

The Rise and Fall of SES Gradients in Heights around the World

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March 14, 2023

Abstract

We use data from a large sample of low- and middle-income countries to study the association (or “gradient”) between child height and maternal education. We show that the association is small at birth, rises throughout childhood and declines in adolescence as girls and boys go through puberty. This inverted U-shaped pattern is consistent with a degree of catch up in height among children of low SES families, in partial contrast to the argument that height deficits cannot be overcome after the early years of life. This catch up appears to be explained by the association between SES and the timing of puberty and therefore of the adolescent growth spurt: low SES children start their adolescent growth spurt later and stop growing at later ages as well. By contrast, we do not find evidence in support of the role of behavioral responses in driving the inverted U-shape of the gradient.

JEL: I14, I15, O15

Key words: Height, Socio-Economic Status, Maternal Schooling, Catch-up, Low- and Middle-Income Countries

*We are very grateful to Bo Honoré and to several participants of conferences and seminars for comments, to the research and survey teams who created the CLHNS, DHS, and YLS data sets for allowing free access to their outstanding data and to Sungwoo Cho for excellent research assistance. Please note that we do not hold the right to share the data, but upon request we can share all codes necessary to (a) re-create all the necessary datasets starting from the raw data that need to be obtained from the original data repositories and (b) to replicate all results, including figures and tables. All errors and omissions are our own.

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1 Introduction

A well-established literature documents the ubiquitous strong association (or “gradient”) between different individual measures of health and socio-economic status (SES), both within and across countries (Strauss and Thomas 1998, 2008, Cutler et al. 2006). Richer and more educated individuals are on average healthier and live longer lives. Moreover, children of higher-SES parents enjoy better health and lower mortality rates in rich and poor countries alike. Several key questions in this literature remain unanswered, most importantly understanding when these gradients emerge, how they evolve over the lifetime, and whether they are malleable—i.e. the extent to which children that are born and/or grow up in disadvantaged conditions can partially or fully catch up in terms of their health outcomes (Case et al. 2002, Martorell et al. 1994). Most importantly, there is very little work investigating what happens in middle childhood and early adolescence compared to other life stages, especially with regards to the evolution of nutrition and health inequalities (Almond et al. 2018, Saavedra and Prentice 2022).

In this paper, we study the relationship between parental SES and child height, and how it evolves from birth into young adulthood, using high-quality individual-level data from a large number of low and middle income countries (LMICs). We focus on height—a summary measure of an individual’s cumulative health and nutrition—as it is an objectively measured and widely-available health indicator. Height typically correlates both with other objective measures of health such as disease incidence and mortality, and with economic outcomes in adulthood and across generations (Fogel 1994, Steckel 1995, Strauss and Thomas 1998, see also Section 2.2 for additional references). We use maternal education as our preferred measure of SES: this indicator is available and consistently measured in household surveys across many LMICs and cohorts. We view maternal education as reflecting the broad long term resources (informational, financial, and social) that are available to children while growing up. Consistent with this view, the patterns we document also hold for other measures of SES, such as paternal education or proxies for household wealth.

We offer the first evidence of an inverted U-shaped age profile of the height-SES profile during childhood and adolescence. SES-based differences in height are small at birth, but they become progressively larger during childhood. However, while remaining positive, the gradient *decreases* during the adolescent years, highlighting a degree of height catch-up of low-SES children relative to high-SES ones. Using a novel empirical model of human growth from early childhood to early adulthood, we show that the inverted U-shape can be explained by differences between SES groups in the timing of the onset of puberty—which typically follows the adolescent growth spurt—as well as in the age at which adult height is achieved.

We start our investigation of the gradient by using data from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) on about 1.6 million children under five years of age born in 1981-2018 in 73 LMICs. In these data, the cross sectional association between child height and maternal schooling is small and insignificant at birth but increases steeply between birth and five years of age. Although DHS data do not include height for children older than five, most surveys also record height of women from the age of 15 onward and for adolescents who have not yet left their family of origin, so it is possible to link

their height to their mother’s education. In this (potentially selected) sample of adolescents, the association between height and maternal education, while still substantively and statistically significant, is much smaller than for children around five years of age. This suggests that the gradient increases monotonically until a certain age but then declines.

To better evaluate the age-profile of the height-SES gradient and address potential selection concerns, we then use panel data from five LMICs where we can follow individuals from birth until young adulthood. We employ data from two cohorts in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam from the Young Lives study (YLS hereafter, [Barnett et al. 2013](#)), and from the Philippines’ Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey (CLHNS, [Adair et al. 2010](#)). These data confirm the existence of a consistently positive relationship between height and maternal education. As in the DHS data, the strength of the association has an inverted U-shape, increasing first but then decreasing in adolescence, with the decline taking place earlier for girls and later for boys. Our findings are very similar if we use alternative measures of SES.

Next, we investigate biological and behavioral explanations for these patterns. Regarding the potential role of biological factors, we hypothesize that, for both boys and girls, the inverted U-shape of the gradient can be explained by the link between SES and the onset and duration of the adolescent growth spurt (AGS). This hypothesis is based on two documented patterns. First, in many countries there has been a well-established secular decline in the age at menarche among girls linked to overall improvements in socio-economic conditions and health ([Wyshak and Frisch 1982](#), [Hauspie et al. 1996](#), [de Muinck Keizer-Shrama and Mul 2001](#), [de La Rochebrochard 2000](#)). The same considerations suggest the existence of a cross-sectional negative association between age at menarche and SES in low-income settings, an association that indeed has been documented in the Philippines ([Adair 2001](#)) and is confirmed in our data. Low-SES children will thus reach the peak of their AGS when high-SES are already past theirs, allowing them a degree of height catch-up. Second, it has been observed that low-SES children achieve their adult height at older ages on average ([Steckel 1986](#), [Bozzoli et al. 2009](#)). Based on these insights, we propose and estimate a growth model that rationalizes differential SES profiles of human growth, and we show that the results strongly support this hypothesis.

We also explore the potential role of behavioral responses in driving the inverted U-shape of the gradient. We hypothesize that taller adolescents may start ‘adult life’ earlier in ways that may be detrimental to further growth in stature. For instance, taller boys may start working at younger ages, and taller, sexually mature girls may marry and have children earlier than their peers. Indeed previous research documents that the age at menarche predicts marriage rates and education levels among girls ([Field and Ambrus 2008](#), [Khanna 2020](#)). Such behavioral responses may impose a ‘nutritional cost’ that could be detrimental to physical growth, especially if adolescents are still far from having achieved their adult height. This could explain the inverted U-shape pattern if behaviors are different or matter differently for the growth of low- vs. high-SES children. However, we find limited evidence in support of such mechanisms.

Like the previous literature on the emergence of the gradient, our evidence is correlational, and we do not claim that the patterns we document are causal. Despite this, our results add to different

literatures. First, many studies have investigated the emergence and evolution of the SES health gradient, especially in higher-income settings. In a seminal paper, [Case et al. \(2002\)](#) documented that, in the United States, the correlation between indicators of general health status and a measure of long-term income originates in childhood and becomes progressively steeper into adulthood. Similar results have been found for Canada ([Currie and Stabile 2003](#)), Australia ([Khanam et al. 2009](#)), the Czech Republic ([Borga et al. 2021](#)), and in other US data sets ([Murasko 2008](#), [Fletcher and Wolfe 2014](#)), but not in the UK ([West 1997](#)) or Germany ([Reinhold and Jürges 2012](#)). However, in LMICs such as Indonesia and Vietnam, the gradient in general health measures has not been found to increase with age, see [Cameron and Williams \(2009\)](#), [Park \(2010\)](#), and [Sepehri and Guliani \(2015\)](#).

Most literature on the SES gradient has not focused on the evolution of *height* differences over childhood, nor on the mechanisms underpinning such correlation. Thus, we know little about whether the negative correlation between SES and height lingers over childhood or is partially mitigated as children transition to adolescence and adulthood. An exception is [Li et al. \(2004\)](#), who show that growth deficits among low-SES 7-year old children from the 1958 British birth cohort were reduced in adulthood, although they did not disappear completely. By contrast, data from two more recent UK cohorts (with children born in 1992 and 2001) suggest that height inequalities remain unchanged or increase during childhood until age 15 ([Howe et al. 2013](#), [Bann et al. 2018](#)). We are not aware of studies focusing on the evolution of the height gradient during early and late adolescence in LMICs.

We contribute to this body of evidence with data from many LMICs, documenting an inverted U-shape in the age profile of the SES gradient in height, and exploring mechanisms. We find that height gradients rise in childhood and provide novel evidence of catch up in adolescence, at least in the contexts for which we have longitudinal data available.¹ We explain this pattern through SES-based differences in the age of onset of puberty and length of the growth period. In the contexts we study, low-SES children reach puberty later than high-SES peers. By contrast, in higher-income countries today, high-SES individuals enter puberty *later* ([Kelly et al. 2017](#)).² Overall, given that the onset of puberty and its association with SES varies across locations and over time, our results suggest that the evolution of the height gradient during adolescence will vary across contexts as well.

Unlike much of existing work (especially in higher-income contexts), we use primarily maternal education as a measure of SES. Measuring SES inequalities in health outcomes is challenging because of the conceptual difficulties of capturing the complexity of SES, a theoretical construct of socioeconomic hierarchies within societies ([Conway et al. 2019](#)). Individual measures of income, education, and occupational social class are commonly used SES indicators. In LMICs, a large share of employment is concentrated in the agricultural and informal sectors. Thus, occupation measures may not vary much and they may not reflect a family’s status in their community. By the same token, measures

¹The growing association between height and SES during early childhood is also broadly consistent with the findings in [Aiyar and Cummins \(2021\)](#), who find that the gradient between stature and GDP at birth starts very small but then increases with age among young children in pooled data from the DHS.

²This was not true in the past ([Krzyżanowska et al. 2016](#)). In these settings, our model would predict that the gradient will simply grow with age, which is consistent with the empirical data mentioned above ([Bann et al. 2018](#)).

of resources such as consumption or especially income are not always available and can be difficult to measure (Deaton and Grosh 2000). For these reasons, our preferred proxy for parental SES is an indicator of maternal education. Compared to employment and resources, maternal education has the advantage of being easily measured in a consistent way across different countries, including low-resource settings. Further, it is a well-known correlate of child health (Caldwell 1986, Heath and Jayachandran 2017). Studies in LMICs find support for the notion that this association is often causal, see for example Grépin and Bharadwaj (2015) or Andriano and Monden (2019). Yet, we stress that we see our results as primarily descriptive. Our results remain very similar if we use other proxies for family SES, so the patterns we document are not driven by our choice of SES measure.

Our second contribution to the literature is that we present a novel methodology to estimate the shape of the growth curve with longitudinal data where height is only measured at infrequent intervals, such as in YLS or CLHNS. The model links (unobserved) growth velocity at high frequency to (observed) height measured at low frequency, fitting the typical pattern of growth velocity in humans, which is highly non-linear, see Tanner et al. (1966, Fig. 8). We approximate this pattern with a piece-wise continuous linear function, where the kinks coincide with key transitions in growth velocity (such as the beginning of the AGS, or its peak), and may depend on SES. We show that this model can be estimated using constrained ordinary least squares, with the location of the kinks determined by a simple algorithm in the spirit of Hansen (2017). Our method differs from alternative non-linear models that have been proposed in the literature, see Preece and Baines (1978), Sayers et al. (2013), Beath (2007) and Cole et al. (2010). These approaches are best suited to model individual growth patterns with longitudinal data that include height measurements taken with high frequency, which are rare and expensive to collect. In addition, such models have been validated for the description of height growth velocity around the timing of puberty, while we are interested in the whole age profile of growth velocity, including the early years and the time when adult height is achieved.

Our final contribution to the literature is to provide evidence of partial height catch up in adolescence. Previous literature has extensively debated whether or not catch up in height is possible. The potential for catch-up in linear growth retardation after the first 1,000 days is widely considered to be limited, although most studies do not follow children until adulthood (Martorell et al. 1994, Leroy et al. 2020). Evidence from longitudinal cohorts in LMICs presents mixed results about the the possibility of catch-up growth (see Campisi et al. 2018 for a review), although a number of recent papers have documented that investments in adolescence can affect health, human capital, and economic well-being later in life (Akresh et al. 2012, van den Berg et al. 2014, Carneiro et al. 2019, and Andersen et al. 2021). By relying on longitudinal data from around 15,000 children across five LMICs, we show that a degree of height catch-up of low-SES towards high-SES children appears to be present, and is associated with the differential timings of pubertal development and of achievement of adult height. This is consistent with Martorell et al. (1994)’s view that the potential for catch-up growth increases with delayed maturation and a longer growth period.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the data; Section 3 describes the results; Section 4 explores mechanisms; and finally, Section 5 concludes.

2 Data and Measurement

We use data from a large number of surveys that broadly belong to three separate data collection initiatives, that is, DHS, YLS, and CLHNS. In this section we provide some details on these data sources, and describe our main variables of interest.

2.1 Data

Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS). The primary purpose of these cross-sectional household surveys is to provide a detailed snapshot of each country surveyed, with a focus on demography, health, and fertility choices and preferences. Data are typically nationally representative and comparable across surveys. The primary respondents are women—in some cases only if ever married—‘of fertility age’, defined as 15-49. Detailed information is also available for their children under the age of five years, often including measurements on weight and height taken by trained enumerators.³ Several of the more recent surveys also include detailed information on adult men.

We make use of all data available at the time of writing that contain information on child height. For children under five we drop less than 0.2% of observations for which height was < 30 cms or > 1.4 m, that is, very likely measured with error. Table A.1 in the Appendix includes a complete list of all the surveys we use together with selected summary statistics on height. We restrict attention to children with non-missing anthropometric measures and maternal education. Overall, our data include height measurements for about 1.6 million children born in 1981-2018 from 245 surveys and 73 countries.

Young Lives (YLS). YLS is an international longitudinal study of childhood poverty conducted in four countries: Ethiopia, India (only in the state of Andhra Pradesh, part of which in 2014 was separated into a new state, Telangana), Peru and Vietnam. While the sample was not designed to be nationally representative (or, in the case of India, state representative), a comparison of key child outcomes or socio-economic variables to those collected in nationally representative surveys show similar patterns and variations (Barnett et al. 2013).

The study follows two cohorts of children in each country since 2002, totalling roughly 12,000 children, over 15 years. Children in the younger cohort were first sampled in 2002 at ages 6-18 months and subsequently surveyed and measured in 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016, at about 5, 8, 12 and 15 years of age, respectively. The older cohort was around 8 years of age in 2002, and then about 12, 15, 19 and 22 years old at the following survey rounds of in-person data collection. Attrition in this panel is low, around 10% over 15 years, with some variation across cohorts (younger cohort: 8%; older cohort: 16.5%) and countries (Ethiopia: 14%; India: 7%; Peru: 14%; Vietnam: 9%).⁴ We limit our

³In a small number of cases there is some variation in the target population. For instance, the 2004 Bangladesh DHS interviewed ever-married women 13-49, while in India only children below 4 were included in 1992-93 and only the last two births below three years of age were included in 1998-99. We ignore these differences.

⁴Socio-economic variables such as household wealth index, parental education, household size or child height-for-age z-scores at round 1 are not predictive of attrition, and the only variable that is significantly and negatively associated

sample to individuals that were present at all rounds, but results are very similar when we consider the full cross-sectional sample in each round. We drop individuals with any missing data in any of the waves for heights (3% of the panel sample). The final analysis sample contains 7,195 children for the Younger Cohort, and 2,991 children for the Older cohort. Panel A in Appendix Table A.2 shows summary statistics for these data.

Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey (CLHNS). The CLHNS is a panel data set of mothers and children from the Philippines’ Metropolitan Cebu area originally designed to study how different infant feeding patterns in early life directly affect various health and socioeconomic outcomes in the lives of the mother, child, and household (Adair et al. 2010). The CLHNS surveyed—using a clustered design—a cohort of women sampled from both urban and rural communities (or *barangays*) who gave birth between May 1983 and April 1984. The baseline survey collected information about the mother’s behaviors during pregnancy, demographics, socioeconomic status, as well as information on other household members. The initial sample included 3,080 non-twin live births. These children were measured at birth, then regularly at the end of every subsequent two-months period following their birth up until roughly 2 years of age. The children’s health was assessed again in 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2005, when they were roughly 7, 10, 14, 18 and 21 years of age respectively.⁵ The rate of attrition was higher than in the YLS, at 33% from birth until 2005.⁶ Again we limit our sample to children with non-missing maternal education and height measurements in all waves, leaving a sample of 1,686 children. We report selected summary statistics in Panel B of Appendix Table A.2.

2.2 Height, SES and other Variables of Interest

Height. We focus on height, instead of other commonly used measures of health used in the literature such as self-reported status, or presence of health conditions. Aside from genetic factors, height is primarily determined by the availability and diversity of nutrients, and the prevalence of disease (Martorell and Habicht 1986, Tanner 1989, Steckel 1995). Indeed, economic historians have often used adult height as an indicator of economic or human development (Fogel 1994, Steckel 1995, 2009). As a health indicator, height has multiple advantages. First, it is relatively easy to measure objectively, and does not suffer from reporting biases. Second, height is a widely available health indicator for both children and adults in LMICs, and importantly it is easily comparable across all age groups. Third, height is a good measure of overall health, and it correlates with other objective measures of health, such as disease incidence and mortality (Fogel 1994, Steckel 1995, 2009, Perkins et al. 2016). Fourth, height is an important predictor of economic outcomes. On average, taller individuals have more human capital and earn higher wages, an association that is likely mediated by several

with the probability of being in the panel after 15 years is being urban in the first round of data collection.

⁵Two more surveys were conducted in 2007 and 2009, but children’s heights were not measured, and so data from these rounds are not used in this paper.

⁶Similar to YLS, being in an urban community was significantly and negatively associated with the probability of being in the panel after 21 years. Unlike YLS, father’s level of education is also associated with higher attrition, albeit with low predictive power.

determinants, including physical strength (Haddad and Bouis 1991, Strauss and Thomas 1998), social factors (Persico et al. 2004), occupational choices (Vogl 2014) and cognitive ability (Case and Paxson 2008). In addition, transmission of low height from parents (especially mothers) to their children has been identified as one of the drivers of substantial persistence in SES inequalities in human capital across generations in both high- and low-income settings (Ramakrishnan et al. 1999, Osmani and Sen 2003, Kozuki et al. 2015, Behrman et al. 2017).

The key dependent variable in all our regressions is height measured in centimeters. The literature on child height often uses ‘z-scores’, that is, measures of height standardized relative to growth charts from a reference population. Such charts were first developed in the United States by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) and the Center for Disease Control and prevention (CDC-WHO77 charts hereafter, see Waterlow et al. 1977, World Health Organization 1978), and for children below five years of age were later revised by the WHO using data from several countries worldwide (WHO2006 hereafter, see WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study Group and de Onis 2006). New charts have also been introduced for the United States by the CDC for ages up to 20 years (CDC2000, see Kuczmarski et al. 2000). We prefer employing raw height in our estimates given that our focus is on the evolution of the gradient from childhood to early adulthood, and z-scores require the choice among different standards, which also typically depend on the age group.

Nevertheless, we check the robustness of our results by using z-scores for children. In DHS, we use the CDC-WHO77 charts or, whenever available, the more recent WHO2006 reference charts. For the younger cohort of YLS and CLHNS, we also rely on the WHO2006 reference standards for under-5 children, while for children aged 5-19 years we use CDC-WHO77 standards adapted to ensure a smooth transition around age 5, as described in de Onis et al. (2007). For the older cohort, we used the CDC2000 standards as these provide a reference for children up to 20 years, but the results are similar if we use the same standards as for the younger cohort. We use references for 20-year olds for individuals older than this age.

Table A.1 in the Appendix shows that a large fraction of children in the countries we study are shorter than children in the reference populations, leading to high prevalence of stunting, see also Ssentongo et al. (2021).

Maternal Schooling. Maternal education, as reported by the mother herself in all surveys, is our main proxy of SES. While this is a coarse measure, it offers the advantage of being simple, fairly comparable across years and countries, and measured in all our data sources which, in contrast, do not include consistent measures of income or consumption. Indeed, Case et al. (2002) use average income over a period of time as a proxy for ‘permanent income’. Moreover, maternal education is significantly correlated with other measures of resources or SES in surveys where different indicators are available. For instance, in the YLS data, the correlation of maternal education with total real *per capita* consumption expenditure is 0.2 ($p < 0.001$). The correlation is also strong (0.47, $p < 0.001$) with a wealth index constructed as a composite indicator of asset ownership, access to services, and housing quality. In the DHS surveys that include a wealth index—constructed with principal components methods from information on asset ownership—the correlation between the index and

maternal schooling ranges between 0.22 and 0.30.

We measure maternal education by constructing an indicator of whether the mother has completed at least secondary school. DHS measures both completed schooling and the number of years of schooling for each household member, so we define SES as a binary variable = 1 if the mother completed at least secondary schooling, and zero otherwise. In contrast, YLS only records the last grade completed, and CLHNS records the number of years completed in the most recent schooling level (i.e. three years of primary, four years of secondary, etc.). We use these variables to construct a SES indicator comparable to DHS, based on the number of years of schooling that each country requires for graduation from high school. In YLS, the binary variable for secondary education is thus set = 1 when the mother has completed a minimum of 10 years of schooling in Ethiopia, 12 in India, 11 in Peru, and 9 in Vietnam. In CLHNS, the dummy is = 1 if the mother has completed at least four years of secondary school at the time of the first survey wave. About 19, 18 and 23 percent of women have completed at least secondary education in the DHS, YLS and CLHNS respectively.

In robustness checks, we show that results remain qualitatively similar if we use alternative measures, such as the number of years of education completed, a dummy indicator of whether the mother has completed primary education, or paternal schooling.

Alternative measures of SES. As noted above, there are no consistent measures of income or consumption in our surveys, except in YLS, where household consumption expenditures are collected between Rounds 2 and 5 for the Younger Cohort only. An alternative measure of material well-being is a wealth index, which is generally constructed by aggregating data on asset ownership and availability of services such as electricity, improved toilets, and so on. A higher score in the wealth index should reflect greater household wealth (Filmer and Pritchett 2001). The DHS and YLS do include a wealth index, while we construct a similar indicator for the CLHNS dataset. In the DHS, an asset index is calculated in each survey as the first principal component from a list of asset ownership indicators.⁷ The list of assets is not identical across all surveys, so the resulting measures are not directly comparable between countries or, in the case of DHS, even within country over time. In YLS, the wealth index is constructed by aggregating data on household access to services (e.g. electricity, water, sanitation, and so on), ownership of durable assets, and measures of housing quality. These three dimensions are aggregated through a simple average. Country-specific assets were included to reflect local contexts and better discriminate across levels of wealth in different countries (Briones 2017). Similarly, in CLHNS, the wealth index is constructed by using data on household access to services, durable assets, and housing quality. We use principal component analysis to derive the wealth index in the style of Filmer and Pritchett (2001). Given these differences in the way the wealth index is computed across data sets, we use an indicator of whether the household is in the top quintile of the wealth index distribution within each country and survey. For the DHS, the indicator is based on the contemporaneous wealth index. For the longitudinal data, we rely on the wealth index at birth

⁷For details on the construction of these ‘standard of living’ indexes in each survey see <https://dhsprogram.com/topics/wealth-index/Wealth-Index-Construction.cfm>.

(CLHNS) or at age 1 (YLS), as in the former dataset measures of wealth had not been consistently collected.

Other data We use self-reported information on age at menarche (the first occurrence of menstruation) from the longitudinal surveys and from four countries covered by DHS: Gabon (2000), Ghana (1998), India (2015-16), and Turkey (2013). Appendix A.1 has more details on why data limitations in the DHS only allow us to focus on these countries, and on how we construct the samples for the analysis of age at menarche. Lastly, we use information in the YLS on behaviors during adolescence. Specifically we look at whether adolescents marry or have children, whether they sleep enough, work a lot, have a diverse diet, or undertake risky behaviors (drinking and smoking). Appendix A.2 has more details on how we construct these variables.

3 Results

We start by documenting the key empirical pattern motivating our analysis: the steep rise of SES gradients during childhood and their subsequent decline around puberty in low- and middle-income countries. We show first the results using cross-sectional data from DHS, before moving to longitudinal data from YLS and CLHNS.

3.1 Empirical Strategy

For children of a months of age, we estimate the following equation:

$$height_{iacy} = \alpha_a + \beta_a \times MomEd_{iacy} + \gamma_{1ac} + \gamma_{2ay} + e_{iacy} \quad (1)$$

where $height_{iacy}$ is the height in centimeters of child i of age a , measured in year y in country c , and $MomEd_{iacy}$ is an indicator equal to one if the mother completed at least secondary education. We estimate this equation separately for each age a . We include dummy variables for each country (γ_{1ac}), and (when we use DHS data) for each survey year (γ_{2ay}) but no other controls.⁸ The standard errors are clustered at the level of the survey-specific primary stage unit.

The coefficient of interest is β_a , which captures the SES gradient at a given age a , estimated as the difference in height between children whose mothers have at least secondary education and those whose mothers do not. Of course, while these associations are interesting, they should not be interpreted as causal, given that maternal schooling is typically correlated with numerous predictors of child height.

3.2 Cross-sectional Results for Children under 5 from the DHS

Before turning to the regression results, we show how the non-parametric relationship between years of schooling and height changes with age, measured in years. Figure 1 presents age-specific associations between average height of boys and girls and maternal schooling. The categorical variable for maternal

⁸In the longitudinal data all children were measured during a short period of time in each survey wave, and so age and year of measurement are approximately collinear.

schooling distinguishes between no education, incomplete primary, complete primary, incomplete secondary, complete secondary, or higher. The figure shows two salient patterns. First, for both genders there is a clear positive association between average height and maternal schooling. Second, the line is almost flat at age 1, but it rotates counterclockwise (that is, it becomes steeper) as children grow older, indicating that the association becomes stronger with age, similar to the patterns documented by Case et al. (2002).

We confirm these patterns by estimating the model in equation (1) for age measured in months. Figure 2 plots the point estimates of the gradient together with 95% confidence intervals. The results are very similar between genders, with the gradient increasing almost monotonically with age. At birth the association between maternal education and height is small (less than 1cm) and either not or barely statistically significant. But one-year old children of mothers with secondary education are already more than 1 cm taller than those born of mother with less schooling (95% C.I. [1.16, 1.98] for boys and [1.11, 1.49] for girls). The gap increases to more than 2 cms at age 2 (95% C.I. [1.9, 2.55] for boys and [2, 3.15] for girls), and to almost 3 cms at age 3 (95% C.I. [2.45, 3.53] for boys and [2.47, 3.33] for girls). The gradient flattens out thereafter, especially for girls, though the slopes are estimated less precisely.

The pattern of gradients increasing with age in the DHS is also observed *within* countries. In Figure 3, we show box-plots of age and gender-specific coefficients estimated separately for each country. Instead of confidence intervals as in Figure 2, the graphs describe the distribution of the 73 country-level coefficients estimated for each age and gender. The diamonds show the median coefficients while the darker central sections of the vertical lines plot the inter-quartile ranges. The broader thinner lines show the whole variation excluding outliers, which are shown separately. The pattern of these box plots is similar to that for the estimated OLS slopes, and it also shows that the variation in coefficients increases with age. The median gradients start close to zero but then steadily increase until they reach about 4 cms by age 5.

3.3 Results for Adolescents in the DHS

We now investigate if the gradients continue to increase after age 5. Ideally, we would have height measured for all children and adults in the surveys. However, the DHS only measure heights for children under 5, and for women (in most surveys) and men (in some surveys) between 15 and 49 years old. In principle, this allows the analysis of the age profile of the gradient at age 15 or higher. In practice, this is only possible for very young individuals, because parental education is only recorded if the individual still co-resides with the parents. In addition, several DHS do not include, except for children under five, identifiers to link individual to parental information, and those that do almost exclusively do it for boys and girls younger than 18. This generates an obvious selection problem. Selection, however, is not too severe among the youngest individuals, the large majority of which are still co-resident.⁹

⁹In DHS surveys where young women and men can be linked to their mother (which is only possible in case of co-residency), maternal education is missing for 26-36% of observations. Among older individuals, maternal education is

With these caveats in mind, in Table 1 we show the coefficients for maternal education for adolescents 15, 16 and 17 years old, separately by gender. For reference, we also report estimates for children under five, estimated using the same sample used in Figure 2, but measuring age in years rather than months. When we look at teenagers, all but one of the estimated gradients are large and very precisely estimated, with magnitudes above 2 cm among both boys and girls (and standard errors around 0.1). The only exception is the coefficient for 15-year old boys, where the slope is 0.7 and not significant at standard levels. This result is apparently driven by the very low prevalence of high-SES mothers in this sub-sample (only 37 of 9,940), which generates very noisy estimates. With this exception, the age profile is fairly flat among both boys and girls. Most interestingly, the estimated slopes are *smaller* than the corresponding coefficients for children age 4, suggesting a decline in the gradient in adolescence.¹⁰

3.4 Evidence from Panel Data

Given the potential selection bias in the DHS adolescent sample, we now use longitudinal data to investigate whether the decline in the gradients during adolescence persists when we follow the same children over time. While the longitudinal data allow us to track individual growth over time, they force us to focus on a limited number of LMICs for which such data are available, and on a limited number of birth cohorts.¹¹

Tables 2 and 3 report estimates of the gradient by age using data from YLS (Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam) and CLHNS (the Philippines), for girls and boys, respectively. Panels A.1 and A.2 show estimates for the younger and older cohorts of YLS, respectively at around ages 1, 5, 8, 12 and 15 years for the younger cohort, and 8, 12, 15, 19 and 22 years for the older cohort. The regression includes country dummies (as in model 1) but not year dummies, given that all measurements were taken in a short period of time. To account for the fact that children were interviewed at slightly different ages in each wave, we also control for age in months. For illustrative purposes we also show the estimated slopes and the corresponding 95% confidence intervals using bar graphs in Figure 4.

Consistent with the results using DHS data, the patterns in the YLS show that the gradient has an inverted U-shape with age. In the younger cohort the gradient increases from 1.6 cm (about 2% of the average height) to 3.6 cm (about 3.4% of average height) between age one and five for children. The gradient then continues to increase until 12 years of age reaching around 5 cm for both boys and girls, something that we could not observe in the DHS due to the lack of height measurements in this

available for less than 10% of observations.

¹⁰These comparisons are further complicated by the fact that not all DHS have data on adult heights, so comparisons between age groups may, in fact, be driven by differences in the countries or cohorts represented in each survey. However, the age profiles for children under 5 remain very similar if we only include observations from DHS where height was recorded for children as well as adults of both genders (results not shown). Perhaps more importantly, comparisons in the gradients between children 0-5 and adolescents are complicated by the cross sectional nature of these estimates. This implies that composition effects could in principle explain the differences in the findings.

¹¹We did not use other existing longitudinal data sets either because of small sample size or because the data are not made publicly available.

age range. We also observe that there is a sudden and substantial drop from 4.7 cm at 12 years to 2.3 cm at 15 years for girls, while the coefficient remains relatively stable for younger cohort boys.

A similar pattern is also apparent in the older cohort, where the slope of the gradient increases monotonically between 8 and 12 years for both genders, but then declines from 3.4 cm to 2 cm for girls between 12 and 15 years and keeps decreasing reaching 1.4 cm at age 22 years. By contrast, the gradient continues to grow among boys until age 15 and declines thereafter, with the coefficient moving from 5.1 cm to 3.1 cm between 15 and 19 years, and then declining further to 2.7 cm at age 22.^{12,13} For both cohorts, all slopes are estimated precisely, with standard errors in the 0.2-0.6 range, and all are statistically significant at the 1 percent level. Estimates are similar but less precise if we estimate the regressions separately by country.

The same pattern of inverted-U shapes is also evident in the CLHNS data from the Philippines, as shown in Panel B of Tables 2 and 3. In this sample, there is a monotonic increase in the SES-gradient up to age 11 for both boys and girls, followed by a decline for girls from 3.8 cm at 11 years to 2.1 cm at 15 years and from 3.9 cm at 15 years of age to 2.7 cm at 18 years for boys. By age 21, when the large majority of individuals have reached their adult height, the gradient is about 100 percent larger for boys as compared to girls but still significant for both.¹⁴

For both genders, the gradient at age 21, while still large, is substantially smaller than at the onset of adolescence, when it reaches its peak. Given that girls, on average, reach sexual maturity earlier than boys—in LMICs, pubertal development occurs on average at age 13.5-15.5 among girls and about 2 years later among boys (Thomas et al. 2001)—these results suggest that the timing of the inversion of the age profile of the gradient takes place around puberty. The results also suggest that the rise and fall of the gradient varies across time and space, which would be consistent with the observed variation in the onset of puberty, a point to which we return later in the paper.

Figure 5 summarizes our main findings across the various data sets. The figure plots all the estimated gradients by age, together with fitted values from regressions of the point estimates on a quadratic in age, or using a more flexible Fractional polynomial. The age profile follows an inverted U-shape peaking earlier among girls than boys.

3.5 Robustness checks

Alternative measures of SES. So far, our analyses used a dummy for whether the mother completed secondary schooling as a proxy for SES, but the results are very similar if we use maternal years

¹²Given that maternal education is time invariant, the slope in these regressions should not change once the child has achieved adult height, as long as height is measured consistently and the sample itself does not change due to attrition. However, in LMICs adult height is often achieved after age 20.

¹³Note that there is no reason to expect the gradients in Panels A and B to be identical conditional on age, given that the same age is reached in different years for the two cohorts. For instance, children in the young cohort were about 8 in 2009, while those in the older cohort were this age at the time of their first measurement, in 2000.

¹⁴This larger gradient for boys is consistent with evidence suggesting that mortality among males is higher than for females during crises or conditions of extreme hardship, underlying a potential higher sensitivity of males—especially infant boys—to environmental inputs, see e.g. Drevenstedt et al. (2008) and Zarulli et al. (2018).

of education (Appendix Figure A.1 for the DHS data for children under-5, and Figure A.7 for the longitudinal data) or if we use a dummy for completing primary schooling only (Appendix Figure A.2 and A.8). The results also remain similar if we use paternal education (Appendix Figures A.3 and A.9), although this variable is more frequently missing.

We also estimate model (1) using an indicator of material well-being as the measure of SES. Given that we do not have consistent measures of income or consumption for all surveys, we use a binary variable equal to one if the child lives in a household with an asset index in the top quintile of its survey-specific distribution. Figures A.4 and A.10 show that once again the results are qualitatively similar, with gradients that increase with age until puberty and then start declining (with sharper declines for girls by the time they turn 15), while remaining positive for young adults.¹⁵

Alternative Measures of Height Performance. The increase in the gradient with age is not a mechanical product of the increased scale of the dependent variable (height) when age increases.¹⁶ In fact, the patterns remain similar if we use the logarithm of height as dependent variable, in which case the slope can be interpreted as the predicted proportional change in height associated with having a mother with at least secondary school. In DHS data the gradient flattens out after age 3 (see Figure A.5 in the Appendix), but the inverted U-shape is still clearly visible when we use longitudinal data (Figure A.11).

The patterns remain similar, with some differences that we describe below, when we use ‘height-for-age’ z-scores instead of raw height as the dependent variable. Z-scores are commonly used measures of growth performance standardized relative to a reference group of children of the same age and sex, see Section 2.2 for details. In Appendix Figure A.6 we show that the patterns for children under five remain similar to those for log-height, with the gradient steeply increasing and then becoming stable, even somewhat declining, after age 2-3. These results are consistent with the well-known and typical age profile in LMICs of child height-for-age z-scores, which decline with age until about two years of age, and somewhat stabilize after that (Shrimpton et al. 2001): sub-optimal growth conditions generate a growth gap relative to the reference population that accumulates over time, especially during the first two years of life. A similar age profile has also been shown for the association between height z-scores and GDP at birth, see Aiyar and Cummins (2021). When we look at longitudinal data (Appendix Figure A.12), we see that the use of z-scores lead to less pronounced inverted U-shaped patterns, especially for the younger cohort in YLS, and for boys in CLHNS.¹⁷

Overall, the increase in the gradient with age for children under age five is thus very robust to how

¹⁵Wealth is measured in early childhood in the longitudinal studies, while it is contemporaneous in DHS (see Section 2). However, in YLS, wealth information was collected in all rounds, and results are qualitatively similar if we use a dummy for being in the top wealth quintile in each country- and round-specific wealth distribution.

¹⁶In a simple univariate OLS regression, if the scale of the dependent variable increases the slope will increase even if the correlation between the dependent variable and the regressor stays the same, as long as the standard deviation of the regressor does not change.

¹⁷In this latter case the gradient actually declines fairly steadily as children grow into adults. It is not entirely clear why this is the case. We note there that these results depend on the reference population used. Understanding why the use of z-scores leads to different results in some settings is beyond the scope of this paper but has been noted before (Wang et al. 2006, Wang and Chen 2012, Tarozzi 2008).

we define SES or the dependent variable. These results are widely consistent with the findings in the seminal [Case et al. \(2002\)](#) study for the US, despite some important differences in how health and SES are measured in our study, and the very different economic context of the countries we investigate.

4 Why Does the Gradient Decline in Adolescence?

We now discuss two hypotheses to explain why the gradients fall in adolescence. The first relates to the physiology of human growth: if high-SES children have an earlier adolescent growth spurt and stop growing earlier, then low-SES children may catch up to some extent. The second is that the onset of adolescence may lead to behavioral changes that affect later growth, and may do so differentially by SES. We now discuss these in more detail and provide some evidence for each. We find strong evidence in favor of the former hypothesis but not of the latter.

4.1 Pubertal maturation, SES and the Age Profile of the Gradient

The first hypothesis is that the increasing and then decreasing association between height and maternal education may be explained by the physiology of human growth, and SES-based variation in the timing and duration of such growth. Among girls, it is well known that the adolescent growth spurt precedes menarche—the onset of menstruation—by about one year, and that growth stops within the following year or two ([Gluckman et al. 2016](#)). If the growth spurt varies with SES, with high SES having it earlier in LMICs, then this would explain our findings. This hypothesis is plausible. It has been observed that as economic conditions improve and nutritional intakes and dietary diversity increase, the onset of menarche occurs earlier ([de Muinck Keizer-Shrama and Mul 2001](#), [Lam et al. 2021](#)). Consistent with this, [Thomas et al. \(2001\)](#), summarizing results from 67 countries, find a strong negative association between average age at menarche and different measures of development, including female life expectancy and literacy rates. [Simondon et al. \(1998\)](#) use longitudinal data from 1,650 children in Senegal and show that girls who were stunted before schooling age had menarche later than non-stunted girls but their height grew faster—leading to some catch-up—in late adolescence. Delayed menarche among lower-SES groups was also observed in past UK cohorts ([Krzyżanowska et al. 2016](#)), but not in contemporaneous ones ([Kelly et al. 2017](#)).¹⁸

Compared with girls, there is less evidence available for boys on the relationship between pubertal maturation and SES in LMICs. This is partly due to the greater challenges in measuring pubertal timing for boys in the absence of a clearly defined marker of pubertal maturation such as menarche.¹⁹

¹⁸From a biological perspective, the relationship between SES and pubertal onset and tempo may be mediated by recently-uncovered mutations in brain receptors that are activated by caloric deprivations in childhood ([Lam et al. 2021](#)). In turn, these mutations are associated with delayed pubertal onset and reduced linear growth rate throughout childhood and adolescence, which are then partially offset by a longer period of limb growth due to a later pubertal onset, allowing for an extended period of growth.

¹⁹This evidence gap is equally marked for high-income settings. The only paper we are aware of is [Sun et al. \(2017\)](#), which documents an inverse relationship between socioeconomic disadvantage and pubertal maturation among boys in an Australian cohort. This is consistent with a wide body of evidence showing that in high-income settings *lower* SES

Given these insights, if within LMICs there is a negative association between age at pubertal maturation and measures of material well-being, high-SES children will grow—on average—faster than their low-SES cohort peers both before and during the adolescent growth spurt, which they will reach, on average, sooner. At this point the gap between the high and low-SES children may reach a maximum. However, once low-SES children reach the adolescent growth spurt, a degree of catch up may take place, especially if physical growth continues well after adolescence or if pubertal maturation occurs very late. Indeed it has also been shown that poor or poorly fed populations grow more slowly and reach their final height at later ages (Steckel 1986). This “catch-up” mechanism may thus lead to a reduction in the height-SES gradient after puberty.

To investigate the association between SES and age at pubertal maturation, we start by examining data on age at menarche in DHS data using the four countries where the data allow it, that is, Gabon, Ghana, India, and Turkey. Age at menarche is available for several other DHS countries, but they cannot be linked to maternal schooling due to the data structure, see Appendix A.1 for details. For each of these countries, we estimate models such as eq. (1) but with a binary dependent variable equal to one if the girl had menarche before age 13. Although the four countries differ considerably in their level of development, there is a *positive* association between early menarche and maternal education in all of them, although the coefficient is only statistically significant in India, and its magnitude is small for Turkey (Table 4, Panel A). In India, high maternal education increases the predicted probability of early menarche by 3 percentage points (95% CI [0.016,0.044]), relative to the mean (20%). In Gabon and Ghana, both very poor countries where fewer girls have already reached menarche before 13, the association is even stronger, although very imprecisely estimated and thus not significant at standard levels: in Gabon high maternal education predicts a 100% increase in the probability (from 20 to 39%, 95% CI of the change [-0.061,0.445]), while in Ghana is predicts a 228% increase (from 6.4 to 21%, 95% CI of the change [-0.04,0.333]). In wealthier Turkey, where average female education is also higher, the association is still positive but much weaker and not significant at standard levels.

The negative association between SES and age at menarche is confirmed when we use the longitudinal data from both cohorts from YLS and from CHLNS, as reported in Table 4, Panel B. With the exception of Ethiopia, where the association is weak and not significant at standard levels, early menarche is substantively more likely among daughters of high-SES mothers, with point estimates ranging from 0.11 in Peru to 0.21 in Vietnam. These simple associations are of course not necessarily causal, but they are consistent with the hypothesis that high-SES girls grow faster and stop growing sooner. Ethiopia may be an exception due to the very low prevalence of early menarche among girls in the sample, at less than 4%.²⁰

predicts earlier maturation, the opposite of what we find in LMICs.

²⁰The associations between SES and early menarche we observe in both DHS and panel data may be driven at least in part by a higher prevalence of overweight among high-SES girls, as excess adiposity in childhood is an important factor associated with earlier pubertal onset (Marcovecchio and Chiarelli 2013). Overweight girls in the pre-pubertal phase tend to grow faster than leaner peers, but this advantage in growth tends to decline during puberty, when overweight girls display a reduced growth spurt. This, again, could lead to a degree of catch-up in height among poorer girls, who are less likely to be overweight. We check whether taking into account overweight and obesity changes the point estimates

Altogether this evidence suggest that indeed the onset of adolescence occurs earlier among high SES children in the contexts we are analyzing. This evidence is, however, incomplete because we cannot link the onset of adolescence directly to the SES gradients in heights at various ages. To do this we now estimate a model of growth separately for boys and girls by SES.

4.1.1 A Model of the Age Profile of Growth Velocity and SES

In this sub-section we describe and estimate a simple model where both the timing and speed of height growth depend on SES. We model the growth rate of heights assuming that it follows the well-known patterns described in the literature (e.g. see [Tanner et al. 1966](#), Fig. 8, or [Gluckman et al. 2016](#), Fig. 5.8). We estimate a model where the parameters are the growth rates in different developmental periods and the age at which each period starts. In this model there are four key periods: early childhood (before age 2-3), childhood (roughly ages 3-10), the adolescent growth spurt (sometime after age 10), and adulthood (once growth is completed). The exact duration of each period varies across time and place, and may depend on SES.

Growth is typically highest at birth, and falls rapidly during early childhood. During childhood, velocity declines slowly until the adolescent growth spurt (AGS). At this point growth velocity increases, reaches a peak and then declines at a steady rate until adult height is achieved. The shape of the velocity curves is thus well approximated by a piece-wise continuous linear function, with three slope changes: a first change at the end of the fastest growth period in early childhood, a second at the beginning of the AGS, and a third at its peak. In [Figure 6](#) we illustrate the typical velocity curves for boys and girls, as illustrated for instance in [Tanner et al. \(1966, Fig. 8\)](#). We superimpose on the figure an illustration of the model we estimate, with labels corresponding to the parameters that we describe in detail below.

Formally, let t_1 , t_2 , and t_3 denote the timing of the kinks in the piece-wise linear velocity curve, and let t_4 be the time when adult height is achieved. Let also h_t denote height of an individual at age t (measured in months). For an individual who has not yet achieved adult height (that, is for $t < t_4$), growth between $t - 1$ and t can be written as

$$h_t - h_{t-1} = \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{t, t_1\} - 1) + 1(t > t_1) \beta_2 (\min\{t, t_2\} - t_1) + 1(t > t_2) \beta_3 (\min\{t, t_3\} - t_2) + 1(t > t_3) \beta_4 (\min\{t, t_4\} - t_3), \quad (2)$$

where the coefficients β_1 , β_2 , β_3 , and β_4 are thus the slopes of the four linear intervals. Because adult height is achieved at $t = t_4$, growth must be equal to zero at this time, so that the following constraint must hold:

$$\alpha + \beta_1 (t_1 - 1) + \beta_2 (t_2 - t_1) + \beta_3 (t_3 - t_2) + \beta_4 (t_4 - t_3) = 0, \quad (3)$$

for maternal education in both the DHS and YLS panel data for girls, but we do not find evidence that this is the case. We also note that overweight and obesity are generally limited in these samples.

This model cannot be estimated directly in our data, given that for the same child we never observe height measured in two consecutive months. However, in Appendix A.3 we show that equation (2) can be used in an iterative fashion to write down height at age t as:

$$h_t = h_0 + \alpha 1(t \leq t_4)t + \beta_1 v_1 + \beta_2 v_2 + \beta_3 v_3 + \beta_4 v_4 + \delta 1(t > t_4), \quad (4)$$

where the v functions are somewhat complex but deterministic and known functions of age and/or of the location of the kinks such that

$$\begin{aligned} v_1 &= 1(t \leq t_4) \frac{\min(t, t_1)(\min(t, t_1) - 1)}{2} + 1(t_1 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \\ v_2 &= 1(t_1 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(\min(t, t_2) - t_1)(\min(t, t_2) - t_1 + 1)}{2} + 1(t_2 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \\ v_3 &= 1(t_2 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(\min(t, t_3) - t_2)(\min(t, t_3) - t_2 + 1)}{2} + 1(t_3 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \\ v_4 &= 1(t_3 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(t - t_3)(t - t_3 + 1)}{2}, \end{aligned}$$

and where in addition to constraint (3) the following should also hold

$$\begin{aligned} \delta &= t_4 \alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\ &+ \left[\frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \right] \beta_3 + \frac{(t_4 - t_3)(t_4 - t_3 + 1)}{2} \beta_4. \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

This second constraint imposes that height be constant once adult height is achieved, that is, at time $t = t_4$. Both these constraints are linear in parameters, and given that in our data we observe both height and age for each child, the coefficients in (4) can be estimated in a straightforward way using constrained OLS, *once the location of the kinks is known*. Given that such location is actually unobserved, we use an approach analogous to that developed in Hansen (2017) for the estimation of regression kink models with an unknown threshold. First we set the positions of the kinks t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , and t_4 . Then we estimate (4) using constrained OLS, and we calculate and store the corresponding sum of squared residuals (SSR). Finally, we choose the estimates that minimize the SSR over the whole grid. Because the kinks are naturally ordered, we always impose $t_1 < t_2 < t_3 < t_4$, but in our optimization algorithm we also impose a minimum of twelve months between t_2 and t_3 , that is, between the beginning and the peak of the AGS. This is because, due to the timing of the height measurement, the number of children measured around this period is sometimes small, and this leads to estimates of the duration of the AGS that are unreasonably short when compared to what suggested by the literature on human growth.²¹

4.1.2 Model estimation results

In order to increase precision, we pool together data from each of the four YLS countries and cohorts. YLS data include measurements of the same individuals at different ages. The frequency of measure-

²¹The small number of observations at these two kinks means that the SSR obtained with or without imposing such minimum duration are very close, and so the choice between constrained and unconstrained estimates lead to very similar values of the objective function (the SSR) but to quite different estimates.

ments is too sparse to allow estimating individual growth velocity at frequent intervals, but there is sufficient variation in the exact age at measurement around the mean age that we can use the model described above to estimate the age profile of growth velocity around ages 1, 5, 8, 12, 15, 19 and 22. We do not include data from CLHNS because the timing of the measurements only partly overlaps with YLS, and it was undesirable to have different sets of countries driving results over different age ranges.

We show graphically the results of the estimation in Figure 7, while the details of the estimations are in Table 5.²² As expected, the AGS takes place significantly sooner among girls relative to boys, and girls achieve their final height earlier than boys. And, perhaps unsurprisingly given our earlier results, there are visible differences in growth velocity by maternal education. In particular, three patterns are apparent. First, growth velocity is faster among high-SES children until a few months after the AGS peak: among boys the gap is small but persistent until the start of the AGS (t_2), while among girls it is large especially between 1 and 3 years of age and after t_2 . Second, the AGS starts sooner among high-SES children, especially among girls where it takes place about one year sooner. Third, growth continues for a longer period among low-SES children, especially among boys.

The model-implied SES gradient, shown in Figure 8, rises until adolescence and then falls. The average height gap between high and low-SES increases gradually with age, opens up further when high-SES have their AGS, but then low-SES catch up both because their AGS peak occurs when growth is already slowing down for high-SES children and because they achieve their adult height at an older age. This indicates a degree of catch up, although this is only partial. Indeed the parameter estimates in Table 5 show that average adult height ($h_6 + \delta$) is 167 cms among low-SES boys and 168 cms among high-SES boys, while among girls the two estimates are 154.9 cm and 155.9 cm, respectively.²³

4.2 Is there a greater cost of ‘early adulthood’ for high-SES children?

A complementary hypothesis that could explain the fall of the gradient during adolescence is that in this period children may start to engage in behaviors that could hamper their growth. Adolescence is a period of great biological, economic and social changes, as children transition into adulthood. Thus, it is plausible that higher-SES children—which are more likely to reach pubertal development before lower-SES peers—may also start earlier to engage in behaviors that may harm their growth. In turn, this could reduce their height advantage over children from more economically-disadvantaged backgrounds.

We base this hypothesis on the observation that adolescents whose physical maturity is apparent are more likely to engage in behaviours that may potentially harm their growth, as documented by

²²In Appendix Figure A.13 we also report the country-specific patterns. The country-specific point estimates and standard errors of the slopes are available upon request from the authors.

²³These figures suggest a height gap between high vs. low-SES adults that is smaller than the ones of 1.4-2.7 cms documented in Tables 2 and 3. This is likely due to the approximation induced by the piece-wise continuous shape of the growth velocity curve that we impose for the estimation.

previous literature. For instance, girls who have an earlier menarche are more likely to drop out of school, and marry and have children earlier than peers with a later menarche. [Field and Ambrus \(2008\)](#) show that marriage rates in Bangladesh after age 13 were strongly and positively correlated with the onset of puberty among girls. [Khanna \(2020\)](#) finds that, in India, girls who reach menarche before twelve (controlling for several indicators of SES) have 13% lower school enrolment. By the same token, children that undergo their pubertal growth spurt earlier, may be more likely to engage in physically demanding labor as compared to peers that have a delayed pubertal growth spurt. Both early childbearing and increased work may impose a ‘height cost’ by increasing a child’s nutritional expenditures and slowing down growth ([Johnson and Moore 2016](#)). Decreased nutritional investments for children that appear taller than their peers could be another potential behavioral explanation. Evidence from Guatemala shows that parents may invest less (more) in their children’s health and nutrition if they perceive them to be tall (small) by local standards ([Wang et al. 2020](#)). Earlier age of puberty may also disrupt sleep patterns and lead to fewer sleeping hours. As growth hormones are produced during sleep, this can hamper growth. Finally, earlier pubertal timing has been shown to predict higher sensation seeking and engagement in risky behaviors ([Steinberg et al. 2008](#)), which in turn may decelerate adolescents’ subsequent growth.

However, to help explaining the drop in the gradient, these behaviors need to be more frequent or more costly among high-SES children, and especially so around the timing of pubertal development for boys and girls. We test this hypothesis by using the rich data available in the YLS.

We proceed in two steps. First, we investigate if these adolescent behaviors—marriage, childbearing, low sleep, high work, poor quality diets, and engagement in health risk behaviors—are negatively associated to height at 22 conditional on height at age 8, and whether they do so differentially by SES. This would be consistent with the hypothesis that these behaviors are detrimental to growth during the adolescent years and that they are more detrimental to children from high SES backgrounds. Then, we investigate if these behaviors are more or less prevalent among high SES groups. Consistent with our previous approach, we show results separately for girls and boys, also because engagement in some of these behaviors are highly gendered in LMICs.

The results regarding the predictive role of behaviors on growth are shown in [Table 6](#). For each gender we estimate two regressions: one where we predict adult height using behaviors for both high and low-SES pooled, and a second one where the behaviors are interacted with maternal education to assess whether the associations between these behaviors and adult height vary across SES groups.

The results show that boys and girls that are taller at age 8 end up as taller adults, confirming that much of the variation in adult height is explained by growth in early childhood. Second, most of the behaviors we observe in adolescence do indeed predict lower adult height: all the coefficients are negative as hypothesized, although all but one are insignificant at standard levels. The exception is adolescent marriage and childbearing, which is a significant predictor of lower final height for boys. However, and most crucially to explain the inverted U-shape, the deleterious associations between early marriage and fertility and adulthood height do not appear to vary by SES: most of the interactions are not significant at standard level. Moreover, the only two significant interactions (marriage/childbearing

and risky behavior for boys) are positive rather than negative, and even larger than the main effects. That is, among high-SES individuals these behaviors actually *increase* predicted adult height.

Next we examine whether the incidence of these behaviors is different among high and low-SES adolescents. Even if the effect of the behavior is the same, the reversal of the gradient could occur if the behavior is more frequent among high SES children. We focus on marriage, the only observable behavior that predicts lower growth during adolescence in our sample. Table 7 shows that, as expected, girls with early menarche are more likely to marry early (before age 17), and that daughters of secondary-educated women are less likely to marry early (column 1). However, column 2 shows that the interaction between maternal education and early menarche is negative: in other words, early menarche *increases* the gap between SES groups, rather than decreasing it. For boys, the interaction term is small and statistically insignificant. This results are similar if we use height at age 8 as a measure for the onset of adolescence.

In sum, while we confirm that there are behaviors in adolescence that are negatively associated with growth during this period (in particular early marriage), we find no evidence that these behavioral differences can account for the decline in the SES gradients in adolescence. In fact, if anything, we find the opposite. However, these results have a silver lining in that they suggest that catch up could be larger among low-SES children if marriage and childbearing during adolescence could be avoided.

5 Discussions and Conclusions

Using a large number of LMICs countries and cohorts we have shown that the association between height (a measure of long-term health) and maternal education (a proxy for SES) follows an age profile with an inverted U-shape. This pattern is similar when we use other proxies for SES, such as current wealth. We show that such profile is likely mediated by the physiology of human growth, as SES predicts the timing and duration of puberty. In LMICs populations, children from high-SES families start their adolescent growth spurt earlier, on average, than children from low-SES families. This, together with the fact that low-SES children achieve their adult height at older ages, allows such children to partly compensate the height disadvantage they have accumulated during childhood. In contrast, we show that behavioral responses are unlikely to explain the observed inverse U-shape pattern in the data.

Our results suggest that the timing of puberty and its relation to SES is a key factor in allowing for catch-up. The age of the onset of puberty has declined substantially in rich countries and it varies widely around the world today. The reasons for this decline are not fully understood, as are the health consequences of these changes. Similarly the age of the onset of puberty is related to socio-economic status, but this association varies across time and place. In LMICs girls from high SES families have menarche earlier whereas the opposite is true in rich countries today. Again the reasons for these differences are poorly understood. Our research points to the importance of understanding these phenomena further as they hold the key to understanding whether catch up is possible, and how we might achieve it if we wish to intervene during adolescence.

Finally, our results also suggest that height, often used as an indicator of long-term health or quality of health environments during childhood (e.g. by economic historians), is not an equally good indicator of these outcomes at different ages. Indeed, height appears as a particularly poor indicator of SES around birth. The decline in the gradient at older ages could also help explaining the weak association documented by [Deaton \(2007\)](#) in DHS data between adult height of women and GDP at birth. [Deaton \(2007\)](#) and [Bozzoli et al. \(2009\)](#) argue that another key contributing factors may be mortality selection. That is, in poor countries where infant mortality is high, increases in GDP at birth predict not only improvements in SES, but also a decrease in mortality. However, the latter decrease likely lead to the survival of individuals of poor health and likely smaller height, who would have died under less favorable conditions. Such decline in ‘harvesting’ will then weaken the cross-sectional association between GDP at birth and the average height of the surviving adults.²⁴ In this paper, we provided another explanation for why gradients among adults in developing countries are smaller than among children: there is some amount of catch up during adolescence. While the catch up is not complete, it is possible that a better understanding of the factors that increase catch up can both help explaining the ‘Deaton puzzle’ and provide avenues for interventions that would lower SES gradients in height. Future research in this area should further investigate these.

²⁴Although this is beyond the scope of this paper, we find that, in DHS data, child height is very weakly associated with GDP at birth at age 0, but the correlation increases substantively with age. These results are available upon request.

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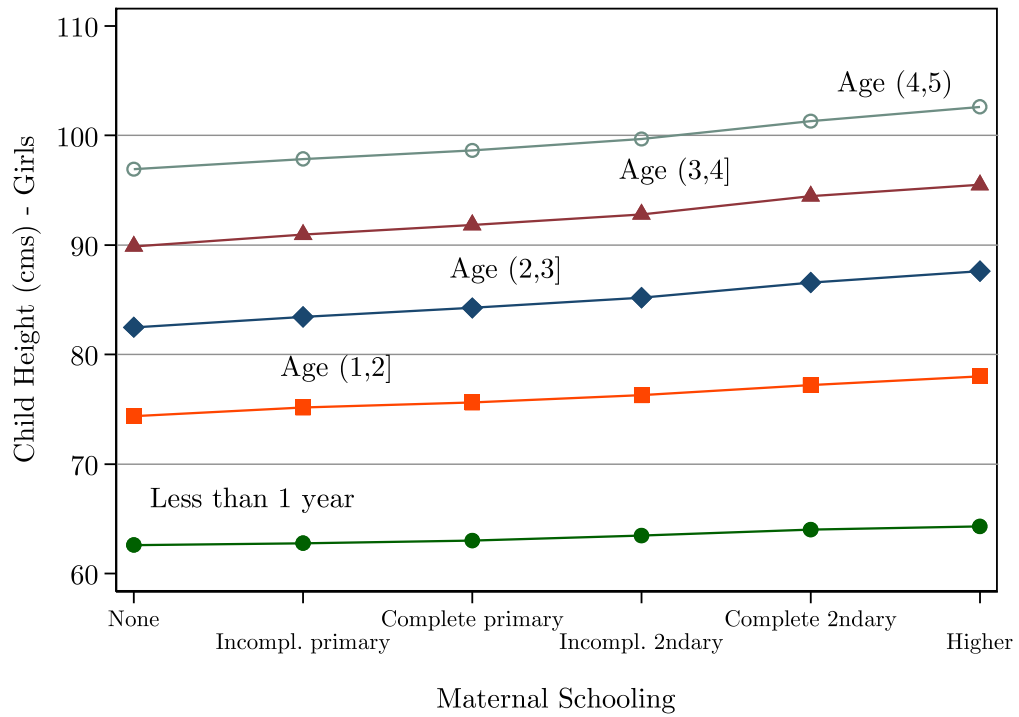
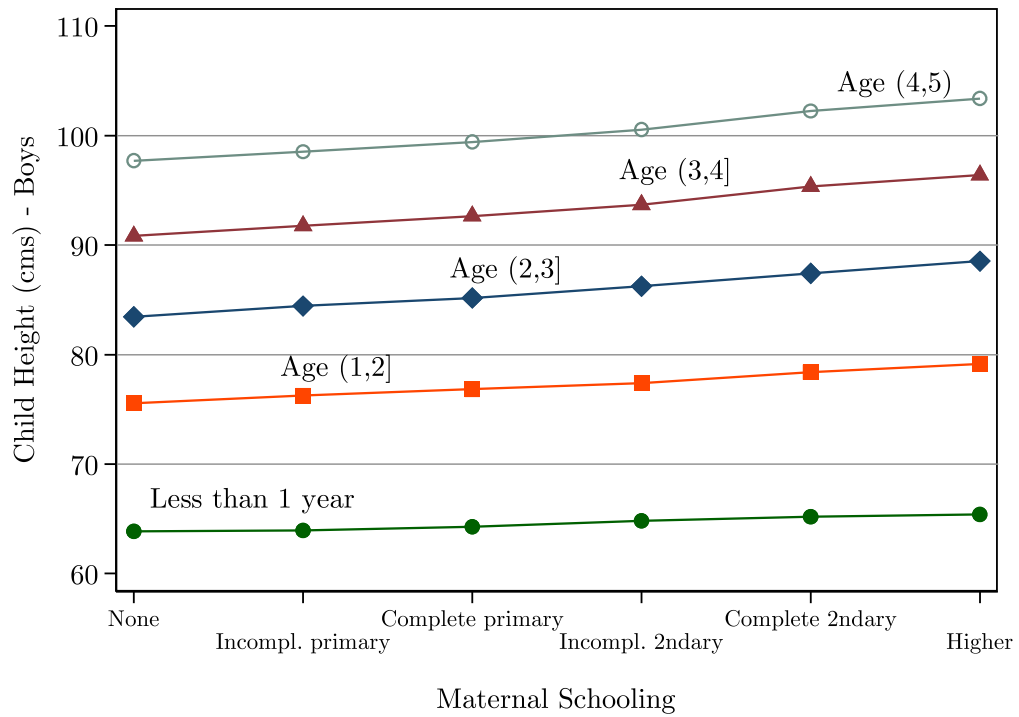


Figure 1: DHS: SES Gradient by Child Age

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age interval, each line shows the relationship between average height and maternal schooling. Sample size $n = 1,570,217$.

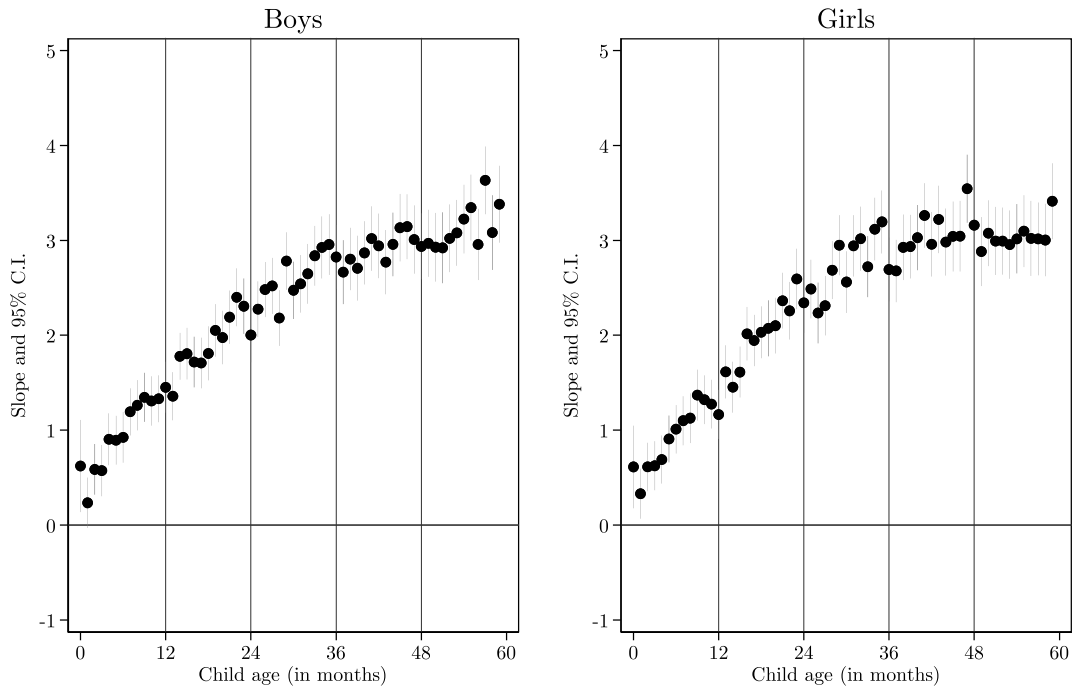


Figure 2: DHS: Child Height vs. Maternal Education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education, and with country and survey year fixed effects. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,570,217$.

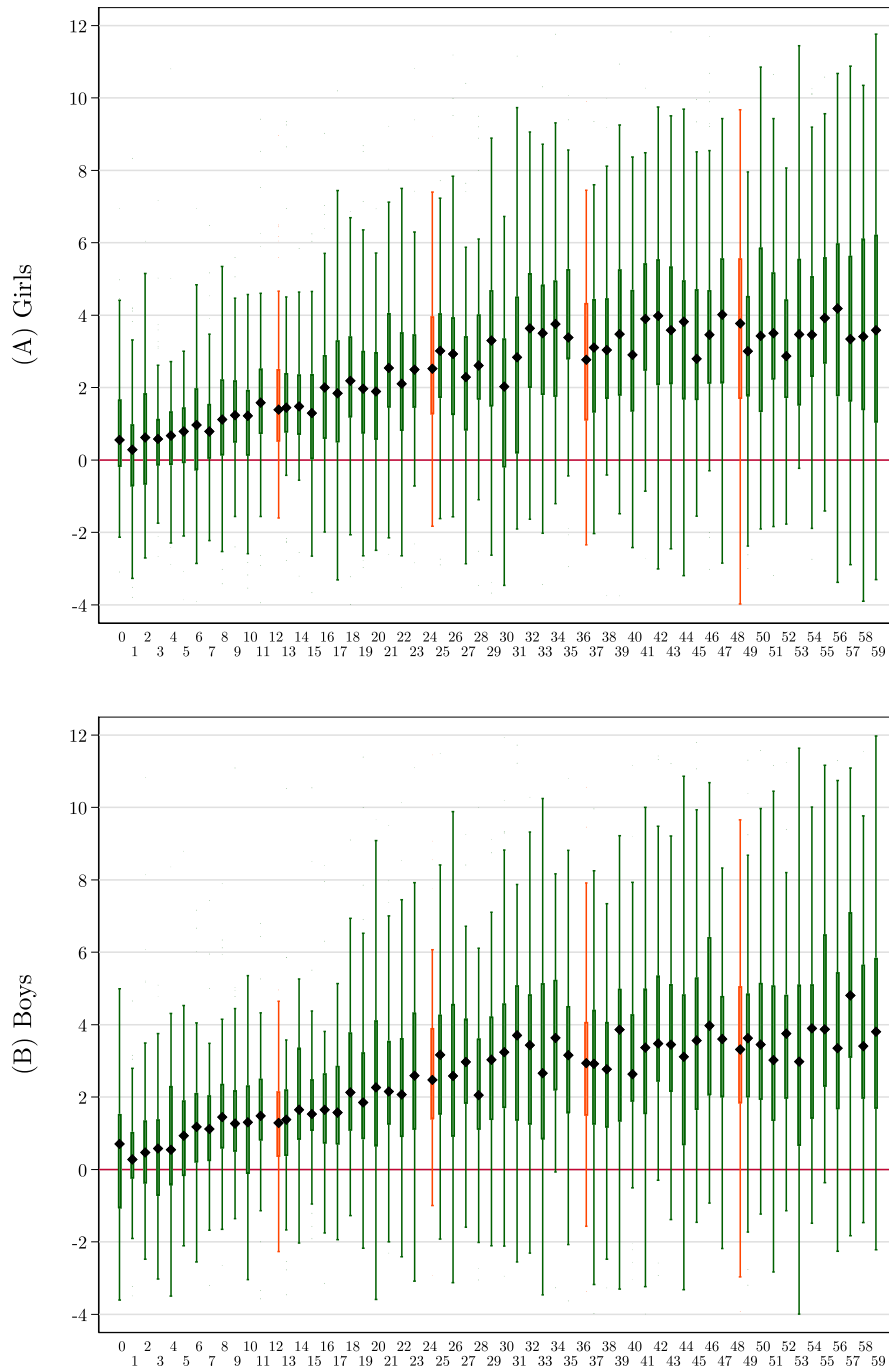


Figure 3: DHS: Child Height vs. Maternal Education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows a box plot of the estimated country-specific OLS slopes of regressions, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cm) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights. If more than one DHS was completed for a given country all observations were pooled together.

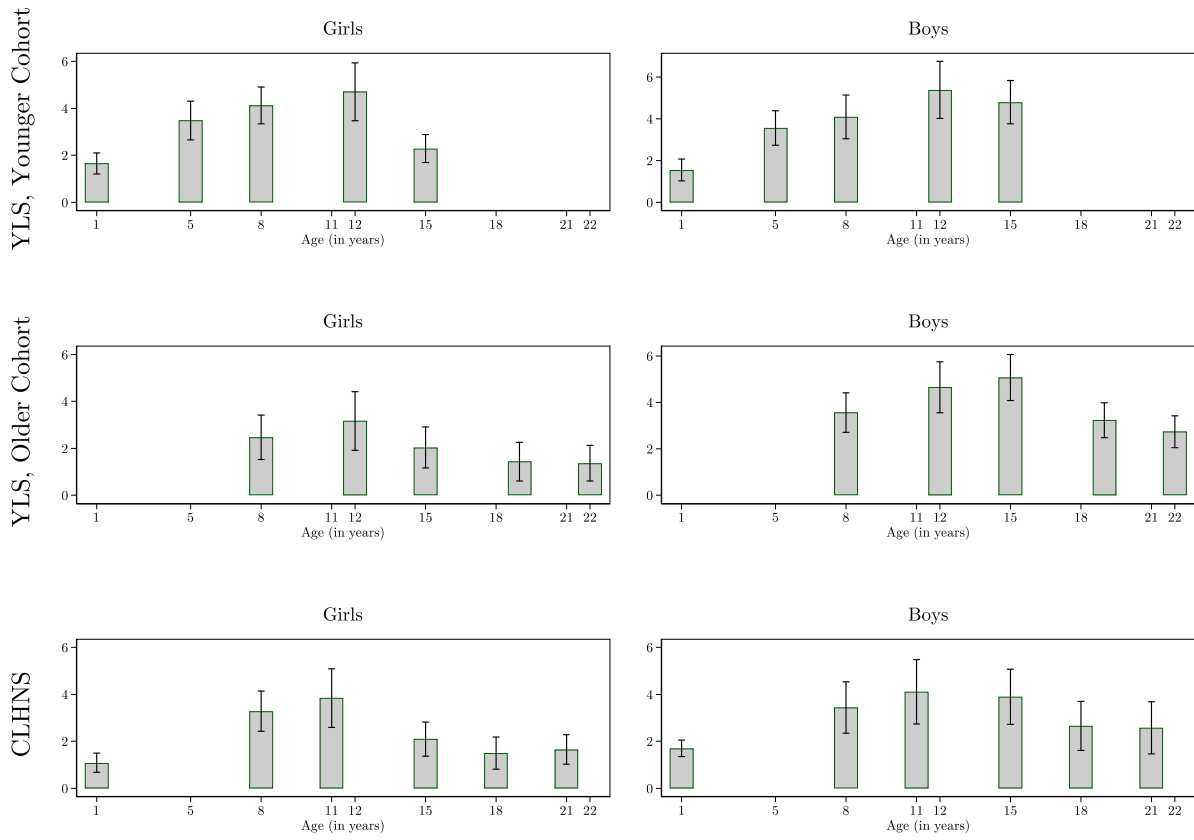


Figure 4: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: The figure displays visually estimates from Tables 2 and 3. Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

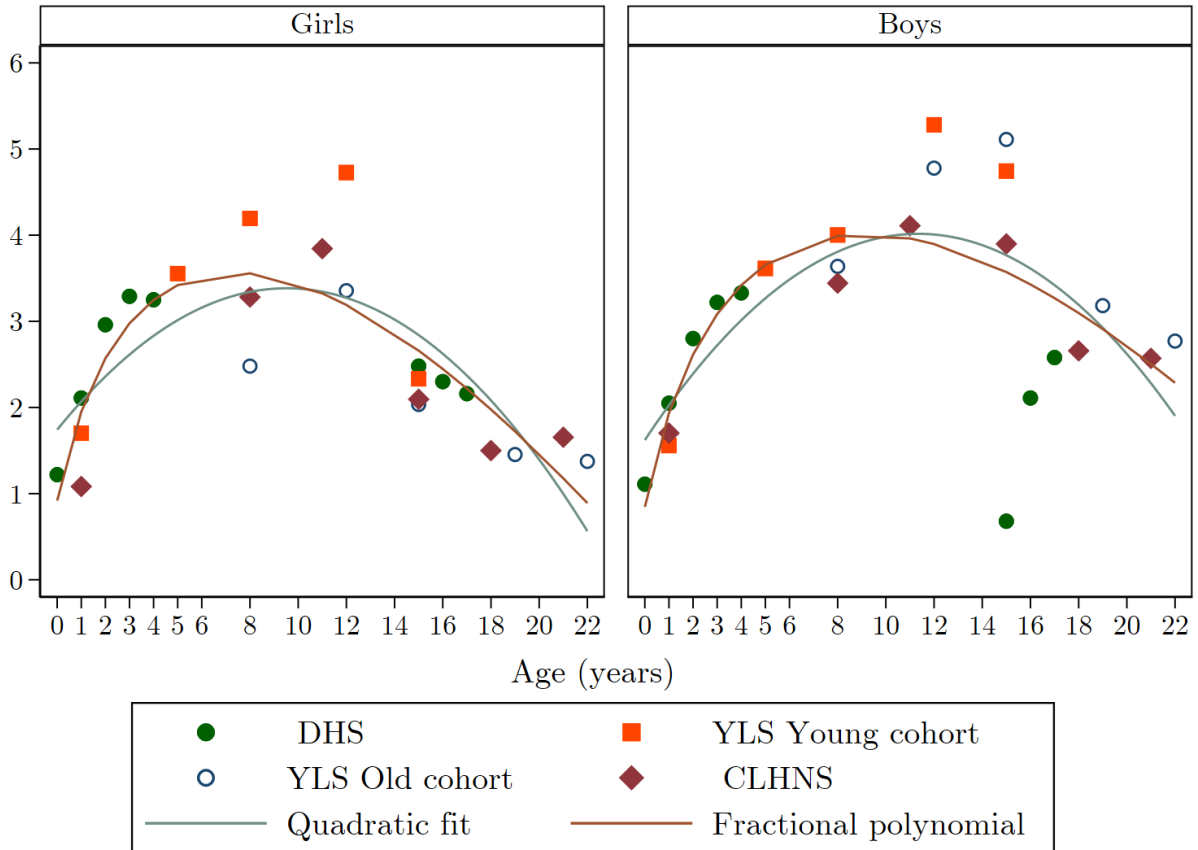


Figure 5: All Estimates

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS, Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: The figure displays visually estimates the point estimates from Tables 1, 2 and 3. Also shown are fitted values from regressions of the point estimates on a quadratic in age ("Quadratic fit") or using a more flexible Fractional polynomial.

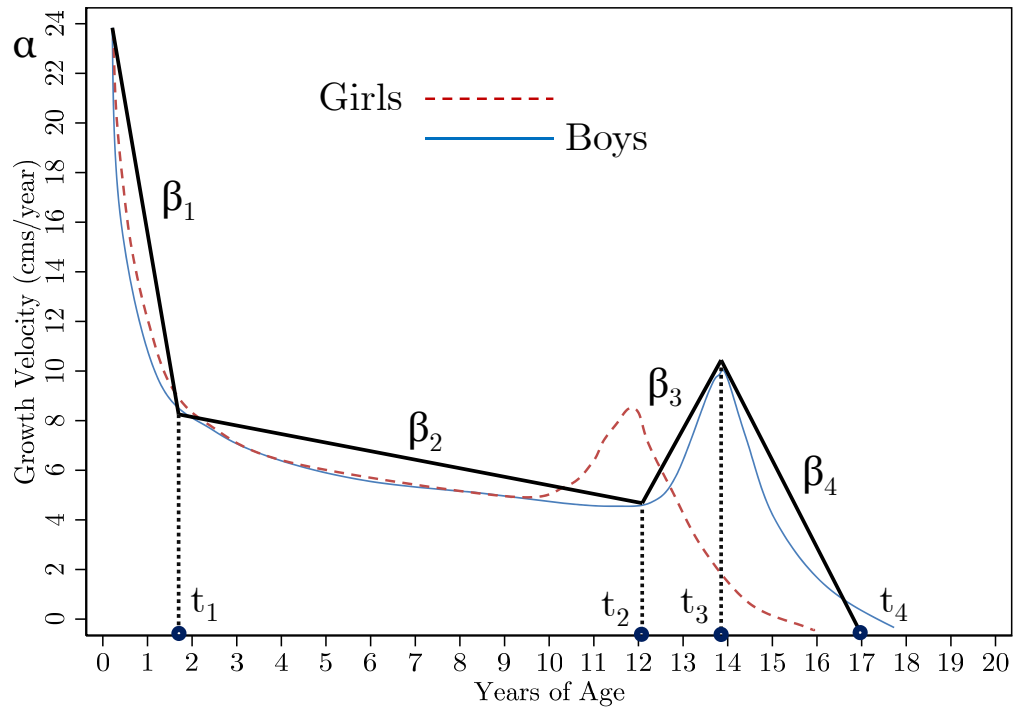


Figure 6: Growth Velocity

Source: Authors' elaboration from [Tanner et al. \(1966, Fig. 8\)](#). The labels indicate the parameters estimated for boys using the procedure described in Section 4.1.1: α is growth velocity at birth; t_1 , t_2 , t_3 , and t_4 show the age of the most salient changes in growth velocity, while β_1 , β_2 , β_3 , and β_4 are the slopes of the piecewise linear curve in each interval.

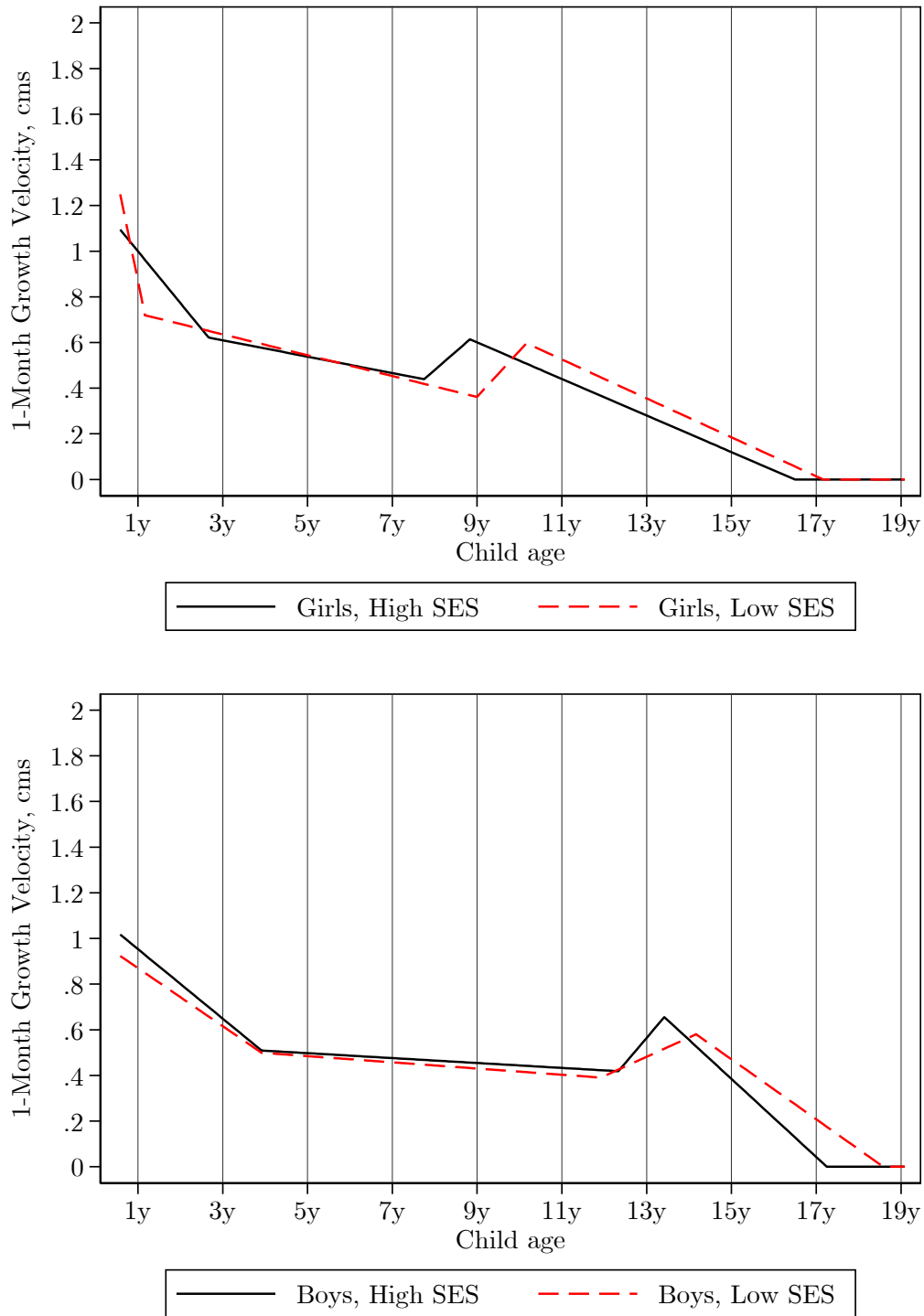


Figure 7: YLS: Growth Velocity and SES

Source: Authors' calculations from YLS data. The lines show height growth velocity predicted by the piece-wise continuous regression model described in Section 4.1.1, estimated separately for boys and girls, and by SES. High-SES is binary and equal to one when the mother has completed at least secondary schooling.

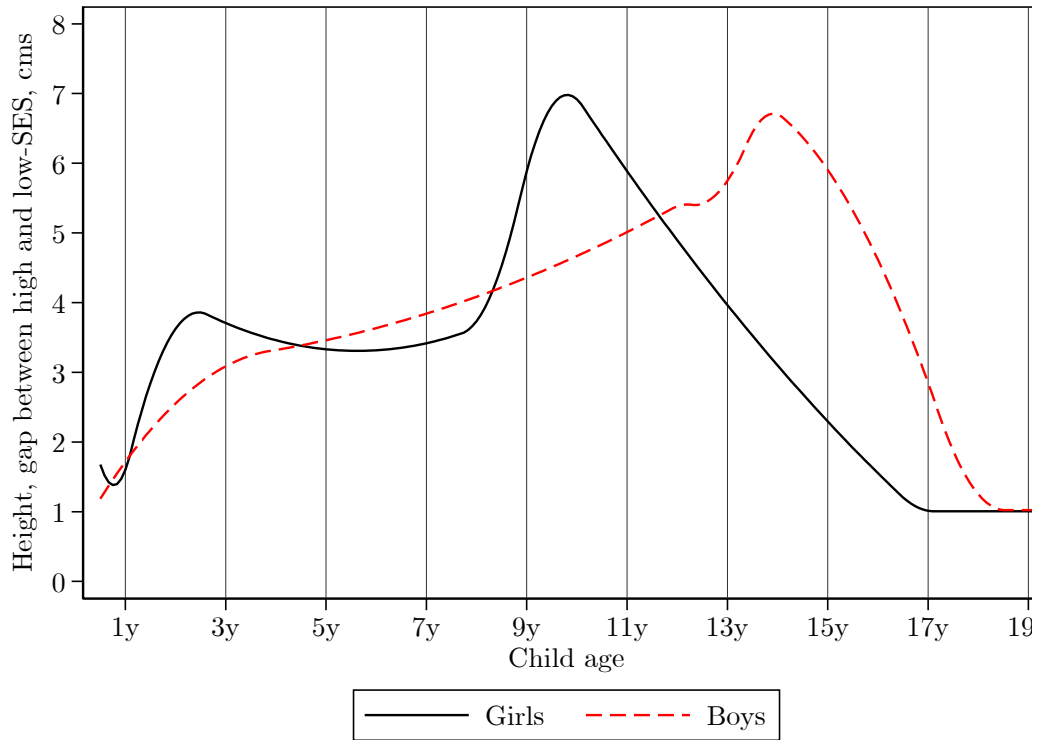


Figure 8: YLS: Height high vs. low-SES gap

Source: Authors' calculations from YLS data. The lines show differences in height growth velocity between high-SES and low-SES children, as predicted by the piece-wise continuous regression model described in Section 4.1.1, estimated separately for boys and girls. High-SES is binary and equal to one when the mother has completed at least secondary schooling.

Table 1: Height vs. maternal schooling, DHS, Girls and Boys 0-4 and 15-17

	Age (years)							
	0	1	2	3	4	15	16	17
	Girls							
Mother at least secondary (s.e.)	1.22 (0.162)	2.11 (0.139)	2.96 (0.223)	3.29 (0.242)	3.25 (0.313)	2.48 (0.106)	2.3 (0.106)	2.16 (0.11)
R^2	0.015	0.048	0.069	0.082	0.087	0.157	0.177	0.192
Obs.	169,171	164,390	156,460	145,430	134,869	54,531	51,199	43,246
Mean dependent variable	63.1	75.5	84	91.6	98.5	152.7	153.6	154
% maternal education missing	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.26	0.30	0.37
	Boys							
Mother at least secondary (s.e.)	1.11 (0.191)	2.05 (0.136)	2.8 (0.188)	3.22 (0.267)	3.33 (0.286)	0.68 (1.333)	2.11 (0.589)	2.58 (0.335)
R^2	0.015	0.049	0.070	0.083	0.089	0.111	0.077	0.105
Obs.	175,045	171,416	161,934	150,703	140,799	9,940	9,780	8,124
Mean dependent variable	64.4	76.7	85	92.4	99.3	159.9	162.4	164.5
% maternal education missing	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.25	0.29	0.36

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data.

Notes: For each age (in years) the table reports estimates and standard errors of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education. Regressions for children under five include all children of a given age (in years) born of women of fertility age in the sample. Regressions for 15 to 17-year old boys and girls only include individuals who are still co-residing with their mother, and for whom maternal schooling can be identified through unique individual identifiers in the data, see text for additional details. All regressions include country FE and do not use sampling weights. Standard errors are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit.

Table 2: Girl height vs. maternal schooling, YLS and CLHNS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Panel A.1								
	Young Lives: Younger Cohort							
	Age 1y	Age 5y	Age 8y	Age 12y	Age 15y			
Mother at least secondary	1.701*** [0.2266]	3.554*** [0.4137]	4.195*** [0.4429]	4.727*** [0.6214]	2.333*** [0.3135]			
Observations	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433	3,433			
R-squared	0.4483	0.2260	0.1399	0.1289	0.0941			
Mean height	70.84	103.8	120	143	153.6			
Panel A.2								
	Young Lives: Older Cohort							
			Age 8y	Age 12y	Age 15y	Age 19y	Age 22y	
Mother at least secondary			2.480*** [0.4869]	3.356*** [0.6130]	2.035*** [0.4016]	1.454*** [0.4123]	1.374*** [0.3769]	
Observations			1,494	1,494	1,494	1,494	1,494	
R-squared			0.0758	0.0687	0.0872	0.1276	0.1971	
Mean height			117.9	142.1	151.7	154.6	155.3	
Panel B								
	CLHNS							
	Age 1y			Age 8y	Age 11y	Age 15y	Age 18y	Age 21y
Mother at least secondary	1.083*** (0.208)			3.282*** (0.437)	3.844*** (0.637)	2.095*** (0.369)	1.500*** (0.346)	1.655*** (0.321)
Observations	677			677	677	677	677	677
R-squared	0.033			0.058	0.119	0.057	0.037	0.030
Mean height	69.99			117.6	135.2	149.1	151	151.3

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: This table presents OLS regression estimates of girl height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS). In YLS, secondary education is set = 1 when the mother has completed a number of years of schooling corresponding to the country-specific typical requirement, that is, 10 in Ethiopia, 12 in India, 11 in Peru and 9 in Vietnam. In CLHNS it is = 1 if the mother has completed at least 4 years of secondary school at the time of the first survey wave. Results in Panel A are estimated pooling all observations for girls from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, for the Younger Cohort (born 2001/02, Panel A.1) and the Older Cohort (born 1994/95, Panel A.2).

Table 3: Boy height vs. maternal schooling, YLS and CLHNS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Panel A.1								
	Young Lives: Younger Cohort							
	Age 1y	Age 5y	Age 8y	Age 12y	Age 15y			
Mother at least secondary	1.558*** [0.2664]	3.614*** [0.4195]	4.002*** [0.5316]	5.281*** [0.6808]	4.744*** [0.5107]			
Observations	3,762	3,762	3,762	3,762	3,762			
R-squared	0.4247	0.2235	0.1427	0.1582	0.1522			
Mean height	72.27	104.6	120.3	140.9	159			
Panel A.2								
	Young Lives: Older Cohort							
			Age 8y	Age 12y	Age 15y	Age 19y	Age 22y	
Mother at least secondary			3.638*** [0.4526]	4.778*** [0.5961]	5.111*** [0.5342]	3.182*** [0.3900]	2.771*** [0.3530]	
Observations			1,497	1,497	1,497	1,497	1,497	
R-squared			0.0950	0.1132	0.0992	0.1137	0.1323	
Mean height			118.5	140	156.4	166.5	167.6	
Panel B								
	CLHNS							
	Age 1y			Age 8y	Age 11y	Age 15y	Age 18y	Age 21y
Mother at least secondary	1.703*** (0.179)			3.443*** (0.559)	4.110*** (0.698)	3.899*** (0.603)	2.658*** (0.536)	2.579*** (0.565)
Observations	748			748	748	748	748	748
R-squared	0.069			0.073	0.175	0.125	0.067	0.062
Mean height	71.46			117.6	132.1	158.1	162.3	162.8

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: This table presents OLS regression estimates of boy height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS). In YLS, secondary education is set = 1 when the mother has completed a number of years of schooling corresponding to the country-specific typical requirement, that is, 10 in Ethiopia, 12 in India, 11 in Peru and 9 in Vietnam. In CLHNS it is = 1 if the mother has completed at least 4 years of secondary school at the time of the first survey wave. Results in Panel A are estimated pooling all observations for boys from Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, for the Younger Cohort (born 2001/02, Panel A.1) and the Older Cohort (born 1994/95, Panel A.2).

Table 4: Association between early menarche and maternal schooling

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Panel A: DHS	India	Turkey	Gabon	Ghana	
Mother at least secondary	0.030*** (0.007)	0.017 (0.052)	0.192 (0.128)	0.146 (0.095)	
Observations	63,989	862	541	409	
R-squared	0.000	0.000	0.007	0.014	
Mean of dependent variable	0.200	0.306	0.197	0.064	
Age range	15-17	15-17	15-19	15-19	
Panel B: YLS and CLHNS	Ethiopia	India	Peru	Vietnam	Philippines
Mother at least secondary	0.024 (0.029)	0.191* (0.106)	0.106** (0.046)	0.204*** (0.044)	0.182*** (0.034)
Observations	1,163	1,301	1,135	1,328	787
R-squared	0.02	0.057	0.091	0.126	0.154
Mean of dependent variable	0.03	0.32	0.55	0.34	0.41

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS, YLS (both cohorts), and CLHNS data.

Notes: The dependent variable is a dummy = 1 if the individual had menarche before 13 years of age. See Appendix A.1 for additional details on data construction for DHS. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for age in months. In the DHS estimates, we control for country binary variables, while in the YLS data, for whether the child is from the Younger Cohort. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit (PSU) of residence (in DHS), or the PSU in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS). In YLS, secondary education is set = 1 when the mother has completed a number of years of schooling corresponding to the country-specific typical requirement, that is, 10 in Ethiopia, 12 in India, 11 in Peru and 9 in Vietnam. In CLHNS it is = 1 if the mother has completed at least 4 years of secondary school at the time of the first survey wave.

Table 5: YLS: A Model of Growth Velocity and maternal schooling

	(1) Boys		(2) Girls	
	Low schooling	Sec. schooling	Low schooling	Sec. schooling
Intercept (Height at 6 months, h_6)	61.0718 (0.15201)	61.6517 (0.26354)	55.6757 (0.69938)	59.4736 (0.47361)
Total growth up to adult height (δ)	105.8816 (0.18033)	106.3238 (0.32247)	99.2212 (0.70180)	96.4303 (0.49974)
Initial growth velocity (α)	0.9869 (0.01432)	1.0933 (0.02532)	1.7036 (0.10908)	1.2080 (0.05174)
Slope of velocity curve:				
- $t \leq t_1$: Early childhood (β_1)	-0.0106 (0.00040)	-0.0127 (0.00071)	-0.0757 (0.00856)	-0.0189 (0.00202)
- $t_1 < t \leq t_2$: Before AGS (β_2)	-0.0011 (0.00007)	-0.0009 (0.00013)	-0.0038 (0.00009)	-0.0030 (0.00031)
- $t_2 < t \leq t_3$: AGS (β_3)	0.0070 (0.00027)	0.0182 (0.00120)	0.0168 (0.00060)	0.0135 (0.00083)
- $t_3 < t \leq t_4$: End of growth (β_4)	-0.0109 (0.00009)	-0.0143 (0.00022)	-0.0071 (0.00005)	-0.0067 (0.00004)
Kinks (months)				
- t_1 : End of early childhood	47	47	14	32
- t_2 : Start of AGS	143	148	108	93
- t_3 : AGS Peak	170	161	122	106
- t_4 : Adult height	223	207	206	198
Root MSE	6.8750	6.1726	6.6904	5.5289
Observations	23,776	5,037	22,112	4,928
No. children	5,010	1,057	4,673	1,033

Source: Authors' calculations from pooled YLS data.

Notes: The table shows the estimates of the model described in Section 4.1.1, and illustrated graphically in Figure 7. AGS indicates the adolescent growth spurt.

Table 6: YLS: Behavioral determinants of growth during adolescence

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Girls		Boys	
Height at age 8	0.420***	0.421***	0.491***	0.489***
	[0.0347]	[0.0346]	[0.0262]	[0.0261]
Mother at least secondary	0.251	-0.827	0.886**	-0.542
	[0.4064]	[0.9704]	[0.3713]	[0.9726]
Married, cohabitating or child before age 17	-1.048	-1.058	-2.390**	-2.790***
	[0.6131]	[0.6205]	[0.8657]	[0.7664]
Low sleep at age 12 and/or 15	-0.213	-0.260	-0.126	-0.170
	[0.3122]	[0.3677]	[0.4378]	[0.4425]
High work at age 12 and/or 15	-0.413	-0.588	-0.392	-0.534
	[0.4522]	[0.5420]	[0.4472]	[0.5289]
Low dietary diversity at age 12 and/or 15	-0.033	-0.185	-0.349	-0.336
	[0.3290]	[0.3171]	[0.3461]	[0.3566]
Risky behaviors at age 15	-0.132	-0.142	-0.135	-0.479
	[0.4216]	[0.4711]	[0.2904]	[0.3472]
Married or child before 17×Mother at least secondary		0.435		3.451***
		[1.7476]		[1.1873]
Low sleep×Mother at least secondary		0.319		0.389
		[0.6013]		[0.7517]
High Work×Mother at least secondary		0.883		0.986
		[0.8675]		[1.0457]
Low dietary diversity×Mother at least secondary		0.640		-0.080
		[0.6453]		[0.5773]
Risky behaviors×Mother at least secondary		0.073		1.796**
		[0.6997]		[0.8324]
Observations	1,494	1,494	1,497	1,497
R-squared	0.3540	0.3549	0.3561	0.3589
Mean dependent variable (height at age 22)	155.3	155.3	167.6	167.6

Source: Authors' calculations from the Young Lives older cohort. The dependent variable is height (in cms.) at 22y. All regressions also include fixed effects for child age (in months) and country. Standard errors clustered at community in the first round. 'Married or child before 17y' is a binary variable = 1 if the child was married or cohabiting, or a had a child before 17y. 'Low sleep' is a binary variable = 1 if the child sleeps on a typical weekday in the previous week less than the age-specific minimum recommended by the National Sleep Foundation society for recommended sleep time duration at different ages (Hirshkowitz et al. 2015). Such recommendations are 9-11 hours for school-age children 6-13y, and 8-10 hours for teenagers 14-17y. 'High work' is a binary variable = 1 if daily hours worked on a typical weekday in the previous week at least equal to the median of each round and cohort (that is, 2.25 hours for 12y, and 3hrs for 15y). This includes any type of work (self-employment, wage employment, housework). 'Low dietary diversity' is binary and = 1 if the child has not consumed in the previous day more than four food groups (excluding fats). The variable is defined based on WHO/UNICEF guidelines on minimum dietary diversity (World Health Organization 2017). 'Risky behaviours' is binary and = 1 if child engages at least once a month in drinking or smoking at 15 years. Asterisks denote statistical significance, with *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table 7: YLS: Are high-SES children more likely to marry early if they reach adulthood young?

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Girls		Boys	
Panel A: early menarche/puberty				
Early menarche/puberty	0.063** [0.0227]	0.073*** [0.0253]	-0.012** [0.0048]	-0.012** [0.0048]
Mother at least secondary	-0.071*** [0.0114]	-0.057*** [0.0112]	-0.001 [0.0053]	-0.001 [0.0072]
Menarche/puberty×Mother at least secondary		-0.048 [0.0314]		0.002 [0.0081]
Observations	1,494	1,494	1,497	1,497
R-squared	0.0650	0.0655	0.1335	0.1336
Early marriage (mean)	0.116	0.116	0.00601	0.00601
Early puberty (mean)	0.202	0.202	0.202	0.202
Panel B: height at age 8				
Prepubertal height (8 years)	0.004** [0.0015]	0.005*** [0.0016]	0.000 [0.0002]	0.000 [0.0002]
Mother at least secondary	-0.075*** [0.0111]	0.759*** [0.2188]	-0.002 [0.0050]	-0.061 [0.0953]
Prepubertal height×Mother at least secondary		-0.007*** [0.0018]		0.000 [0.0008]
Observations	1,494	1,494	1,497	1,497
R-squared	0.0660	0.0678	0.1305	0.1307
Early marriage (mean)	0.116	0.116	0.00601	0.00601
Height at 8 years (mean)	117.9	117.9	118.5	118.5

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives older cohort. The dependent variable is binary = 1 if the child was married or cohabiting, or a had a child before 17y. Early menarche is binary and = 1 if the girl had menarche before 13y. Early puberty is binary and = 1 if the boy had hair on chin or a voice break before 14y. All regressions also include fixed effects for child age in months and country. Standard errors clustered at community in the first round. Asterisks denote statistical significance, with *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

A Appendix

A.1 Construction of DHS Data on Age at Menarche

In this section we describe the construction of the data used to produce the results in panel A of Table 4. Most of the DHS listed in Table A.1 do not include data on age at menarche. Among those that do, the question is usually only available for very young women. In addition, our preferred proxy of SES, maternal education, is only available if the woman still co-resides with her mother. To identify which DHS have data on age at menarche we used a list made available in 2018 in the DHS Program User Forum, see <https://userforum.dhsprogram.com/index.php?t=msg&th=5716>, (accessed June 6, 2020). We exclude surveys that did not measure women’s height, given that the corresponding data were not used to produce the results we describe in the paper. In the end, we only use data from Gabon (2000), Ghana (1998), India (2015-16), and Turkey (2013).²⁵

A.1.1 Gabon (2000)

Age at menarche was recorded for all women 15-49, but parental education is as usual only available for women cohabiting with their mothers. Data about age at menarche are included in variable `s252` in the ‘individual recode’ file (`gair41dt.zip`). In the household roster parents are identified only for girls below 15. In order to impute maternal schooling to young girls we thus use only information from unmarried daughters of the household head, dropping women 20 or older, or those from polygynous households (for whom this matching scheme cannot be used). Information on maternal schooling is then derived from the ‘person recode’ file (`gapr41dt.zip`).

A.1.2 Ghana (1998)

The data structure is similar to that of Gabon (2000). Hence, the regression is run for young girls < 20 years of age, unmarried and still cohabiting with their mother, and who are daughters of the head of a non-polygynous household. Data about age at menarche are included in variable `s520` in the ‘individual recode’ file (`ghir41dt.zip`).

A.1.3 India (2015-16)

Age at menarche was recorded for women 15-24 or younger, but parental education is only available for girls 15-17, and only if they were still cohabiting with their parents. This latter condition held for > 90% of them. Age at menarche is recorded in variable `s256` in the ‘individual recode’ file (`iair74dt.zip`), while maternal schooling is derived from the ‘person recode’ file (`iapr74dt.zip`), using the identifiers linking each household member to her/his parents. The identifiers for the father and mother are only present for women below the age of 18 who are still co-residing with them.

A.1.4 Turkey (2013)

Age at menarche was recorded for all women 15-49, but parental education is as usual only available for women cohabiting with their mothers. In the regressions we use only data from girls 15-17 for comparability and to reduce recall error and missing data on maternal schooling. Data about age at menarche are included in variable `s235` in the ‘individual recode’ file (`trir62dt.zip`), while information on maternal schooling is derived from the ‘person recode’ file (`trpr62dt.zip`), using the identifiers linking each household member to her/his parents (when cohabiting).

²⁵Age at menarche is also recorded in Kyrgyz Republic (1998), Morocco (2003-04), and Yemen (2013). However, in the Kyrgyz Republic, it was recorded only for women 15 or above, while the mother’s identifier was recorded only for girls below 15. In Morocco and Yemen, age at menarche was recorded only for ever married women. Given that married women can be linked to maternal education only if they are still cohabiting—and very few are—we do not use data from these surveys.

A.2 Construction of variables related to behavioral mechanisms

This section describes the construction of the data used to estimate the results in Tables 6 and 7. The data are pooled across countries data and only include the older cohort of Young Lives. ‘Married or child before 17 years’ is a binary variable = 1 if the the child was married or cohabiting, or a had a child before 17 years. ‘Low sleep’ is a binary variable = 1 if the child at 12 years and/or 15 years slept on a typical weekday in the previous week less than the age-specific minimum recommended by the *National Sleep Foundation society for recommended sleep time duration at different ages* (Hirshkowitz et al. 2015). Such recommendations are 9-11 hours for school-age children between 6-13 years, and 8-10 hours for adolescents aged 14-17 years. ‘High work’ is a binary variable = 1 if daily hours worked on a typical weekday in the previous week at 12 years and/or 15 years are at least equal to the median of each round and cohort (that is, 2.25 hours for 12-year-olds, and 3hrs for 15-year-olds). Child work includes any type of work, including self-employment in the family farm or business, wage employment, and housework and care activities. ‘Low dietary diversity’ is binary and = 1 if the child at 12 and/or 15 years has not consumed in the previous day more than four food groups (excluding fats) out of seven food groups. The variable is defined based on WHO/UNICEF guidelines on minimum dietary diversity for children (World Health Organization 2017). ‘Risky behaviors’ is binary and = 1 if child engaged at least once in a month in either drinking or smoking at 15 years. Data on these indicators were collected through a self-administered questionnaire to avoid under-reporting and increase confidentiality. The risky behavior variable is constructed from information on whether the adolescent drinks every day, at least once a week, or at least once a month, or smokes every day, every week, or sometimes. The cutoff of engaging in these behaviors at least once a month (as opposed to hardly ever and never for smoking, and on special occasions, hardly ever, and never for alcohol consumption) is based on the cutoff used by the WHO in its Global Youth Tobacco Surveys <https://www.who.int/teams/noncommunicable-diseases/surveillance/systems-tools/global-youth-tobacco-survey>, and relevant literature on alcohol consumption among adolescents in LMICs (Ma et al. 2018).

A.3 Derivation of the Model for Height

Let $t_0 = 0$ (that is, the beginning of the first period is at birth, or zero months), and let h_0 denote length at birth. Using equation (2), height at age t , $t \leq t_1$ can thus be written as

$$\begin{aligned}
 h_1 &= h_0 + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{1, t_1\} - 1) = h_0 + \alpha \\
 h_2 &= h_1 + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{2, t_1\} - 1) = h_0 + \alpha + \alpha + \beta_1 = h_0 + 2\alpha + \beta_1 \\
 h_3 &= h_2 + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{3, t_1\} - 1) = h_0 + 2\alpha + \beta_1 + \alpha + 2\beta_1 = h_0 + 3\alpha + (1 + 2)\beta_1 \\
 &\dots \\
 h_t &= h_0 + t\alpha + \beta_1 \sum_{s=1}^{t-1} s = h_0 + t\alpha + \frac{t(t-1)}{2}\beta_1, \quad t \leq t_1,
 \end{aligned} \tag{6}$$

where the last step follows from the property that the sum of the first m integers can be written as $m(m-1)/2$. Height measured at the time of the end of the fast growth period in early childhood can thus be written as

$$h_{t_1} = h_0 + t_1\alpha + \frac{t_1(t_1-1)}{2}\beta_1. \tag{8}$$

Next, using this result together with equation (2), we can write down height in the first period of

the interval between t_1 and t_2 as

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_1+1} &= h_{t_1} + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{t_1 + 1, t_1\} - 1) + \beta_2 (\min\{t_1 + 1, t_2\} - t_1) \\
&= h_0 + t_1\alpha + \frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2}\beta_1 + \alpha + \beta_1(t_1 - 1) + \beta_2(t_1 + 1 - t_1) \\
&= h_0 + (t_1 + 1)\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \beta_2,
\end{aligned}$$

while at time $t_1 + 2$:

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_1+2} &= h_{t_1+1} + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{t_1 + 2, t_1\} - 1) + \beta_2 (\min\{t_1 + 2, t_2\} - t_1) \\
&= h_0 + (t_1 + 1)\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \beta_2 + \alpha + \beta_1(t_1 - 1) + 2\beta_2 \\
&= h_0 + (t_1 + 2)\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + \underbrace{2}_{=t-t_1}(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + (1 + 2)\beta_2 \\
&= h_0 + \left(\underbrace{t_1 + 2}_{=t} \right) \alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + (1 + 2)\beta_2.
\end{aligned}$$

Iterating further it is straightforward (if tedious) to see that for $t_1 < t \leq t_2$

$$h_t = h_0 + t\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \frac{(t - t_1)(t - t_1 + 1)}{2}\beta_2 \quad (9)$$

and in particular

$$h_{t_2} = h_0 + t_2\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_2 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2}\beta_2. \quad (10)$$

From equations (2) and (10) we can now see that in the first month of the third interval we have

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_2+1} &= h_{t_2} + \alpha + \beta_1 (\min\{t_2 + 1, t_1\} - 1) + \beta_2 (\min\{t_2 + 1, t_2\} - t_1) + \beta_3 (\min\{t_2 + 1, t_3\} - t_2) \\
&= h_0 + t_2\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_2 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2}\beta_2 \\
&\quad + \alpha + \beta_1(t_1 - 1) + \beta_2(t_2 - t_1) + \beta_3(t - t_2) \\
&= h_0 + (t_2 + 1)\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_2 + 1 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 + \beta_3 \\
&= h_0 + t\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 + \beta_3
\end{aligned}$$

while in the next period $t = t_2 + 2$

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_2+2} &= h_{t_2+1} + \alpha + \beta_1(\min\{t_2 + 2, t_1\} - 1) + \beta_2(\min\{t_2 + 2, t_2\} - t_1) + \beta_3(\min\{t_2 + 2, t_3\} - t_2) \\
&= h_0 + (t_2 + 1)\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_2 + 1 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 + \beta_3 + \alpha + \beta_1(t_1 - 1) + \beta_2(t_2 - t_1) + \beta_3(t_2 + 2 - t_2) \\
&= h_0 + t\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + 2(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 + (1 + 2)\beta_3.
\end{aligned}$$

Continuing the iteration, height at age t , with $t_2 < t \leq t_3$ can be written as

$$\begin{aligned}
h_t &= h_0 + t\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\
&\quad + \frac{(t - t_2)(t - t_2 + 1)}{2} \beta_3
\end{aligned} \tag{11}$$

and in the last month of the third period (that is, at the peak of the AGS) we have

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_3} &= h_0 + t_3\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_3 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_3 - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\
&\quad + \frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} \beta_3.
\end{aligned} \tag{12}$$

Using a similar procedure, we can see that during the last interval, for $t_3 < t \leq t_4$, we have

$$\begin{aligned}
h_t &= h_0 + t\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} + (t - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \right] \beta_3 + \frac{(t - t_3)(t - t_3 + 1)}{2} \beta_4,
\end{aligned} \tag{13}$$

so that at t_4 , when adult height is achieved we have

$$\begin{aligned}
h_{t_4} &= h_0 + t_4\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \right] \beta_3 + \frac{(t_4 - t_3)(t_4 - t_3 + 1)}{2} \beta_4.
\end{aligned}$$

This also implies that for individuals who have already achieved adult height we have

$$h_{t_4} = h_0 + \delta$$

where

$$\begin{aligned}
\delta &= t_4\alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\
&\quad + \left[\frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \right] \beta_3 + \frac{(t_4 - t_3)(t_4 - t_3 + 1)}{2} \beta_4.
\end{aligned}$$

From a comparisons of equations (7), (9), (11), and (13), it follows that height at any age can be written as

$$h_t = h_0 + \alpha 1(t \leq t_4)t + \beta_1 v_1 + \beta_2 v_2 + \beta_3 v_3 + \beta_4 v_4 + \delta 1(t > t_4),$$

where the v functions are deterministic functions of age and/or the location of the kinks:

$$\begin{aligned} v_1 &= 1(t \leq t_4) \frac{\min(t, t_1)(\min(t, t_1) - 1)}{2} + 1(t_1 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \\ v_2 &= 1(t_1 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(\min(t, t_2) - t_1)(\min(t, t_2) - t_1 + 1)}{2} + 1(t_2 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \\ v_3 &= 1(t_2 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(\min(t, t_3) - t_2)(\min(t, t_3) - t_2 + 1)}{2} + 1(t_3 < t \leq t_4)(t - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \\ v_4 &= 1(t_3 < t \leq t_4) \frac{(t - t_3)(t - t_3 + 1)}{2} \end{aligned}$$

and where the two following constraints must hold:

$$\begin{aligned} &\alpha + \beta_1(t_1 - 1) + \beta_2(t_2 - t_1) + \beta_3(t_3 - t_2) + \beta_4(t_4 - t_3) = 0, \\ \delta &= t_4 \alpha + \left[\frac{t_1(t_1 - 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_1)(t_1 - 1) \right] \beta_1 + \left[\frac{(t_2 - t_1)(t_2 - t_1 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_2)(t_2 - t_1) \right] \beta_2 \\ &\quad + \left[\frac{(t_3 - t_2)(t_3 - t_2 + 1)}{2} + (t_4 - t_3)(t_3 - t_2) \right] \beta_3 + \frac{(t_4 - t_3)(t_4 - t_3 + 1)}{2} \beta_4. \end{aligned}$$

The first constraint imposes that growth must be equal to zero when adult height is reached at time $t = t_4$, while the second imposes that height is constant (and equal to adult height) for any age larger than t_4 .

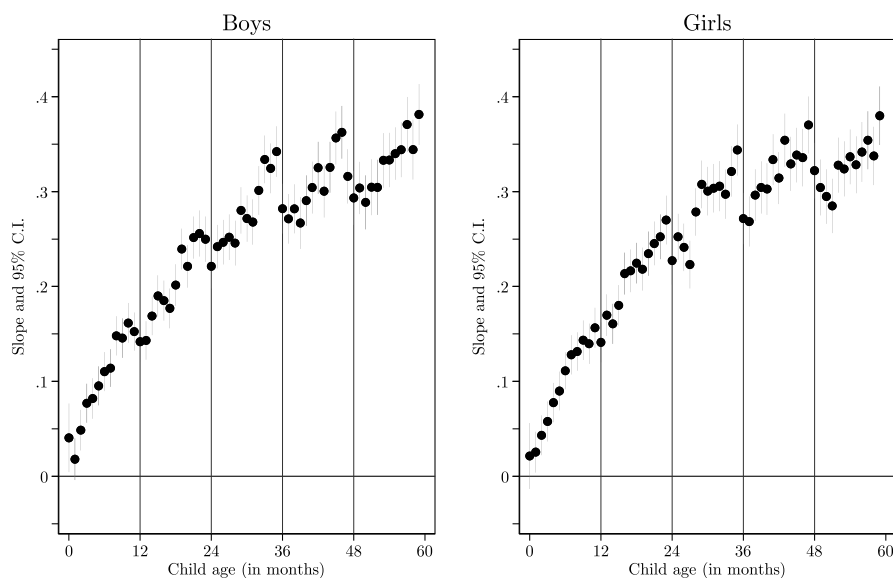


Figure A.1: DHS Child height vs maternal years of education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cms) on the number of years of schooling of the mother, with fixed effects for country and year of measurement. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,612,412$.

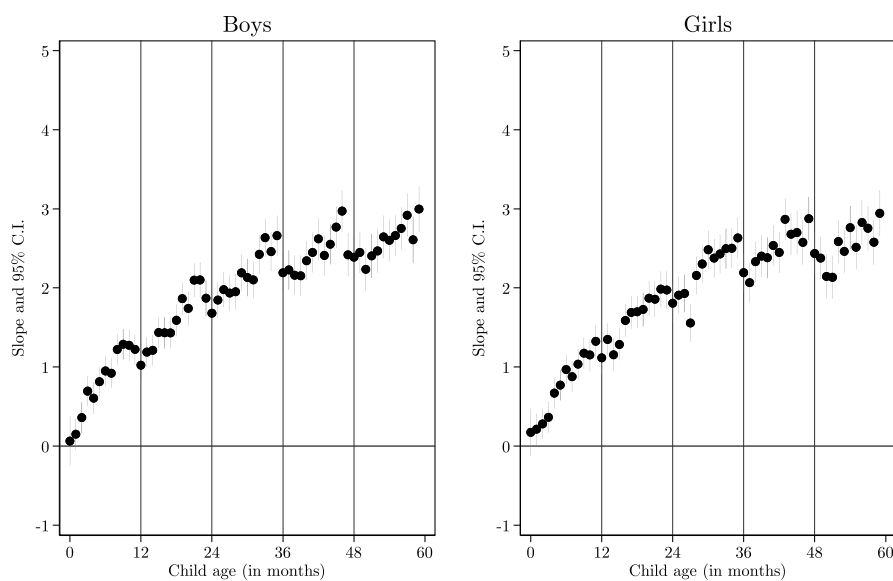


Figure A.2: DHS: Child height vs. maternal primary schooling

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has at least completed primary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,570,217$.

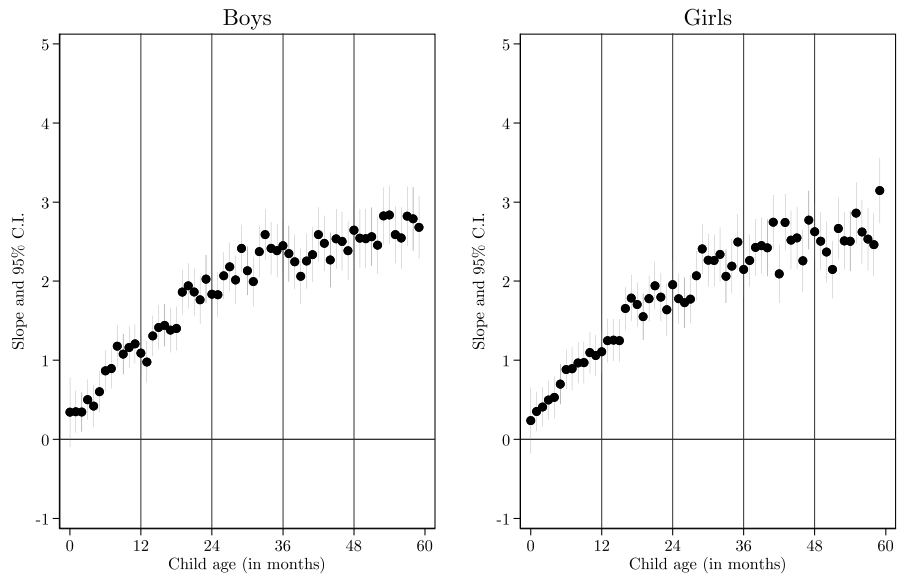


Figure A.3: DHS: Child height vs. paternal education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the father has at least a secondary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,273,092$.

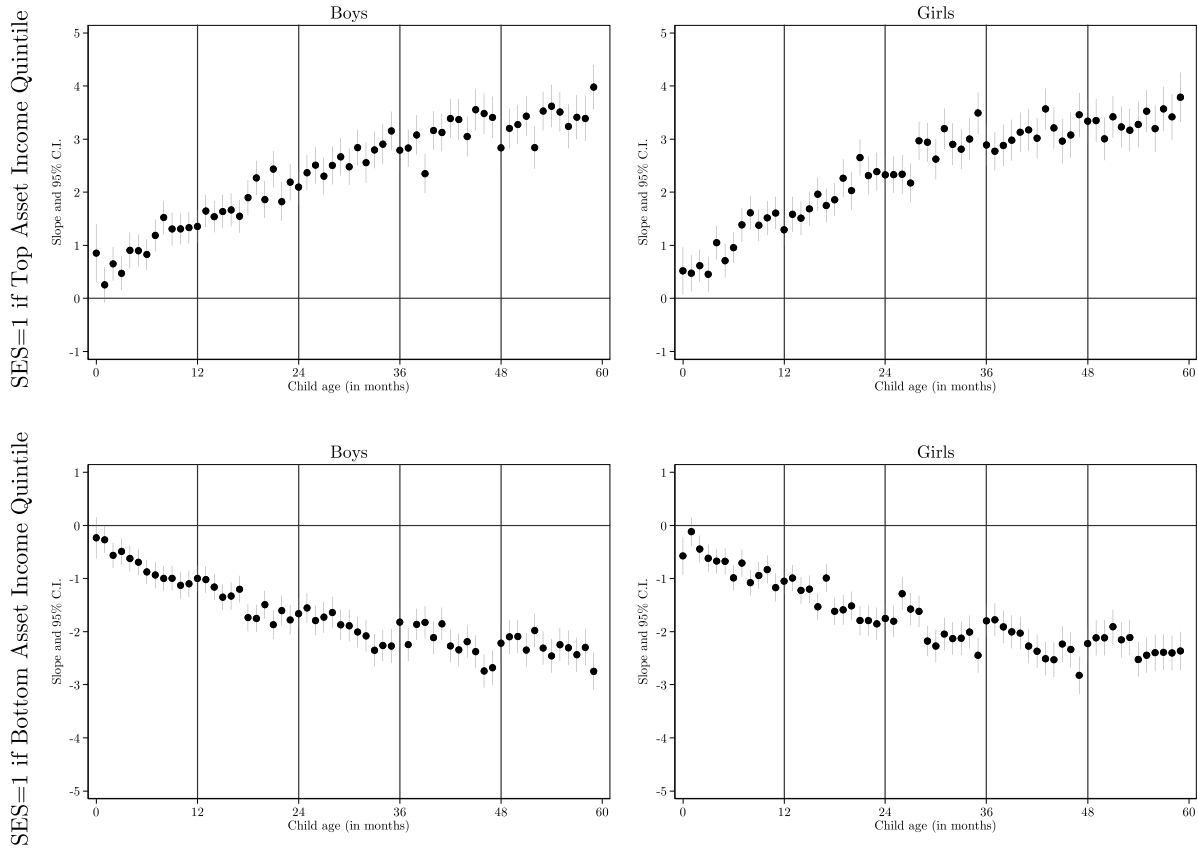


Figure A.4: DHS: Child height vs. Asset Index Quintile

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the child lives in a household with an asset index in the top quintile (figures at the top) or in the bottom one (figures below). The asset indexes are country and survey specific and are estimated extracting the first principal component from a list of measures of asset ownership and dwelling quality. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include country and year of measurement fixed effects. The confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,129,523$ (sample size is smaller than when we use maternal education as proxy for SES because not all surveys include the asset index).

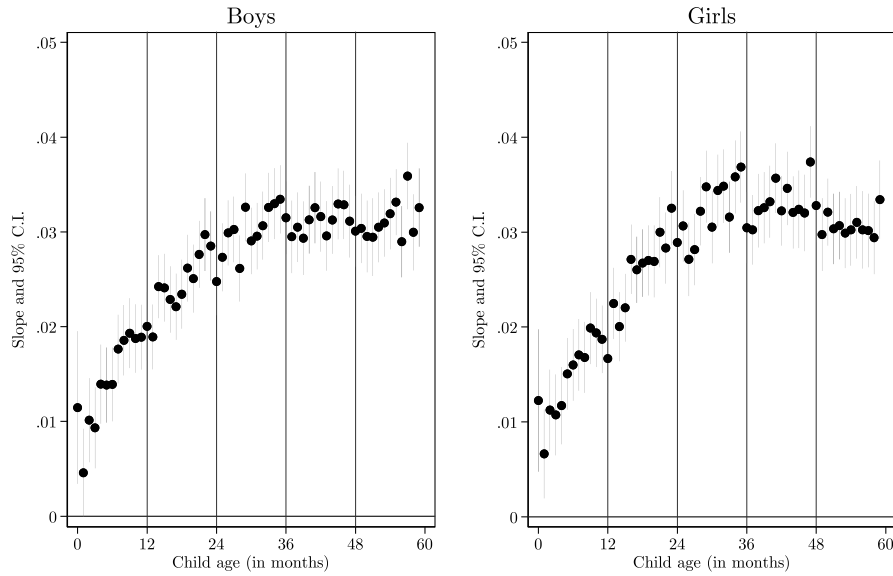


Figure A.5: DHS: Child (log) height vs. maternal education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of the logarithm of child height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education, as well as country and year of measurement fixed effects. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,570,217$.

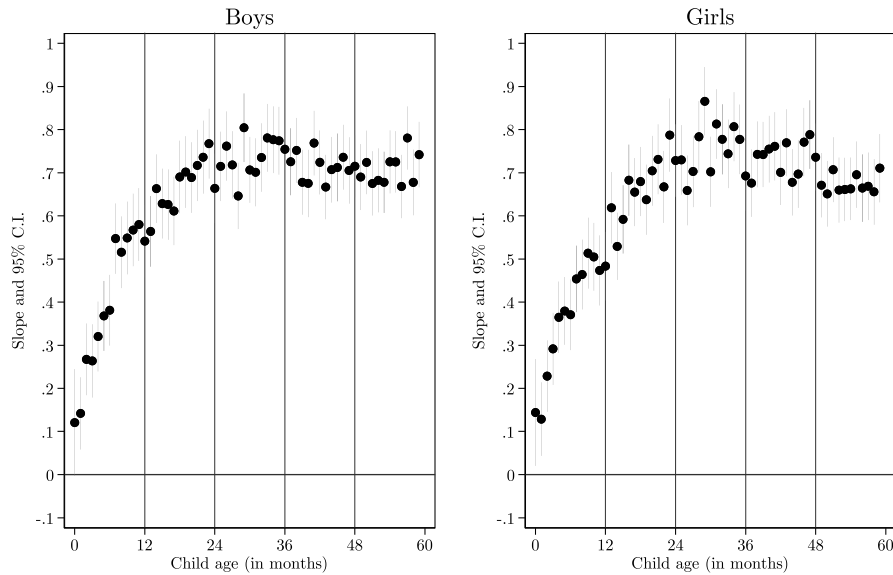


Figure A.6: DHS: Child HAZ vs. maternal education

Source: Authors' calculations from DHS data. For each age (in months) the figure shows the point estimate and a 95% confidence interval of the slope of a regression, estimated with OLS, of child height-for-age z-scores (HAZ) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has completed at least secondary education, as well as country and year of measurement fixed effects. HAZ are stored in variables `hw5` (CDC-WHO77 growth charts) and `hw70` (HO2006 charts) in DHS data. All estimates do not use sampling weights, and the confidence intervals are calculated allowing for correlation of residuals within each survey primary stage unit. Total sample size is $n = 1,495,572$.

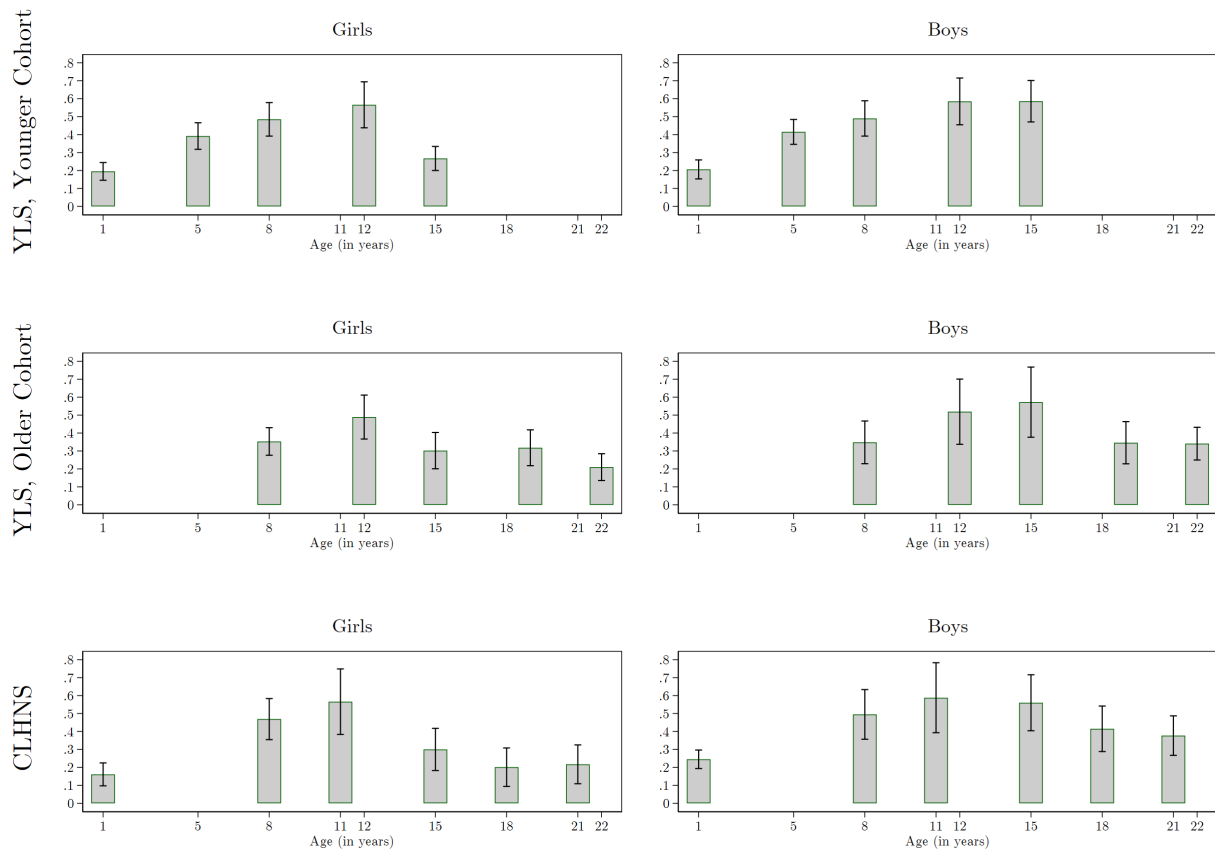


Figure A.7: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - Maternal years of schooling

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height (in cms) on maternal years of schooling. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

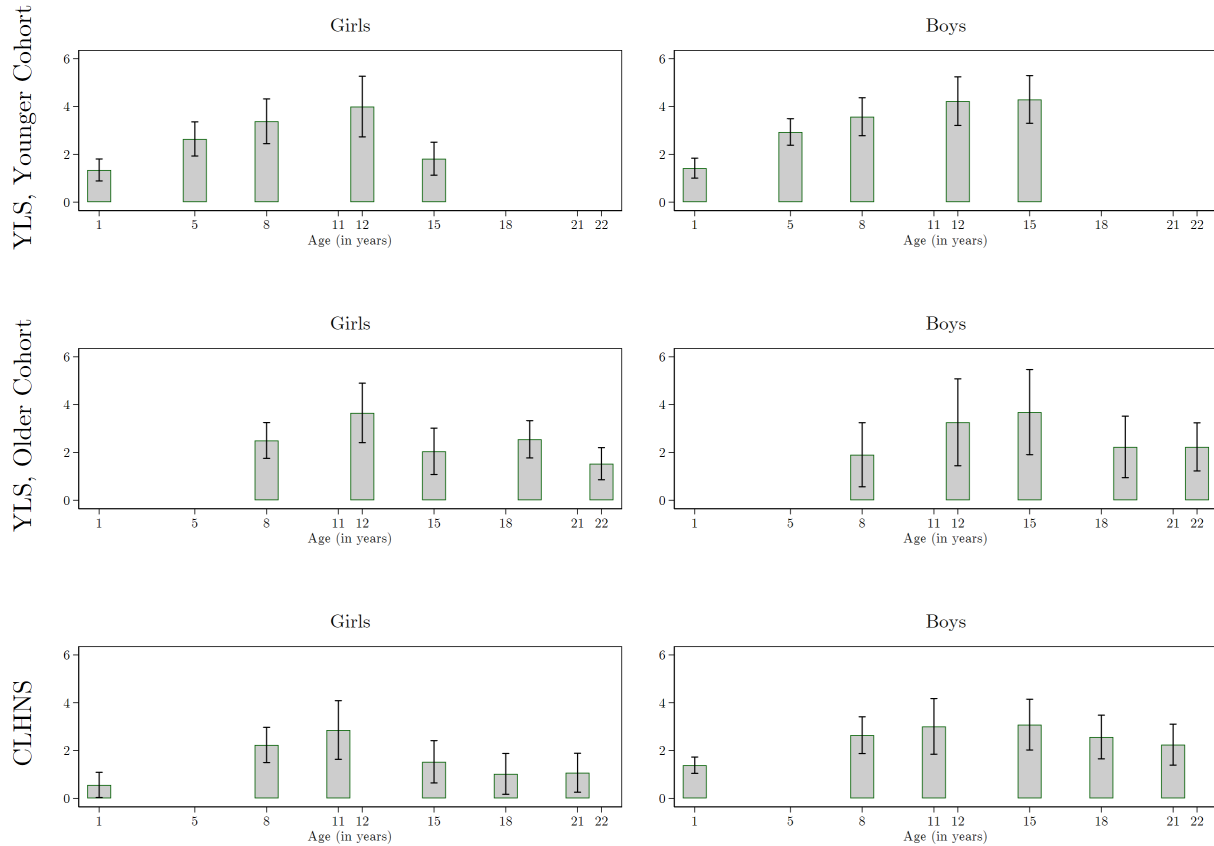


Figure A.8: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - Mom at least Primary Education

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the mother has at least completed primary schooling. For YLS, completed primary education is a binary variable equal to 1 if the mom completed the following years of education: 6 in Ethiopia and Peru, 5 in India and Vietnam. For CLHNS, completed primary education is a binary variable equal to 1 if the mom completed at least 6 years of primary education. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

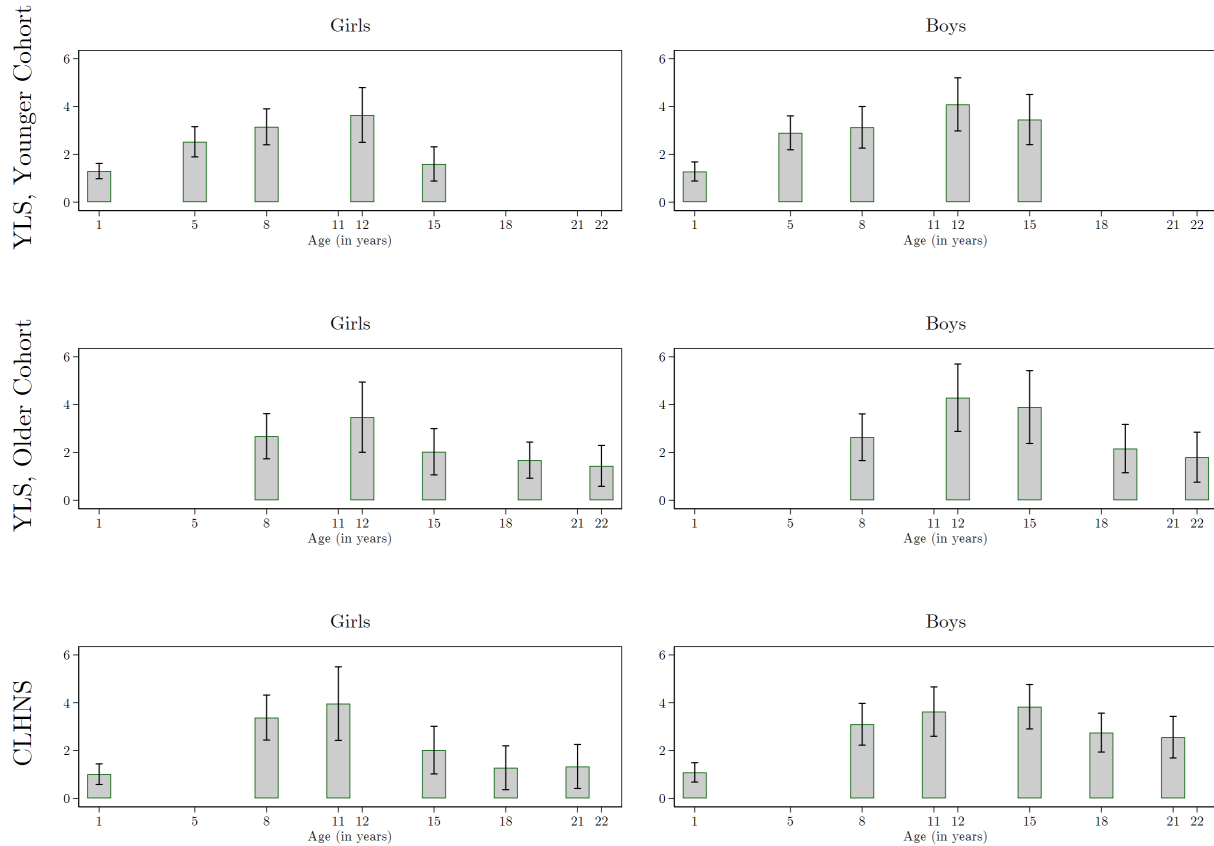


Figure A.9: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - Father at least secondary

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the father has at least completed secondary schooling. In YLS, secondary education is set = 1 when the mother has completed a number of years of schooling corresponding to the country-specific requirements, that is, 10 in Ethiopia, 12 in India, 11 in Peru and 9 in Vietnam. In CLHNS, secondary education is equal to 1 when the father has completed at least four years of high school. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

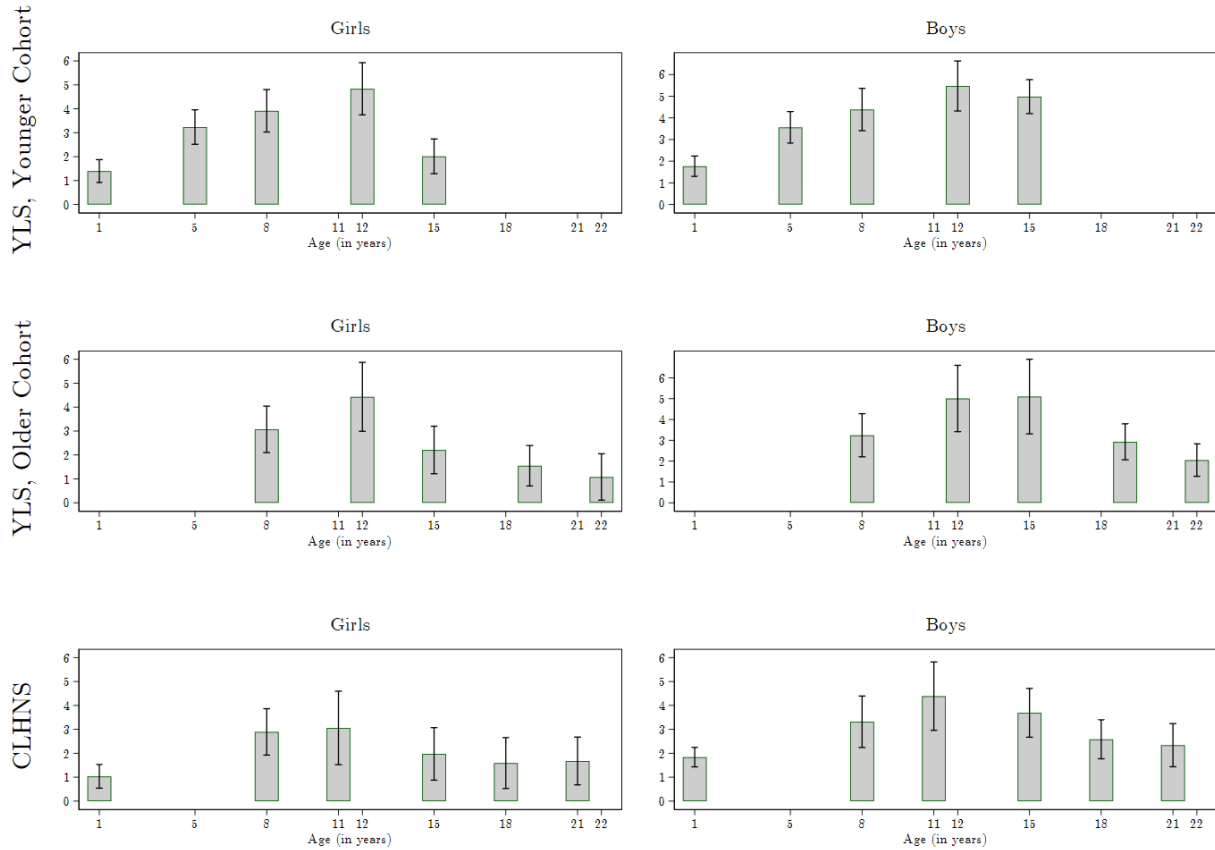


Figure A.10: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - Top Wealth Quintile

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the child lives in a household whose asset index at birth is in the 1st quintile. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

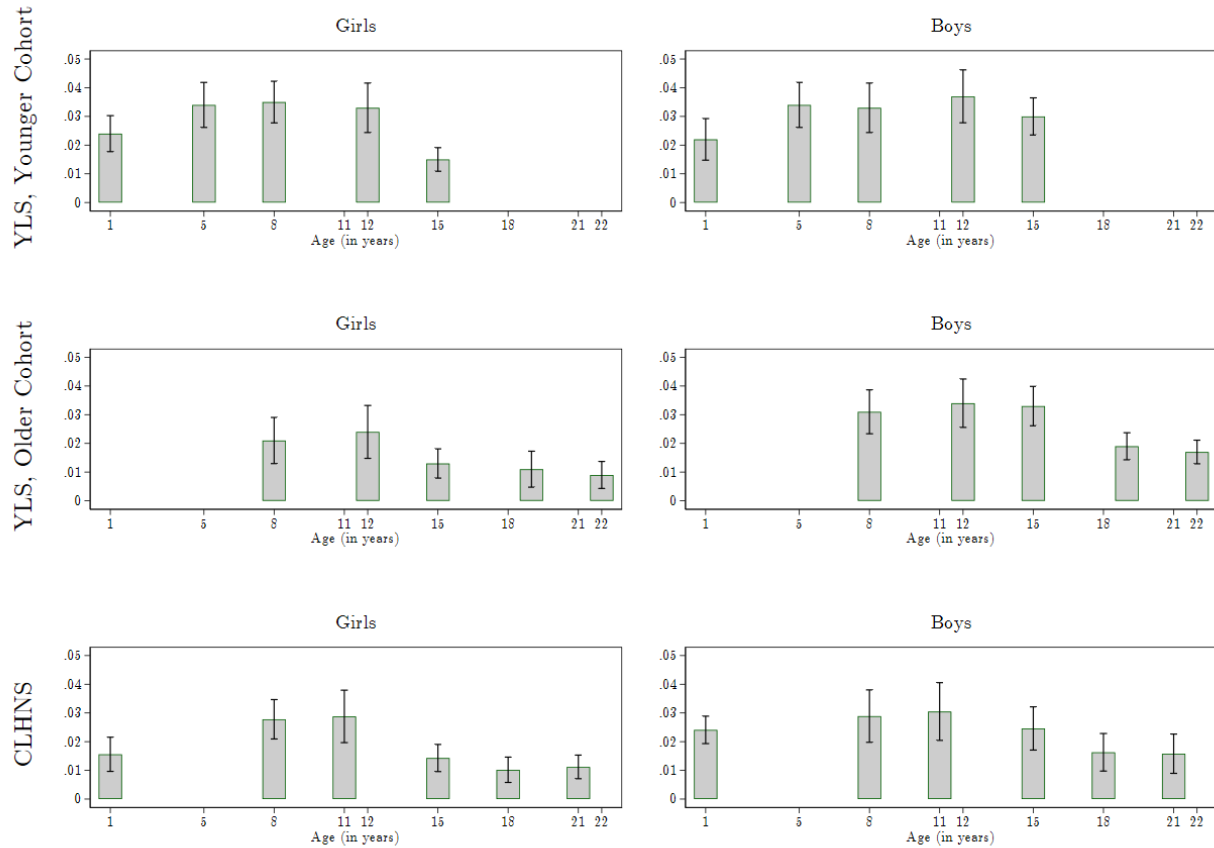


Figure A.11: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - log Height

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of the logarithm of height (in cms) on a dummy variable equal to one if the child's mother completed at least secondary schooling. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS).

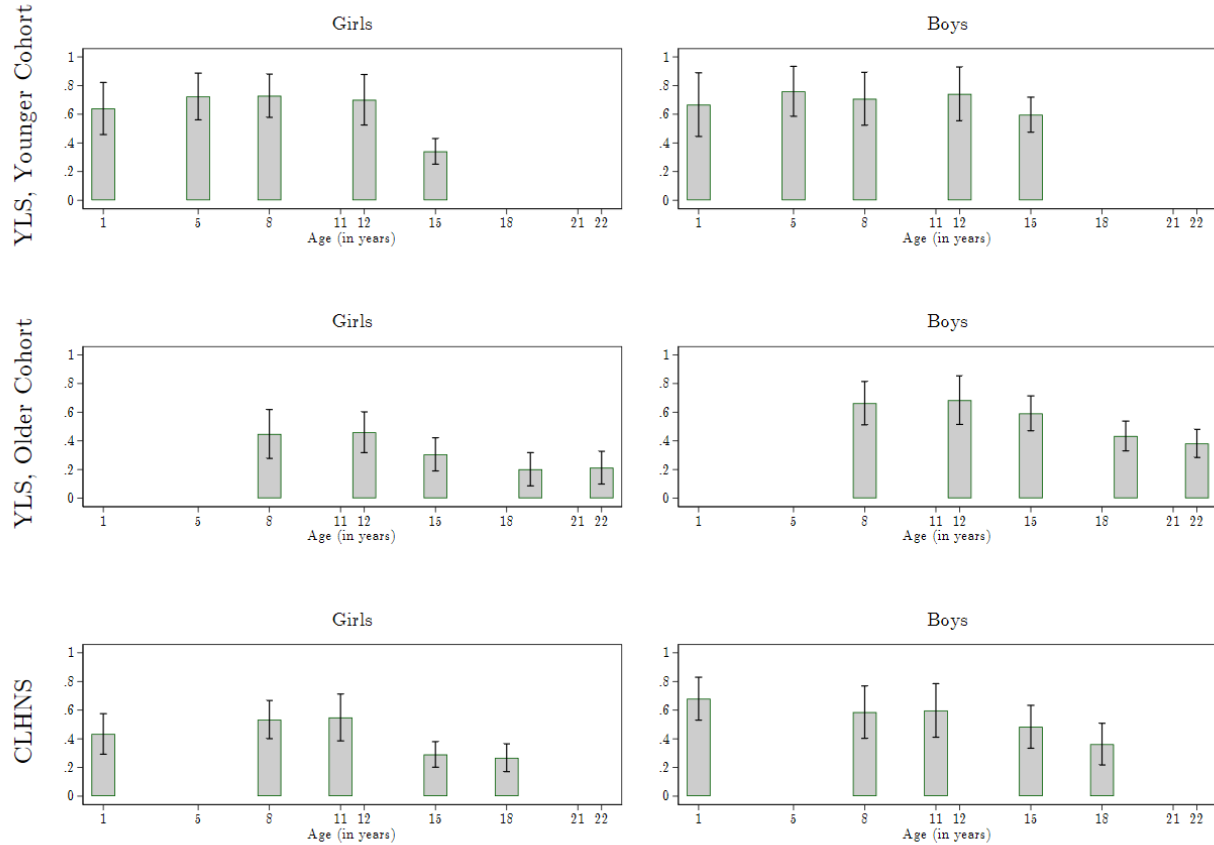


Figure A.12: YLS and CLHNS, Age Profile of SES Gradient - z-score height

Source: Authors' calculations from Young Lives and Cebu Longitudinal Health and Nutrition Survey.

Notes: Each bar shows the point estimate and the 95% confidence interval of an age and sex-specific OLS regression of height-for-age (HAZ) z-scores on a dummy variable equal to one if the child's mother completed at least secondary schooling. For YLS, completed primary education is a binary variable equal to 1 if the mom completed the following years of education: 6 in Ethiopia and Peru, 5 in India and Vietnam. All estimates do not use sampling weights and include dummies for country and age in months. Standard errors are clustered at the level of primary stage unit of residence in the first wave ('sentinel site' in YLS and *barangay*—district or village—in CLHNS). To construct HAZ in YLS, for the younger cohort, we used the WHO 2006 reference standards for children up to age 5, and the WHO Reference Standards for children aged 5–19 years. The WHO 2007 reference is a reconstruction of the 1977 US National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS). For the older cohort, we used the CDC US 2000 growth standards as these provide a reference for children up to 20 years. For individuals that were older than 20 years, we used cutoffs points related to 240 months. In robustness checks, we also employed the the WHO 2007 reference for children up to 19 years in the older cohort, and results are broadly similar.

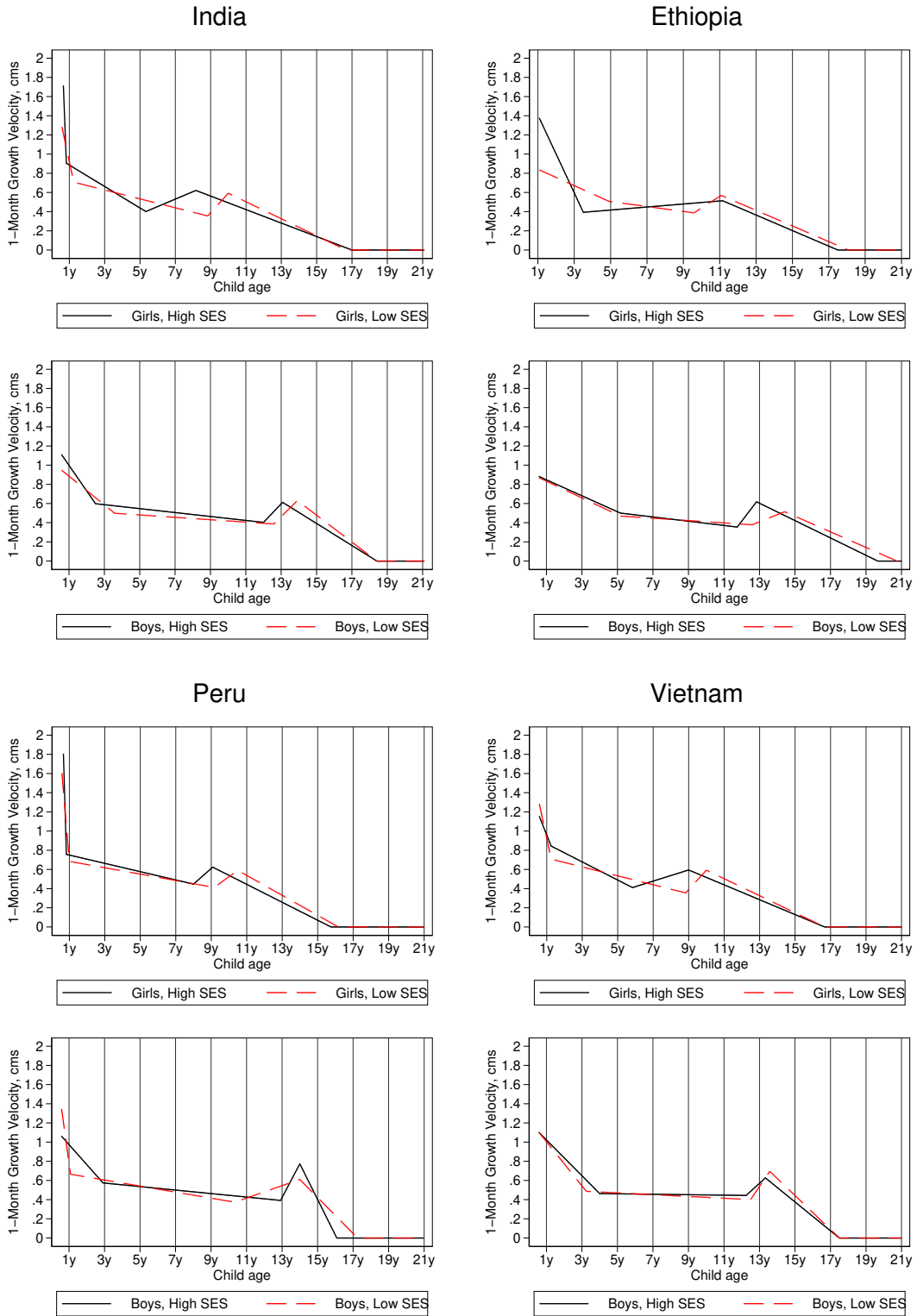


Figure A.13: YLS: Growth velocity curves by country, gender and maternal education

Source: Authors' calculations from YLS data. The lines show differences in height growth velocity between high-SES and low-SES children, as predicted by the piece-wise continuous regression model described in Section 4.1.1, estimated separately for boys and girls and for each YLS country. High-SES is binary and equal to one when the mother has completed at least secondary schooling.

(Continued)

Country	(1) Survey years	(2) File	(3) Age	(4) Obs.	(5) Height	(6) s.d.	(7) HAZ	(8) Stun- ted	(9) WHO HAZ ref.	(10) Mother ≥ sec.	(11) Years sch.	(12) Sam- ple
Tanzania	2009-2010	tz63	0-59	6953	81.3	13.9	-1.62	.4	New	.01	5	
Tanzania	2015-2016	tz7b	0-59	9049	82	13.8	-1.43	.34	New	.09	5.6	
Thailand	1987	th01	3-36	1862	77.8	9.1	-1.06	.19		.2	5.8	EM
Timor-Leste	2009-2010	tl61	0-59	8172	81.5	13.3	-2.08	.57	New	.14	5.7	
Timor-Leste	2016	tl71	0-59	6198	83.2	14.3	-1.53	.46	New	.27	7.2	
Togo	1988	tg01	0-36	1713	74.2	10.5	-1.29	.29		.09	1.8	
Togo	1998	tg31	0-35	3770	74	10.4	-1.02	.23		0	1.6	
Togo	2013-2014	tg61	0-59	3230	83.2	13.3	-1.26	.28	New	.01	3.1	
Trinidad Tob.	1987	tt01	3-36	847	80.8	10.1	-.25	.05		.5	7.7	
Tunisia	1988	tn01	3-36	2060	78.1	9.6	-.81	.18		.09	2.6	EM
Turkey	1993	tr31	0-59	3187	84.1	14	-.84	.19		.07	4.3	EM
Turkey	1998	tr41	0-59	2844	84.3	14.2	-.74	.17		.09	4.8	
Turkey	2003-2004	tr4a	0-59	4074	86.1	14.2	-.57	.14		.1	4.7	EM
Turkey	2013	tr62	0-59	2823	87.3	14.3	-.41	.1	New	.14	6.3	
Uganda	1988-1989	ug01	0-59	3737	79.4	13.8	-1.76	.43		.1	3.4	
Uganda	1995	ug33	0-47	4743	76.7	12	-1.47	.35		.06	4	
Uganda	2000-2001	ug41	0-59	5268	80.6	13.4	-1.58	.38		.01	4.2	
Uganda	2006	ug52	0-59	2420	81.6	13.7	-1.53	.38	New	0	4.1	
Uganda	2011	ug60	0-59	2107	82.1	13.9	-1.38	.32	New	.01	5.2	
Uganda	2016	ug7b	0-59	4455	83.4	14.1	-1.21	.28	New	.01	5.7	
Uzbekistan	1996	uz31	0-35	1092	75.4	11.6	-1.1	.31		.89	10.6	
Yemen, Rep.	1991-1992	ye21	0-59	2959	80	13.7	-1.5	.38		.02	1.3	EM
Yemen, Rep.	2013	ye61	0-59	14285	80.7	13.4	-1.83	.46	New			
Zambia	1992	zm21	0-59	5083	79.2	13.6	-1.7	.41		.02	5	
Zambia	1996-1997	zm31	0-59	5678	79.6	13.3	-1.77	.44		0	5.2	
Zambia	2001-2002	zm42	0-59	5643	79.5	13.4	-1.9	.47		.02	5	
Zambia	2007	zm51	0-59	5385	81.1	13.9	-1.65	.44	New	.03	5.5	
Zambia	2013-2014	zm61	0-59	11787	82.7	14	-1.57	.4	New	.06	6	
Zimbabwe	1988-1989	zw01	3-59	2477	84.4	13.1	-1.4	.29		.18	5	
Zimbabwe	1994	zw31	0-35	2143	74.4	10.6	-1.02	.22		0	6.4	
Zimbabwe	1999	zw42	0-59	2841	83	14.7	-1.07	.26		.21	7.3	
Zimbabwe	2005-2006	zw52	0-59	4206	82	14.7	-1.37	.34	New	0	7.6	
Zimbabwe	2010-2011	zw62	0-59	4409	80.5	14.1	-1.34	.31	New	.01	8.7	
Zimbabwe	2015	zw72	0-59	5001	83.6	14.5	-1.19	.26	New	.01	9.2	

Source: Authors' calculations from all DHS surveys available at the time of writing that contain measurements of child height.

Notes: each row shows summary statistics for children in a given country/survey. 'Survey years' (col. 1) refer to the years when the field work of the survey was completed. Col. 2 identifies the version of the 'child recode' used in the analysis (DHS data are sometimes updated, so updated versions may become available in the future). For instance, 'al50' indicates that data on child height from Albania in 2008-09 were extracted from file alkr50dt.zip. All files have been downloaded, after obtaining permission, from [the DHS web site](#). Col. 3 shows the range of child ages (in months) whose height was measured, while Col. 4 shows the number of non-missing heights. Means and standard deviations of height (in centimeters) are shown in columns 5 and 6, respectively. Col. 7 shows the average height-for-age z-scores ('HAZ'), while Col. 8 shows the prevalence of stunting, that is, the proportion of children with HAZ < -2. Column 9 shows whether HAZ was calculated using the new WHO growth charts ([WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study Group and de Onis 2006](#)). Typically, older surveys only include HAZ calculated using older reference charts. Columns 10 and 11 show the fraction of children whose mother completed at least secondary schooling, and their average number of years of schooling. The majority of surveys targeted all women 'of fertility age' as the primary respondent, but Col. 11 indicates whether only ever-married women ('EM') were surveyed. All means and standard deviations are calculated without using sampling weights.

Table A.2: YLS and CLHNS Summary Statistics

	Mother at least secon -dary school	Complete obs. in panel	Age	Mean	s.d.	Mother at least secon -dary school	Complete obs. in panel	Age	Mean	s.d.
Panel A - YLS										
			Younger Cohort					Older Cohort		
Ethiopia	0.073	1,741	1	71.0	5.4	0.056	744	8	117.6	7.5
			5	103.8	5.4			12	140.2	9.0
			8	120.8	6.9			15	154.4	9.9
			12	140.8	7.2			19	164.5	8.9
			15	155.8	7.8			22	165.6	8.5
India	0.044	1,852	1	71.7	5.1	0.029	893	8	118.0	6.3
			5	104.0	5.0			12	140.9	11.3
			8	118.7	6.4			15	152.9	8.5
			12	140.0	7.9			19	158.7	12.3
			15	154.7	8.1			22	159.8	9.6
Peru	0.346	1,759	1	71.4	4.7	0.303	544	8	118.9	5.9
			5	104.2	6.4			12	141.7	8.9
			8	120.1	6.0			15	154.5	7.6
			12	142.6	8.0			19	158.9	8.2
			15	156.7	7.6			22	159.4	8.3
Vietnam	0.290	1,843	1	72.2	4.313	0.283	810	8	118.5	5.685
			5	104.8	5.215			12	141.6	7.942
			8	121.1	6.248			15	154.9	7.284
			12	144.1	8.317			19	160.1	7.707
			15	158.4	7.882			22	160.9	7.693
Panel B - CLHNS										
Philippines (Cebu)	0.231	1,686	1	70.8	2.9					
			8	117.7	5.5					
			11	133.6	7.4					
			15	154.0	7.8					
			18	157.1	8.1					
			21	157.5	8.2					

Source: Authors' calculations from YLS and CLHNS.

Notes: Child age is approximate given that, within each survey round, there is variation in the date of birth and in the date when the interview and the measurement took place.

Table A.3: Height-for-age vs. maternal schooling, YLS and CLHNS

	Girls					Boys					
Panel A. Younger Cohort YLS											
	Age 1	Age 5	Age 8	Age 12	Age 15	Age 1	Age 5	Age 8	Age 12	Age 15	
Mother at least secondary	0.640*** [0.0928]	0.724*** [0.0831]	0.729*** [0.0769]	0.701*** [0.0899]	0.341*** [0.0456]	0.667*** [0.1133]	0.760*** [0.0889]	0.708*** [0.0941]	0.742*** [0.0957]	0.597*** [0.0624]	
Observations	3,416	3,430	3,427	3,430	3,430	3,720	3,757	3,759	3,757	3,759	
Mean HAZ	-1.172	-1.474	-1.177	-1.253	-1.167	-1.414	-1.525	-1.260	-1.243	-1.301	
Panel B. Older Cohort YLS											
			Age 8	Age 12	Age 15	Age 19		Age 8	Age 12	Age 15	Age 19
Mother at least secondary			0.448*** [0.0870]	0.460*** [0.0725]	0.306*** [0.0590]	0.202*** [0.0592]		0.663*** [0.0771]	0.684*** [0.0864]	0.592*** [0.0621]	0.434*** [0.0530]
Observations			1,485	1,483	1,486	1,477		1,490	1,490	1,493	1,488
Mean HAZ			-1.667	-1.372	-1.531	-1.284		-1.595	-1.426	-1.573	-1.402
Panel C. CLHNS											
	Age 1		Age 8	Age 11	Age 15	Age 18	Age 1	Age 8	Age 11	Age 15	Age 18
Mother at least secondary	0.434*** (0.0721)		0.534*** (0.0679)	0.549*** (0.0834)	0.291*** (0.0456)	0.268*** (0.0495)	0.680*** (0.0764)	0.586*** (0.0932)	0.598*** (0.0954)	0.484*** (0.0764)	0.363*** (0.0742)
Observations	675		677	675	677	591	745	746	746	748	670
Mean HAZ	-1.429		-1.962	-1.900	-1.816	-1.856	-1.660	-2.079	-1.998	-1.897	-1.918

Source: Authors' calculations from YLS and CLHNS.

Notes: Height-for-age z-scores are calculated using WHO-recommended references. That is, we use 2006 WHO growth charts for children up to age 5 ([WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study Group and de Onis 2006](#)), while for older children (5-19) we use charts from the 1977 US National Center for Health Statistics adapted to ensure smooth transition around age 5, as described in [de Onis et al. \(2007\)](#). In these results we not include measurements taken at age 20 or above given that references are only available up to age 19.