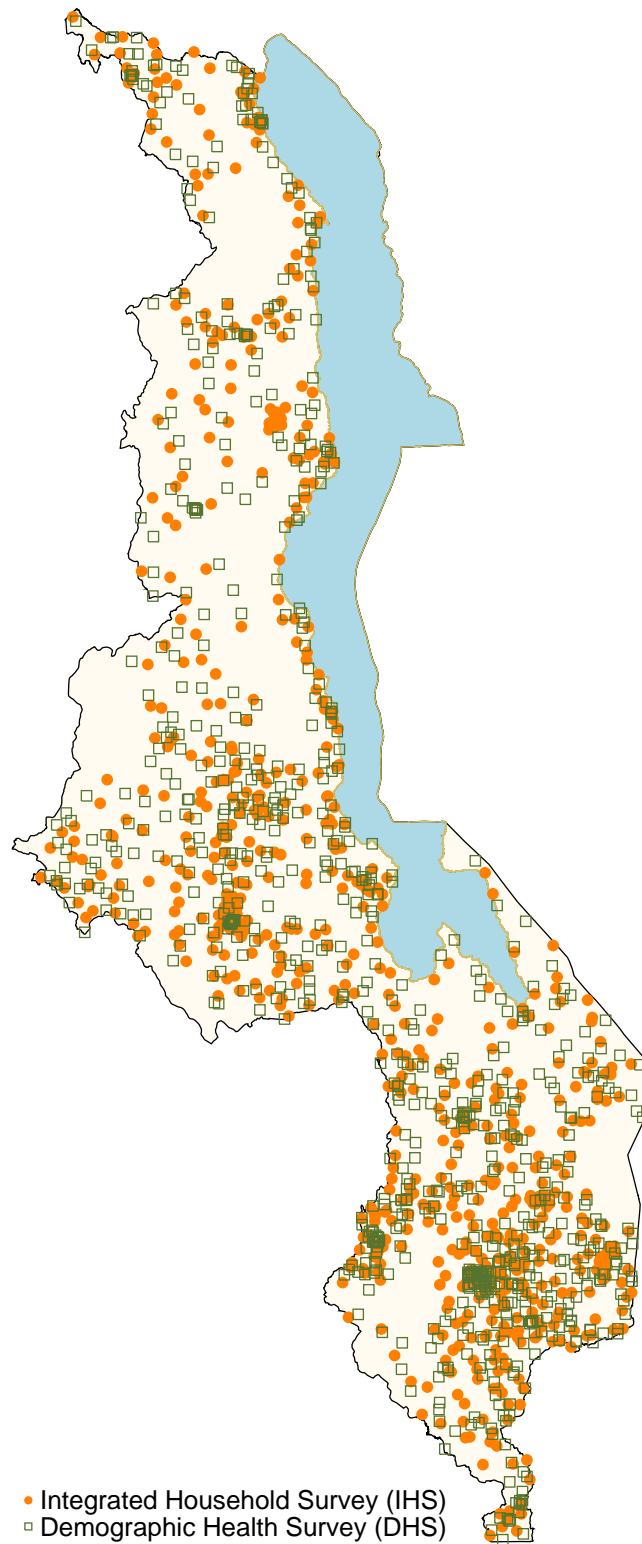


Figure A.3: Spatial distribution of sampled communities: MDHS 2010 and IHS 2010-2011

Note: The background map is sourced from UN-SALB (Second Administrative Level Boundaries, period 22.08.2002-21.06.2010).

Table 1: Religious affiliation

	Total	Yao	Non-Yao
<b>(1) Christianity</b>			
Anglican	0.02	0.01	0.02
Catholic	0.21	0.05	0.23
Seventh Day Advent/Baptist	0.06	0.01	0.07
The Church of Central Africa, Presbyterian (CCAP)	0.17	0.04	0.18
Other Christian	0.37	0.09	0.42
<b>(2) Islam</b>	0.13	0.76	0.03
<b>(3) Other or no religion</b>	0.01	0.00	0.01
No. of respondents	47920	6171	41749

Note: The number is the proportion relative to the total number of respondents in each category. This is the unweighted proportion. In order to calculate the true proportion of the entire population from the sample data, appropriate sample weights need to be used.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

	Christian			Non-Christian		
	Mean	Std.	No. of obs	Mean	Std.	No. of obs
<b>(A) Individual controls</b>						
Age at marriage (years)	17.53***	[2.95]	22110	17.18	[3.18]	3342
Polygyny (dummy)	0.11***	[0.32]	22110	0.17	[0.38]	3342
Age (years)	28.73***	[8.27]	22110	28.13	[8.30]	3342
Education (years)	4.96***	[3.62]	22109	3.36	[3.41]	3342
Yao (dummy)	0.03***	[0.17]	22103	0.67	[0.46]	3341
Birth order	3.64**	[2.37]	22044	3.55	[2.37]	3333
No. of alive siblings at age 15	4.51***	[2.16]	22044	4.25	[2.15]	3333
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.58*	[1.22]	22044	0.62	[1.33]	3333
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	0.38	[0.81]	22044	0.37	[0.82]	3333
<b>(B) Selected community controls</b>						
Distance to Livingstonia (100 km)	4.20***	[1.98]	21848	4.77	[1.06]	3313
Descent rule						
Patrilineal descent (dummy)	0.36***	[0.48]	21848	0.16	[0.37]	3313
Matrilineal descent (dummy)	0.54***	[0.49]	21848	0.76	[0.42]	3313
Dual descent (dummy)	0.08*	[0.27]	21848	0.07	[0.26]	3313
Community's population	4387.88***	[7315.00]	21819	5803.41	[9180.98]	3313
Distance to the nearest town of pop. > 20000 (km)	0.35***	[0.22]	21848	0.26	[0.18]	3313
Major urban center (dummy)	0.09*	[0.29]	21848	0.08	[0.27]	3313
The most common religion is Christianity. (dummy)	0.86***	[0.33]	21848	0.45	[0.49]	3313
The most common language is Yao. (dummy)	0.04***	[0.21]	21848	0.46	[0.49]	3313
<b>(C) Selected geographic and climate controls</b>						
Latitude	-13.99***	[1.91]	21848	-14.51	[0.95]	3313
Longitude	34.39***	[0.75]	21848	34.97	[0.60]	3313
Annual mean temperature ( $Bio_1$ ) ( $\times 10$ °C), 1960-1990	217.28***	[20.12]	21848	226.52	[16.54]	3313
Std. of temperature ( $Bio_4$ ) ( $\times 100$ ), 1960-1990	2344.54***	[259.36]	21848	2290.53	[179.76]	3313
Mean precipitation ( $Bio_{12}$ ) (mm), 1960-1990	1094.27***	[265.82]	21848	1062.65	[168.96]	3313
Coef. of Var. of precipitation ( $Bio_{15}$ ), 1960-1990	103.30***	[13.15]	21848	109.12	[9.50]	3313
Elevation (m)	874.63***	[358.47]	21848	721.03	[258.06]	3313
Slope (percent)	5.09***	[4.43]	21848	3.95	[3.93]	3313
<b>(D) Ethnicity-level historical controls</b>						
Railway networks (dummy)	0.80***	[0.39]	19988	0.93	[0.24]	3258
Slave exports normalized by land area	0.42***	[0.90]	19988	1.39	[0.86]	3258

Note: The equality of means between Christian and non-Christian females are examined by T-tests. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%.



Table 3: Impacts of religious affiliation: age at marriage

Dependent variable:	Age at marriage									
	OLS			2SLS (ii)						
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
One if Christian	0.348*** [0.087]	0.353*** [0.087]	0.315*** [0.100]	2.429*** [0.728]	2.425*** [0.742]	2.459*** [0.734]	2.431*** [0.745]	3.024*** [0.878]	2.556*** [0.768]	2.435*** [0.766]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.220	0.012
Non-Yao (dummy)	0.106 [0.131]	0.091 [0.131]	0.146 [0.149]	-0.988** [0.396]	-0.986** [0.399]	-1.004** [0.399]	-0.990** [0.400]	-1.085*** [0.417]	-1.053** [0.415]	-0.993** [0.411]
Age	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.297*** [0.019]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.178]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]
Age squared	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]
Birth order	0.010 [0.013]	0.008 [0.013]	-0.001 [0.014]	0.011 [0.013]	0.009 [0.013]	0.011 [0.013]	0.009 [0.013]	0.008 [0.013]	0.011 [0.013]	0.009 [0.013]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.036*** [0.012]	0.036*** [0.012]	0.035*** [0.013]	0.030** [0.012]	0.030** [0.012]	0.029** [0.012]	0.030** [0.012]	0.029** [0.012]	0.029** [0.012]	0.030** [0.012]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.100*** [0.021]	-0.098*** [0.022]	-0.085*** [0.023]	-0.101*** [0.022]	-0.099*** [0.022]	-0.101*** [0.022]	-0.099*** [0.022]	-0.085*** [0.023]	-0.101*** [0.022]	-0.099*** [0.022]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.070*** [0.025]	-0.069*** [0.025]	-0.054** [0.027]	-0.070*** [0.024]	-0.069*** [0.024]	-0.070*** [0.024]	-0.069*** [0.024]	-0.049** [0.025]	-0.070*** [0.024]	-0.069*** [0.024]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Other	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Community FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	-	-	-	55.17	49.62	80.05	77.79	209.40	72.40	72.50
1st. stage F-statistic	-	-	-	0.474	0.947	-	-	-	-	-
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
R-squared	0.056	0.057	0.147	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of obs.	21587	21559	21587	21587	21559	21587	21559	21587	21587	21559

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (h). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (d) to (j) but column (h), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lonwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table 4: Impacts of religious affiliation: polygamy

Dependent variable:	One if polygamy									
	OLS			2SLS (ii)						
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
One if Christian	-0.088*** [0.009]	-0.086*** [0.009]	-0.076*** [0.100]	-0.285*** [0.077]	-0.296*** [0.077]	-0.290*** [0.077]	-0.298*** [0.078]	-0.355*** [0.094]	-0.306*** [0.080]	-0.304*** [0.080]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.037	-0.019
Non-Yao (dummy)	0.010 [0.012]	0.010 [0.012]	-0.002 [0.013]	0.113*** [0.039]	0.120*** [0.039]	0.116*** [0.039]	0.121*** [0.039]	0.124*** [0.044]	0.124*** [0.041]	0.124*** [0.040]
Age	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]
Age squared	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]
Birth order	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.003]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.004 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.005* [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Other	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Community FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st. stage F-statistic	-	-	-	55.17	49.62	80.05	77.79	209.40	72.40	72.50
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	0.354	0.669	-	-	-	-	-
R-squared	0.062	0.065	0.157	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of obs.	21587	21559	21587	21587	21559	21587	21559	21587	21587	21559

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (h). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (d) to (j) but column (h), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lonwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table 5: Reduced-form and first-stage regressions (OLS)

Dependent variables:	One if Christian			Age at marriage			One if polygamy		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-0.099*** [0.013]	-0.099*** [0.013]	-0.082*** [0.014]	-0.252*** [0.076]	-0.240*** [0.077]	-0.249*** [0.086]	0.030*** [0.008]	0.030*** [0.008]	0.029*** [0.009]
× Non-Yao									
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-0.032 [0.036]	-0.030 [0.039]	-	0.143 [0.319]	-0.055 [0.373]	-	-0.028 [0.045]	-0.010 [0.053]	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	1.023*** [0.068]	1.021*** [0.068]	0.870*** [0.073]	1.559*** [0.409]	1.490*** [0.412]	1.545*** [0.463]	-0.189*** [0.046]	-0.187*** [0.045]	-0.184*** [0.050]
Age	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	0.309*** [0.018]	0.309*** [0.018]	0.298*** [0.019]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]
Age squared	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]
Birth order	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.001]	0.010 [0.013]	0.009 [0.013]	-0.000 [0.014]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.003*** [0.001]	0.003*** [0.001]	0.002** [0.001]	0.037*** [0.012]	0.037*** [0.012]	0.035*** [0.013]	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.001]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.000 [0.002]	0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.100*** [0.021]	-0.098*** [0.022]	-0.085*** [0.023]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.003]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.070*** [0.025]	-0.069*** [0.025]	-0.054** [0.027]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.004 [0.003]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Geography and climate	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Other	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Community FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	0.536	0.539	0.622	0.056	0.057	0.147	0.059	0.062	0.155
R-squared	21587	21559	21587	21595	21567	21595	21595	21567	21595
No. of obs.									

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community. (3) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (4) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (5) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table 6: Falsification test: population density in the early and mid-20th century (OLS)

Dependent variable: Data sources of population:	Log of population density					
	HYDE	Malawi Population Census 1966, Final report				
	population	population in 1966				population
	in 1900	60 years or above		All		in 1945
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-0.369	-0.821	0.194	-1.094	0.509	-1.023
× Non-Yao (proportion)	[0.436]	[0.930]	[1.249]	[0.919]	[1.130]	[1.085]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.577	1.256	0.269	1.603	-0.060	1.600
	[0.475]	[0.972]	[1.245]	[0.952]	[1.111]	[1.142]
Non-Yao (proportion)	1.824	3.198	-2.071	4.843	-3.426	4.713
	[1.961]	[4.058]	[6.078]	[3.995]	[5.628]	[4.693]
Male proportion	-	-	12.138	-	16.715	-
			[16.103]		[15.616]	
Average age	-	-	4.051	-	4.330	-
			[3.113]		[3.345]	
Average age squared	-	-	-0.101	-	-0.112	-
			[0.075]		[0.080]	
Latitude	-0.179	-0.110	-0.129	0.067	-0.058	0.129
	[0.157]	[0.195]	[0.204]	[0.182]	[0.227]	[0.180]
Longitude	0.021	0.406	0.635*	0.398	0.805***	0.571**
	[0.275]	[0.252]	[0.333]	[0.247]	[0.233]	[0.261]
Constant	-3.340	-17.551*	-66.409**	-14.306	-70.490**	-19.913*
	[9.014]	[9.601]	[30.306]	[9.101]	[33.819]	[10.269]
Regional FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.382	0.661	0.712	0.643	0.764	0.584
No. of obs.	1115	23	23	23	23	23

Notes: (1) The unit of observations is a 5-by-5-minute cell demonstrated in Figure 3 in column (a) and a district in columns (b) to (f). (2) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (3) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each district. (4) In all the columns, the non-Yao proportion is the proportion of the non-Yao population relative to a district's overall population in 1966. (5) The analysis uses the level of districts in 1966. Therefore, regarding districts divided between 1945 and 1966 (i.e., Karonga to Chitipa & Karonga, Nkhotakota to Ntchisi & Nkhotakota, Dowa to Dowa & Salima), in column (f), the population in 1945 was split in proportion to the proportion in 1966. (6) The latitude and longitude are the coordinates of (a centroid of) each cell in column (a) and those of a district's capital city (major town) in columns (b) to (f). (7) The distance is measured from Livingstonia to a centroid of each cell in column (a) and to a district's capital city (major town) in columns (b) to (f). (8) In columns (b) to (f), the population density is a district's total population (African, European, Asian, and other) divided by land area (square mile). (9) In columns (c) and (e), a district's average age is calculated by weighting based on the population in each age category of below 5 years, assumed to be 1 year-old in the calculation; 5 to 9 years, assumed to be 5 year-old; 10 to 14 years, assumed to be 10 year-old; 15 to 19 years, assumed to be 15 year-old; 20 to 24 years, assumed to be 20 year-old; 25 to 29 years, assumed to be 25 year-old; 30 to 34 years, assumed to be 30 year-old; 35 to 39 years, assumed to be 35 year-old; 40 to 44 years, assumed to be 40 year-old; 45 to 49 years, assumed to be 45 year-old; 50 to 54 years, assumed to be 50 year-old; 55 to 59 years, assumed to be 55 year-old; 60 to 64 years, assumed to be 60 year-old; and 65 years or above, assumed to be 65 year-old. (10) The analysis uses three regional fixed effects (i.e., north, central, south).

Table 7: Falsification test: impacts of distance to randomly selected communities (OLS)

Dependent variables:	One if Christian			Age at marriage			One if polygamy		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)
Distance (100km) to a randomly selected community A × Non-Yao	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.002 [0.005]	0.001 [0.000]	0.001 [0.000]	0.000 [0.001]
community B × Non-Yao	-0.002*** [0.001]	-0.002*** [0.001]	-0.002** [0.001]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.003 [0.006]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]
community C × Non-Yao	0.001*** [0.000]	0.001*** [0.000]	0.001*** [0.000]	0.002 [0.002]	0.002 [0.002]	0.002 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]
Distance (100km) to a randomly selected community A	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-	0.002 [0.005]	-0.001 [0.005]	-	-0.001* [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-
community B	0.004*** [0.001]	0.003*** [0.001]	-	0.002 [0.006]	0.002 [0.006]	-	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-
community C	-0.001** [0.001]	-0.001** [0.001]	-	-0.003 [0.004]	-0.005 [0.004]	-	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	0.698*** [0.060]	0.692*** [0.060]	0.578*** [0.069]	0.590 [0.427]	0.568 [0.431]	0.600 [0.480]	-0.141*** [0.045]	-0.135*** [0.044]	-0.106** [0.049]
Age	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.000]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.308*** [0.018]	0.298*** [0.019]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]
Age squared	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]
Birth order	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.001]	0.010 [0.013]	0.008 [0.013]	0.010 [0.014]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.003*** [0.001]	0.003*** [0.001]	0.002* [0.001]	0.037*** [0.012]	0.037*** [0.012]	0.035*** [0.013]	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.001]	-0.002 [0.001]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.000 [0.002]	0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.100*** [0.021]	-0.097*** [0.022]	-0.085*** [0.023]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.003]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.070*** [0.025]	-0.068*** [0.025]	-0.054** [0.027]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.004 [0.003]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.543	0.545	0.625	0.056	0.057	0.147	0.060	0.063	0.155
No. of obs.	21572	21544	21572	21580	21552	21580	21580	21552	21580

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community. (3) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (4) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (5) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table 8: Test for formal education and religion-based labor market segmentation (2SLS)

Dependent variables:	Age at marriage			One if polygamy		
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
One if Christian	2.429*** [0.728]	2.012*** [0.710]	2.346*** [0.721]	-0.285*** [0.077]	-0.276*** [0.078]	-0.282*** [0.077]
Education (years)	-	-0.166*** [0.018]	-	-	-0.000 [0.002]	-
Education squared	-	0.039*** [0.001]	-	-	-0.000** [0.000]	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	-0.988** [0.396]	-0.884** [0.381]	-0.967** [0.391]	0.113*** [0.039]	0.110*** [0.040]	0.112*** [0.039]
Age	0.308*** [0.018]	0.244*** [0.017]	0.280*** [0.018]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.021*** [0.002]
Age squared	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.003*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]
Birth order	0.011 [0.013]	0.008 [0.012]	0.012 [0.013]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.030** [0.012]	-0.004 [0.011]	0.019 [0.012]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.101*** [0.022]	-0.069*** [0.021]	-0.094*** [0.022]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.070*** [0.024]	-0.011 [0.023]	-0.058** [0.024]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.004 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.003]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Occupation FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic	55.17	54.05	53.91	55.17	54.05	53.91
Hansen (p-values)	0.474	0.658	0.622	0.354	0.366	0.391
No. of obs.	21587	21586	21557	21587	21586	21557

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity. (3) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (4) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure). (5) The occupational dummies consist of (i) not working, (ii) professional/technician/management, (iii) clerical workers, (iv) salesperson, (v) self-employed agricultural workers, (vi) employed agricultural workers, (vii) household/domestic service providers, (viii) service workers, (ix) skilled manual workers, and (x) unskilled manual workers.

Table 9: Test for fear of HIV infection

Dependent variables: Sample:	Age at marriage		One if polygamy		HIV
	Total	Matrilineal	Total	Matrilineal	prevalence
	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	OLS
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
One if Christian	2.453*** [0.726]	1.289 [0.853]	-0.284*** [0.077]	-0.389*** [0.106]	-
Distance to the origin of the HIV virus (100km)	1.476 [1.872]	-3.246 [7.825]	0.084 [0.221]	1.385 [0.856]	-0.780*** [0.256]
Distance to the origin of the HIV virus origin (100km) × Age	0.003** [0.002]	0.003 [0.003]	-0.001*** [0.000]	-0.001*** [0.000]	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	-1.012** [0.396]	-0.358 [0.430]	0.113*** [0.039]	0.149*** [0.049]	-
Age	0.257*** [0.031]	0.262*** [0.048]	0.038*** [0.003]	0.035*** [0.005]	-
Age squared	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-
Birth order	0.011 [0.013]	0.018 [0.017]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.002]	-
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.030** [0.012]	0.028* [0.016]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.002]	-
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.100*** [0.022]	-0.105*** [0.028]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.003 [0.003]	-
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.070*** [0.024]	-0.063** [0.031]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.006* [0.003]	-
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Geography and climate controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic	57.45	37.06	57.45	37.06	-
Hansen (p-values)	0.648	0.424	0.346	0.819	-
R-squared	-	-	-	-	0.232
No. of obs.	21587	12824	21587	12824	1337

Notes: (1) Unit of observations is an individual in columns (a) to (d) and a community in column (e). (2) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (3) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns (a) to (d), whereas those are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each district in column (e). (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table 10: Test for religion-based marriage market segmentation (2SLS)

Dependent variables: Sample:	Age at marriage			One if polygamy		
	Total	Matrilineal	Total	Total	Matrilineal	Total
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
One if Christian	2.708*** [0.767]	1.785* [0.947]	1.970 [1.449]	-0.300*** [0.081]	-0.428*** [0.121]	-0.101 [0.154]
One if Christian × A community's most common religion						
Islam	-0.504* [0.281]	-0.352 [0.333]	-	-0.000 [0.029]	0.024 [0.037]	-
Traditional	-0.482 [0.709]	0.061 [0.815]	-	0.055 [0.070]	0.115 [0.082]	-
A community's most common religion						
Islam	0.330 [0.248]	0.257 [0.296]	-	0.001 [0.026]	-0.035 [0.034]	-
Traditional	0.295 [0.635]	-0.110 [0.737]	-	0.014 [0.062]	-0.039 [0.073]	-
One if Christian × A husband's religion						
Islam	-	-	-5.878 [4.274]	-	-	1.306* [0.684]
Traditional or no religion	-	-	2.749 [6.321]	-	-	-0.230 [0.627]
A husband's religion						
Islam	-	-	4.789 [3.879]	-	-	-1.101* [0.614]
Traditional or no religion	-	-	-2.733 [6.257]	-	-	0.192 [0.623]
Non-Yao (dummy)	-1.042*** [0.397]	-0.528 [0.450]	-1.176 [0.804]	0.120*** [0.039]	0.161*** [0.053]	0.056 [0.086]
Age	0.308*** [0.018]	0.303*** [0.024]	0.276*** [0.042]	0.021*** [0.002]	0.018*** [0.002]	0.013*** [0.004]
Age squared	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.001]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000** [0.000]
Birth order	0.011 [0.013]	0.018 [0.017]	-0.021 [0.028]	0.000 [0.001]	0.000 [0.002]	0.004 [0.003]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.029** [0.012]	0.027* [0.016]	0.060** [0.025]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.004 [0.002]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.101*** [0.022]	-0.106*** [0.028]	-0.068 [0.047]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.005]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.071*** [0.024]	-0.065** [0.031]	0.002 [0.054]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.006** [0.003]	-0.004 [0.005]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic (for religion)	21.81	16.40	19.69	21.81	16.40	19.69
Hansen (p-values)	0.758	0.431	0.251	0.746	0.469	0.760
R-squared	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of obs.	21587	12824	4883	21587	12824	4883

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity. (3) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (4) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure). (5) A community's most common religion is a set of indicators, i.e., Christian (reference group), Muslim, or Traditional.



Table A.1: Informal check of goodness of the fit of the IHS community characteristics to the MDHS data: religion and ethnicity (OLS)

Dependent variables based on the MDHS:	One if													
	practice Christianity	practice Islam	practice other or no religion	Chewa	Lambya	Lomwe	Ngoni	Nkhonde	Nyanja	Sena	Tonga	Tumbuka	Yao	Other ethnicity
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)
Independent variables based on the IHS:														
The most common religion practiced in a community														
Christianity	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	[0.019]													
Islam	-	0.137***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		[0.023]												
Traditional	-	-	0.009*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			[0.005]											
The most common language spoken at home in a community														
Chewa	-	-	-	0.074***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
				[0.020]										
Lambya	-	-	-	-	0.108*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
					[0.063]									
Lomwe	-	-	-	-	-	0.059	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
						[0.041]								
Ngoni	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.041	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
							[0.049]							
Nkhonde	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.301***	-	-	-	-	-	-
								[0.064]						
Nyanja	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.005	-	-	-	-	-
									[0.004]					
Sena	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.205***	-	-	-	-
										[0.050]				
Tonga	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.343***	-	-	-
											[0.097]			
Tumbuka	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.442***	-	-
												[0.042]		
Yao	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.180***	-
													[0.034]	
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.228***
														[0.055]
Constant	0.865***	0.007	0.008***	-0.012	0.063**	0.004	0.009	0.015***	-0.010***	-0.001	0.005**	0.140***	0.007	0.567***
	[0.021]	[0.007]	[0.002]	[0.008]	[0.026]	[0.007]	[0.007]	[0.005]	[0.002]	[0.003]	[0.002]	[0.030]	[0.007]	[0.058]
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.323	0.349	0.014	0.505	0.113	0.404	0.340	0.351	0.035	0.508	0.477	0.518	0.328	0.196
No. of obs.	47371	47371	47371	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369	47369

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community.

Table A.2: Informal check of goodness of the fit of the IHS community characteristics to the MDHS data: descent rules and migrant probability of married females (OLS)

Dependent variable: Data sources: Sample:	IHS										MDHS matched with the IHS									
	A community's distance (km) to the nearest town having population > 20000					Females that resided in all the MDHS communities with distance to the nearest IHS communities < 10 km					Females that resided in the MDHS communities with distance to the nearest IHS communities < 10 km									
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	(s)	(t)
Matrilineal descent community	0.158	0.133*	0.092	0.051	0.067	0.098**	0.101**	0.077**	0.034	0.060**	0.120***	0.108***	0.091**	0.043*	0.069***					
1st quantile	[0.099]	[0.081]	[0.066]	[0.047]	[0.045]	[0.044]	[0.041]	[0.039]	[0.025]	[0.025]	[0.042]	[0.039]	[0.037]	[0.025]	[0.023]					
2nd quantile	0.155*	0.128*	0.057	0.062*	-	0.113***	0.130***	0.075**	0.044**	-	0.133***	0.139***	0.079**	0.048**	-					
3rd quantile	0.249***	0.190***	0.002	0.036	-	0.043	0.038	0.035	0.020	-	0.041	0.037	0.034	0.019	-					
4th quantile	0.075	0.071	0.054	-	-	0.105**	0.086**	0.021	-	-	0.117***	0.087**	0.020	-	-					
5th quantile	0.180**	0.084	-	-	-	0.057	0.043	-	-	-	0.066*	0.038	0.030	-	-					
	0.168***	0.054	-	-	-	0.037	0.033	-	-	-	0.036	0.032	-	-	-					
	0.061	-	-	-	-	0.046	0.036	-	-	-	0.057	-	-	-	-					
A community's distance (km) to the nearest town having population > 20000																				
1st quantile	-0.177*	-0.138	-0.159**	-0.024	-0.084*	-0.147**	-0.111*	0.001	0.042	-0.057**	-0.164**	-0.091	-0.018	0.023	-0.072**					
2nd quantile	[0.102]	[0.085]	[0.073]	[0.051]	[0.045]	[0.072]	[0.063]	[0.054]	[0.031]	[0.026]	[0.069]	[0.061]	[0.052]	[0.030]	[0.025]					
3rd quantile	-0.123	-0.132*	-0.156***	-0.053	-	-0.156**	-0.127**	-0.040	-0.007	-	-0.176***	-0.116**	-0.047	-0.018	-					
4th quantile	-0.214***	-0.181***	-0.060	0.034	-	0.063	0.051	0.042	0.020	-	0.061	0.049	0.040	0.019	-					
5th quantile	0.069	0.062	-0.081*	-	-	-0.120**	-0.072*	0.003	-	-	-0.131***	-0.053	0.009	-	-					
	0.109*	0.063	0.047	-	-	0.051	0.043	0.031	-	-	0.067*	0.041	0.030	-	-					
	-0.137***	0.045	-	-	-	-0.066*	-0.030	-	-	-	0.038	0.031	-	-	-					
	0.049	-	-	-	-	0.033	0.032	-	-	-	-0.055*	-	-	-	-					
Matrilineal descent	-0.126**	-0.086*	-0.011	-0.016	-0.010	-0.085***	-0.088***	-0.055**	-0.038*	-0.043**	-0.095***	-0.087***	-0.057**	-0.040**	-0.045**					
Dual descent	0.057	0.050	0.047	0.059	0.040	0.031	0.030	0.027	0.021	0.019	0.030	0.029	0.027	0.020	0.019					
Age	0.020	0.009	0.014	0.011	0.011	0.071***	0.070**	0.074***	0.075***	0.072***	0.061***	0.061***	0.065***	0.066***	0.063***					
Education	0.047	0.044	0.044	0.045	0.044	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.022	0.022					
Religion	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
Ethnicity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
Household size	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
Community controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
Geographic and climate controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
District FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes					
Year FE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-					
R-squared	0.320	0.320	0.312	0.318	0.312	0.191	0.191	0.191	0.191	0.191	0.190	0.190	0.190	0.189	0.189					
No. of obs.	6701	6701	6701	6701	6701	30911	30911	30911	30911	30911	32761	32761	32761	32761	32761					

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community. (3) The geographic and climate controls contain a community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (4) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey. In addition to the descent rules and distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population, they include (i) a community's population; (ii) a dummy for a major urban center; (iii) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (iv) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (5) In columns (a) to (e), the completed level of education is measured by categorical variables of None (reference group), Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC), Junior Certificate Examination (JCE), Malawi School Certificate of Education (MSCE), non-university diploma, university diploma/degree, and post-graduate degree. On the other hand, the estimations in columns (f) to (o) use a continuous measure of the completed level of education (years). (6) In the IHS, an individual's ethnicity was not directly indicated by the survey responses. Thus, alternatively, the estimations in columns (a) to (e), the ethnicity is proxied by languages that a household head spoke at home.

Table A.3: Falsification test: population density in the early and mid-20th century, district-age-gender cohorts, (OLS)

Dependent variable: Sample:	Log of population density per square mile			
	Cohorts aged 60 years or above		All age-cohorts	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-0.797	-0.797	-1.038	-1.038
× Non-Yao (proportion)	[0.764]	[0.773]	[0.750]	[0.759]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	1.194	1.194	1.517*	1.517*
	[0.797]	[0.806]	[0.778]	[0.787]
Non-Yao (proportion)	3.319	3.319	4.627	4.627
	[3.346]	[3.387]	[3.266]	[3.302]
Male proportion	-	-0.014	-	-0.146***
		[0.034]		[0.022]
Age-cohort				
5-9 years	-	-	-	-0.219***
				[0.012]
10-14 years	-	-	-	-0.540***
				[0.024]
15-19 years	-	-	-	-0.630***
				[0.018]
20-24 years	-	-	-	-0.901***
				[0.024]
25-29 years	-	-	-	-0.969***
				[0.029]
30-34 years	-	-	-	-1.186***
				[0.022]
35-39 years	-	-	-	-1.192***
				[0.034]
40-44 years	-	-	-	-1.602***
				[0.027]
45-49 years	-	-	-	-1.446***
				[0.032]
50-54 years	-	-	-	-1.874***
				[0.041]
55-59 years	-	-	-	-2.019***
				[0.044]
60-64 years	-	-	-	-2.392***
				[0.050]
65 years or above	-	0.880***	-	-1.512***
		[0.064]		[0.049]
Latitude	-0.082	-0.082	0.055	0.055
	[0.159]	[0.161]	[0.158]	[0.160]
Longitude	0.528**	0.528**	0.453**	0.453**
	[0.192]	[0.194]	[0.201]	[0.204]
Constant	-22.830***	-23.264***	-19.563**	-18.313**
	[7.387]	[7.471]	[7.397]	[7.484]
Regional FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.483	0.732	0.372	0.781
No. of obs.	92	92	644	644

Source: Author's calculation based on Malawi Population Census 1966, Final Report.

Notes: (1) The unit of observations is a district-age-gender cohort. (2) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (3) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each district. (4) The latitude and longitude are the coordinates of a district's capital city (major town). (5) The distance is measured as that between a district's capital city (major town) and Livingstonia. (6) The population density is a cohort's total population (African, European, Asian, and other) divided by land area (square mile). (7) The analysis uses three regional fixed effects (i.e., north, central, south).

Table A.4: Impacts of religious affiliation with a control of ethnicity-fixed effects: age at marriage

Dependent variable:	OLS						2SLS (i)						2SLS (ii)					
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)		
One if Christian	0.272*** [0.085]	0.280*** [0.084]	0.274*** [0.097]	1.876*** [0.719]	1.906*** [0.731]	1.875*** [0.719]	1.909*** [0.731]	2.263*** [0.855]	1.976*** [0.742]	1.888*** [0.744]	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Age	0.304*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.293*** [0.018]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.294*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.291 [0.291]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]	0.303*** [0.017]		
Age squared	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.017]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]	-0.004*** [0.000]		
Birth order	0.017 [0.012]	0.015 [0.012]	0.006 [0.013]	0.017 [0.012]	0.016 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.016 [0.012]	0.008 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.017 [0.012]	0.016 [0.012]	0.016 [0.012]		
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.032*** [0.011]	0.032*** [0.011]	0.031*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.026*** [0.011]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]	0.027*** [0.012]		
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.108*** [0.021]	-0.105*** [0.021]	-0.090*** [0.022]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.106*** [0.021]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.106*** [0.021]	-0.090*** [0.022]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.105*** [0.021]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.109*** [0.021]	-0.105*** [0.021]	-0.105*** [0.021]		
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.077*** [0.024]	-0.075*** [0.024]	-0.059*** [0.025]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.074*** [0.023]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.074*** [0.023]	-0.055*** [0.024]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.074*** [0.023]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.076*** [0.023]	-0.074*** [0.023]	-0.074*** [0.023]		
Ethnicity FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Ethnicity-level historical controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No		
Community-level controls																		
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes		
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No		
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No		
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	49.96	45.25	80.24	78.23	224.05	73.24	73.32	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	0.460	0.865	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
R-squared	0.058	0.060	0.144	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
No. of obs.	23628	23559	23628	23628	23599	23628	23599	23628	23628	23599	23628	23628	23628	23599	23628	23599		

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (h). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (d) to (j) but column (h), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal, or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) Ethnic groups are categorized into 13 groups, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, mang'anja, Ndali, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyanja, Sena, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao (reference group), and other.

Table A.5: Impacts of religious affiliation with a control of ethnicity-fixed effects: polygamy

Dependent variable:	OLS			2SLS (i)			2SLS (ii)			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)
One if Christian	-0.085*** [0.009]	-0.082*** [0.009]	-0.071*** [0.009]	-0.335*** [0.077]	-0.329*** [0.077]	-0.335*** [0.077]	-0.330*** [0.077]	-0.382*** [0.093]	-0.331*** [0.079]	-0.327*** [0.078]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.009 [0.036]	0.007 [0.039]
Age	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]	0.020*** [0.002]
Age squared	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]
Birth order	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	-0.002* [0.001]	-0.002* [0.001]	-0.002* [0.003]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]	-0.001 [0.001]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.003]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.003]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.003]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.003]	-0.003 [0.000]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.003]
Ethnicity FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ethnicity-level historical controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Community-level controls										
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	49.96	45.25	80.24	78.23	224.05	73.24	73.32
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	0.810	0.846	-	-	-	-	-
R-squared	0.065	0.067	0.150	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of obs.	23628	23559	23628	23628	23599	23628	23599	23628	23628	23599

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (h). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (d) to (j) but column (h), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal, or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) Ethnic groups are categorized into 13 groups, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, mang'anja, Ndali, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyanja, Sena, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao (reference group), and other.

Table A.6: Checking on early marriage (all females aged less than 25 years)

Dependent variable:	OLS			2SLS (i)			2SLS (ii)						
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)
One if Christian	-	-	-	-0.062*** [0.013]	-0.068*** [0.013]	-0.062*** [0.016]	-0.308*** [0.110]	-0.273*** [0.111]	-0.290*** [0.109]	-0.258*** [0.111]	-0.121 [0.159]	-0.255*** [0.113]	-0.229*** [0.113]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km) x Non-Yao	0.023** [0.010]	0.021** [0.010]	0.008 [0.012]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.089 [0.055]	0.099 [0.063]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	-0.145*** [0.055]	-0.125** [0.055]	-0.055 [0.064]	0.007 [0.019]	0.014 [0.019]	0.014 [0.022]	0.130** [0.060]	0.118** [0.060]	0.121** [0.060]	0.111* [0.060]	0.039 [0.071]	0.074 [0.062]	0.088 [0.059]
Age	0.473*** [0.016]	0.472*** [0.016]	0.460*** [0.018]	0.471*** [0.016]	0.471*** [0.016]	0.459*** [0.018]	0.468*** [0.015]	0.468*** [0.015]	0.468*** [0.015]	0.469*** [0.015]	0.458*** [0.016]	0.469*** [0.015]	0.469*** [0.015]
Age squared	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.009*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.009*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.009*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]	-0.010*** [0.000]
Birth order	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.000 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	-0.003 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.003 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.003 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.006 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.004 [0.004]	0.006 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.004 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.004 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]	0.005 [0.004]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	0.002 [0.004]	0.001 [0.004]	-0.003 [0.005]	0.002 [0.004]	0.001 [0.004]	-0.003 [0.004]	0.002 [0.004]	0.001 [0.004]	0.002 [0.004]	0.001 [0.004]	-0.003 [0.004]	0.002 [0.004]	0.001 [0.004]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.32	37.24	55.52	52.68	121.09	49.13	48.55
Overtidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.132	0.138	-	-	-	-	-
R-squared	0.350	0.351	0.437	0.351	0.352	0.438	0.351	0.352	0.351	0.351	0.352	0.351	0.351
No. of obs.	17717	17688	17717	17715	17686	17715	17715	17686	17715	17686	17715	17715	17686

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (k). (3) Overtidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (g) to (m) but column (k), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table A.7: Checking on the rank of wives (all females aged less than 25 years)

Dependent variable:	The rank of the respondent among the partner's wives (zero if not married)													
	OLS					2SLS (i)					2SLS (ii)			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	
One if Christian	-	-	-	-0.081***	-0.079***	-0.069***	-0.389***	-0.350***	-0.375***	-0.341***	-0.199	-0.345***	-0.320***	
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.031***	0.029**	0.014	[0.014]	[0.014]	[0.017]	[0.125]	[0.125]	[0.124]	[0.125]	[0.174]	[0.128]	[0.128]	
× Non-Yao	[0.012]	[0.012]	[0.014]											
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.079	0.077	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.063	0.064	
Non-Yao (dummy)	[0.067]	[0.072]										[0.060]	[0.068]	
Age	-0.191***	-0.171***	-0.089	0.010	0.016	0.011	0.168**	0.154**	0.161**	0.149**	0.068	0.147**	0.139**	
	[0.064]	[0.063]	[0.075]	[0.021]	[0.021]	[0.024]	[0.067]	[0.067]	[0.067]	[0.067]	[0.079]	[0.069]	[0.068]	
Age squared	0.470***	0.471***	0.455***	0.468***	0.470***	0.454***	0.464***	0.466***	0.464***	0.466***	0.451***	0.465***	0.466***	
	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.020]	[0.018]	[0.018]	[0.020]	[0.017]	[0.017]	[0.017]	[0.017]	[0.018]	[0.017]	[0.017]	
Birth order	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.010***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	-0.009***	
	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	[0.000]	
No. of alive siblings at age 15	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	
	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	[0.002]	
No. of older late siblings at age 15	0.007*	0.007	0.004	0.007	0.007	0.004	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.006	0.004	0.006	0.006	
	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	[0.004]	
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	0.002	0.001	-0.003	0.002	0.001	-0.003	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	
	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.005]	[0.004]	[0.005]	[0.005]	
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
Geography and climate	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	43.29	35.71	54.90	52.08	122.36	48.72	48.30	
Overtidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.292	0.345	-	-	-	-	-	
R-squared	0.327	0.328	0.418	0.328	0.329	0.419	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
No. of obs.	17456	17427	17456	17454	17425	17454	17454	17425	17454	17425	17454	17454	17425	

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (k). (3) Overtidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (g) to (m) but column (k), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain community-level information on climatology, landscape topology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal, or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).

Table A.8: Impacts of religious affiliation: education

Dependent variable:	Education (years)												
	OLS		OLS		2SLS (i)		2SLS (ii)						
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)
One if Christian	-	-	-	1.194*** [0.105]	1.163*** [0.105]	1.020*** [0.105]	3.153*** [0.760]	2.995*** [0.764]	3.173*** [0.764]	2.987*** [0.767]	4.038*** [0.910]	3.237*** [0.796]	2.962*** [0.788]
Distance to Livingstonia (100km) × Non-Yao	-0.320*** [0.088]	-0.294*** [0.088]	-0.332*** [0.093]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.055	-0.158	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-Yao (dummy)	1.894*** [0.513]	1.685*** [0.580]	1.716*** [0.492]	-0.349** [0.161]	-0.406** [0.159]	-0.424*** [0.161]	-1.378*** [0.425]	-1.359*** [0.423]	-1.389*** [0.427]	-1.355*** [0.424]	-1.796*** [0.431]	-1.422*** [0.442]	-1.342*** [0.435]
Age	0.040** [0.019]	0.035* [0.019]	0.001 [0.020]	0.040** [0.019]	0.035* [0.019]	0.002 [0.019]	0.040** [0.018]	0.036** [0.018]	0.040** [0.018]	0.036** [0.018]	0.005 [0.018]	0.040** [0.018]	0.036** [0.018]
Age squared	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]	-0.002*** [0.000]
Birth order	-0.027* [0.015]	-0.030** [0.015]	-0.038** [0.015]	-0.027* [0.015]	-0.030** [0.015]	-0.038** [0.015]	-0.026* [0.015]	-0.030** [0.015]	-0.026* [0.015]	-0.030** [0.015]	-0.036*** [0.014]	-0.026* [0.015]	-0.030** [0.015]
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.139*** [0.014]	0.139*** [0.014]	0.112*** [0.013]	0.136*** [0.014]	0.137*** [0.014]	0.111*** [0.013]	0.130*** [0.013]	0.131*** [0.013]	0.130*** [0.013]	0.131*** [0.013]	0.105*** [0.012]	0.130*** [0.013]	0.132*** [0.013]
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.047* [0.024]	-0.041* [0.024]	-0.013 [0.025]	-0.047* [0.024]	-0.041* [0.024]	-0.012 [0.025]	-0.047* [0.025]	-0.041* [0.025]	-0.047* [0.025]	-0.041* [0.025]	-0.012 [0.023]	-0.047* [0.025]	-0.041* [0.025]
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.148*** [0.025]	-0.141*** [0.025]	-0.095*** [0.026]	-0.147*** [0.025]	-0.141*** [0.025]	-0.094*** [0.026]	-0.147*** [0.025]	-0.141*** [0.025]	-0.147*** [0.025]	-0.141*** [0.025]	-0.089*** [0.026]	-0.147*** [0.025]	-0.141*** [0.025]
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	55.17	49.32	80.05	77.78	209.38	72.39	72.50
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.655	0.838	-	-	-	-	-
R-squared	0.227	0.237	0.390	0.232	0.242	0.393	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of obs.	21594	21566	21594	21586	21558	21586	21586	21558	21586	21558	21586	21586	21558

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (k). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (g) to (m) but column (k), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain a community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from Century Company (1911) passed through land historically inhabited by an ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group that was normalized by the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).



Table A.9: Impacts of religious affiliation: HIV serostatus

Dependent variable:	One if HIV positive													
	OLS			OLS (i)			2SLS (ii)			2SLS (iii)			2SLS (iv)	
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	
One if Christian	-	-	-	0.002 [0.015]	0.004 [0.015]	0.002 [0.020]	-0.324 [0.208]	-0.351* [0.182]	-0.323 [0.231]	-0.368** [0.187]	-0.758** [0.361]	-0.323 [0.256]	-0.381* [0.198]	
Distance to Livingstonia (100km) x Non-Yao	0.019 [0.014]	0.023* [0.014]	0.028* [0.017]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Distance to Livingstonia (100km)	0.033 [0.064]	0.003 [0.064]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Non-Yao (dummy)	-0.147** [0.073]	-0.167** [0.073]	-0.196** [0.088]	-0.050** [0.022]	-0.053** [0.022]	-0.054** [0.026]	0.128 [0.114]	0.137 [0.100]	0.127 [0.127]	0.147 [0.102]	0.310* [0.174]	0.001 [0.139]	-0.032 [0.108]	
Age	0.027*** [0.002]	0.027*** [0.002]	0.026*** [0.003]	0.027*** [0.003]	0.027*** [0.002]	0.026*** [0.003]	0.026*** [0.002]	0.026*** [0.003]	0.026*** [0.002]	0.026*** [0.003]	0.025*** [0.003]	0.026*** [0.002]	0.026*** [0.003]	
Age squared	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	-0.000*** [0.000]	
Birth order	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	-0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	0.000 [0.000]	
No. of alive siblings at age 15	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.003]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.003]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.003]	0.001 [0.002]	0.001 [0.002]	
No. of older late siblings at age 15	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.002]	-0.001 [0.003]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	-0.002 [0.002]	
No. of younger late siblings at age 15	-0.003 [0.004]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.004 [0.005]	-0.003 [0.004]	-0.002 [0.004]	-0.004 [0.005]	-0.003 [0.005]	-0.002 [0.005]	-0.003 [0.005]	-0.002 [0.005]	-0.004 [0.005]	-0.003 [0.005]	-0.002 [0.005]	
Ethnicity-level historical controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Community-level controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Geography and climate	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
Other	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	
Community FE	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	
District FE	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	
1st stage F-statistic	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.88	31.27	12.97	59.29	18.55	10.72	53.26	
Overidentification (p-values)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.985	0.686	-	-	-	-	-	
R-squared	0.079	0.083	0.231	0.078	0.083	0.231	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
No. of obs.	8785	8767	8785	8782	8764	8782	8782	8764	8782	8764	8782	8782	8764	

Notes: (1) Figures [ ] are standard errors. \*\*\* denotes significance at 1%, \*\* at 5%, and \* at 10%. (2) Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity and clustered residuals within each community in OLS, whereas those in 2SLS are robust to heteroskedasticity in columns exclusive of (h), (j), (k) and (m). (3) Overidentification is p-value of Hansen test in all columns (g) to (m) but columns (h), (j), (k) and (m), where that of Sargan test is reported. (4) The geographic and climate controls contain a community-level information on climatology, landscape typology, soil & terrain, crop season parameters, and GPS-based coordinates. See Appendix A for the details. (5) The other community controls are sourced from the IHS and contain characteristics identified at the point of the survey, including (i) dummies for descent rules, i.e., matrilineal, patrilineal (reference group) or dual descent; (ii) a community's population; (iii) a community's distance (km) to the nearest town having over 20000 population; (iv) a dummy for a major urban center; (v) dummies for the most common religion practiced in a community, i.e., Christian, Muslim, or Traditional (reference group); and (vi) dummies for the most common language spoken at home in a community, i.e., Chewa, Lambya, Lomwe, Ngoni, Nkhonde, Nyakyusa, Nyanja, Sena, Senga, Sukwa, Tonga, Tumbuka, Yao, and other (reference group). (6) The ethnicity-level historical controls include (i) a dummy variable, equal to one if any part of railway lines in the first decade of the 20th century drawn from the area of land inhabited by the ethnic group and (ii) the total number of slaves taken from an ethnic group during the 19th century (log of one plus the normalized slave export measure).