

## **Age Gap Between Spouses in South and Southeast Asia**

In western industrialized societies there has been a trend towards declining age differences and shift towards marriages in which both spouses are of similar ages (Kolk, 2015; Shafer, 2013; Uggla & Wilson, 2020). In contrast to the literature from western countries, there is surprisingly little known about age differences in Asian countries. The last major comparative study that included and discussed Asian countries was published over 35 years ago by Casterline et al. in 1986.

The paper focuses on two regions of Asia—South and Southeast Asia. The countries in the two regions present a rich diversity of family, marriage, social patterns and provide a good setting to examine the age differences. Yeung et al.'s (2018) review article highlights some of the key features of family and marriage patterns in the two regions. These features form the context to understand the age difference patterns. In terms of family and kinship, Southeast Asia is predominately bilateral with flexible arrangements and much more gender egalitarian structures compared to patrilineal and patrilocal structures seen in South Asia. Marriage remains a key institution with non-marriage rates extremely low in South Asia and much of Southeast Asia (with some exceptions such as higher non marriage rates in Myanmar). Early marriage once a common feature in the two regions has declined, though marriage is relatively early in international comparison. Marriages continue to be arranged with varying degree of involvement of the parents in much of South Asia while such practices are no longer common in much of Southeast Asia. Divorce and remarriages occur less frequently in South Asia compared to Southeast Asia. Educational expansion has occurred in most countries in the two regions with female advantage at higher levels of education seen in many countries. The countries in the two regions vary not only in family, social and cultural aspects but have seen different trajectories of economic and social changes over the last two decades. Countries such as Indonesia and Thailand, for instance, witnessed painful economic transitions. Indonesia also witnessed political changes.

The main objective of the present study is to systematically investigate age differences by using most recent data from 12 countries across South Asia (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan) and Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam). The paper focuses on describing the diversity of patterns of age gaps in the two regions. And in examining the role of marriage age and women's education on age gaps. The study adds to the comparative understanding of age differences and to the literature on marriage systems in Asia.

## **Age Homogamy and Heterogamy**

Age homogamy refers to marriages in which age of both spouses is similar. Age heterogamy refers to marriages in which the age of the spouses is dissimilar, irrespective of whether husband or wife is older. Gendered age gaps are referred as either age hypergamous (husband is older than the wife) or age hypogamous (wife is older than the husband).

A common pattern observed in many countries in the past was age hypergamy. One explanation for higher prevalence of age hypergamous marriages was the premium placed on economic stability of men and reproductive potential of women. Economic stability for men increased with age whereas reproductive potential for women declined with age, and combination of these two factors resulted in age hypergamous marriages (Carollo et al., 2019; Ugglä & Wilson, 2020). This link, however, weakened as women's participation in non-domestic work increased and as demand for children fell (Utomo, 2014). This has reduced the preference for age hypergamous marriages resulting in increases in age homogamous marriages. The contribution of husband to family income has narrowed with women's work (Carollo et al., 2019). Recent studies show a reversal of this pattern such that large age differences are now seen among the poor (Gustafson & Fransson, 2015).

Age hypergamous marriages have been associated with societies that are gender inequalitarian. Patriarchal societies have large age gaps between husband and wife compared to societies with flexible kinship systems (Carmichael, 2011; Casterline et al., 1986). Age hypergamous marriages are seen as reflecting gender inequality at both the individual and societal levels (Gustafson & Fransson, 2015). In traditional settings marriages in which men were older allowed men to exercise power and control over women (van de Putte et al., 2009). Though there is an association between patriarchal structures and age hypergamy, as Dribe and Nystedt (2017) remind us, this should not be taken to mean that age hypergamous marriages are due to greater gender inequality. Age heterogamy and homogamy are affected by many other factors besides gender structures. The changes in ascriptive gender status, growing gender equality, declining gender segregated roles within the family have had an impact on age heterogamy (Uddin et al., 2017).

Social norms and socio-cultural conditioning in many societies support husband older than wife marriages. As Gustafson and Fransson (2015) observe husband older than wife marriage is deeply embedded in the social and economic

organization of many societies and these norms have persisted even in the absence of economic and reproductive purposes of the past. Many societies support husband older than wife marriages, and large gaps due to husband being older is seen less negatively than large gaps due to wife being older (Banks & Arnold, 2001). However social norms are not static. The changes in the norms propelled by modernity, rising status of women, changes in the marriage system have led to shifts in preference to age homogamous marriage (Kalmijn, 1998; Kolk, 2015). One such change in the marriage system has been the decline in parental authority in choosing of spouses and the shifts in marriage from instrumental to companionate and self-choice (Carmichael, 2011; Van de Putte et al., 2009). Later marriages also mean that individuals are less swayed by parental preferences and can make their own choices (England & McClintock, 2009). These changes have had the effect of narrowing of age difference between the spouses.

One of the most important factors in explaining age differences is age of husband and wife at the time of marriage. A consistent finding in the literature is that age difference between spouses varies by age of husband and wife at time of marriage (Esteve et al., 2009). Moreover, husband's age at marriage is a significant predictor of age differences across several countries (Casterline et al., 1986). The age difference by age at marriage is gendered. Age difference increases older men are at the time of marriage, but age differences narrow older women are at the time of marriage (England & McClintock, 2009). As observed by Kolk (2015) young men and older women might face challenges in the marriage market to find a spouse. However, for men this challenge is reduced with age, but for women the situation is reversed. This reflects the cultural double standard and the gendered nature of the effect of age. As marriage age increases it is likely that the age differences will narrow, and age homogamy becomes more common (Utomo, 2014). The effect of marriage age on age difference might also vary by education or economic status. In the case of Korea, for instance, older women with higher levels of education were more likely to choose younger men (Sung et al., 2015).

Age difference between spouses varies by education with large differences seen among those with lower levels of education (Gustafson & Fransson, 2015). Higher education provides women with greater agency and allows to build up their human capital which in turn narrows the age difference (Carmichael, 2011). The relationship between education and age difference is not the same across countries and varies depending on the status of women (Casterline et al., 1986). Education influences age differences through what has been termed as

“institution effect” (Gustafson & Fransson, 2015). This effect refers to the opportunities provided by educational institutions to meet and form relationship with others of similar age which might increase age homogamous marriages (Blossfeld, 2009; Van Bavel, 2018). But education also might delay marriage entry, and this could have an opposite effect on age difference between spouses. The higher the age at which women marry the smaller is the age difference between them and their spouses in many countries. The education, employment and marriage age transitions have competing influences on age differences between spouses. With reverse gender gap in education (more women than men having higher education), as seen in India, there has been a shift in educational assortative patterns (Lin et al., 2020) and these are likely to also affect age differences.

Like education, there are variations based on economic status. However, the direction of the relationship varies across countries and over time as countries move up the economic ladder (Esteve et al., 2016). In countries such as China shifts towards market economy has resulted in competitive labour markets, growing inequality, rising consumerism, economic growth and age homogamy has an inverted U shape relationship (Mu & Xie, 2014). During the initial phase of economic growth, age homogamy increased and during the later phases there was a reversal of this pattern.

Age differences could also be affected by demographic aspects of the marriage markets. These include rates of marriage formation including remarriages and marital dissolution (Ugglå & Wilson, 2020). The age gaps are affected by sex ratios in the marriage markets and resulting marriage squeeze. Drefahl (2010) observes that marriage squeeze can lead to changes in age differences as it could alter the partner pool and availability of suitably matched partners.

### **Analytical Approach**

I use data from the most recent round from DHS and MICS surveys from 12 countries in South and Southeast Asia. DHS data are for Afghanistan 2015 (AFG), Bangladesh 2017-18 (BGD), Cambodia 2014 (KHM), India 2015-16 (IND), Indonesia 2017 (IDN), Myanmar 2015-16 (MMR), Nepal 2016 (NPL), Pakistan 2017-18 (PAK), Philippines 2017 (PHL). MICS data are for Laos 2017 (LAO), Thailand 2015-16 (THA), and Vietnam 2014 (VNM).

Women who married for the first time in the five years preceding the survey year were selected for the analyses. Both DHS and MICS have information on age or date of first marriage for women, and information on age of the current husband.

They do not have the age of current marriage if the woman was married more than once. They also do not have information on age of the first husband if the woman was married more than once or if the woman at survey time was divorced, separated, or widowed. As divorce and remarriages are not uncommon in some of the countries under consideration, it was necessary to restrict the analyses to last five years. The proportion of those who are divorced or remarry within five years of marriage is not that high in most countries included in the analyses. Also, restricting to five years provides estimates of age differences that are current and likely to be more precise and not affected by recall issues.

The analyses are conducted separately for each country. The main variable is age difference between spouses. This is calculated as husband's age minus wife's age. The age difference is coded as age homogamous, if the age difference is plus or minus two years; age hypergamous, if the age difference is more than two years; age hypogamous if the age difference is lower than minus two years (that is wife is older than husband by more than two years). There is no agreed upon definition of age homogamy besides noting that they denote marriages in which spouses are of similar ages. While there is no standard definition of age homogamy, researchers have used age difference of plus or minus 2 years as homogamous marriages (Esteve, et al. 2009; Esteve et al. 2016, Dribe & Nystedt, 2017). Studies have used different numbers for similar ages from zero years to mean age difference which in some countries is as high as five years. The use of two years takes into account any possible age misreporting of their own age at marriage or their husband's age at marriage and is on the conservative side of measuring age homogamy.

The other major variable in the analyses is educational status of women at the time of the survey. For comparability, this is coded as three categories: primary or lower (henceforth, primary), secondary, and higher. The analyses uses descriptive methods and OLS regression to analyse the data. For the regression the dependent variable is age difference which can take negative, zero or positive values.

## **Findings**

The context of marriage and education in the countries in the two regions is presented first. The distribution of first marriage age for women in the 12 countries is presented in the form of box plots in Figure 1. The median age at first marriage for those who married in the five years preceding the survey

ranged from 17 in Bangladesh to 22 in Vietnam. In all countries the median age at which women marry is relatively early. But large within country variations are seen in countries such as Thailand, Philippines, and Myanmar. With the exceptions of Cambodia and Laos in all other Southeast Asian countries, nearly quarter of all women marry on or after the age of 25. The marriage age reported in the figure are based on those who are married and should not be compared with median marriage ages calculated based on all women. Median marriage age based on married women will always be lower than those calculated from all women.

**Figure 1**  
Marriage age of women, ordered by median marriage age

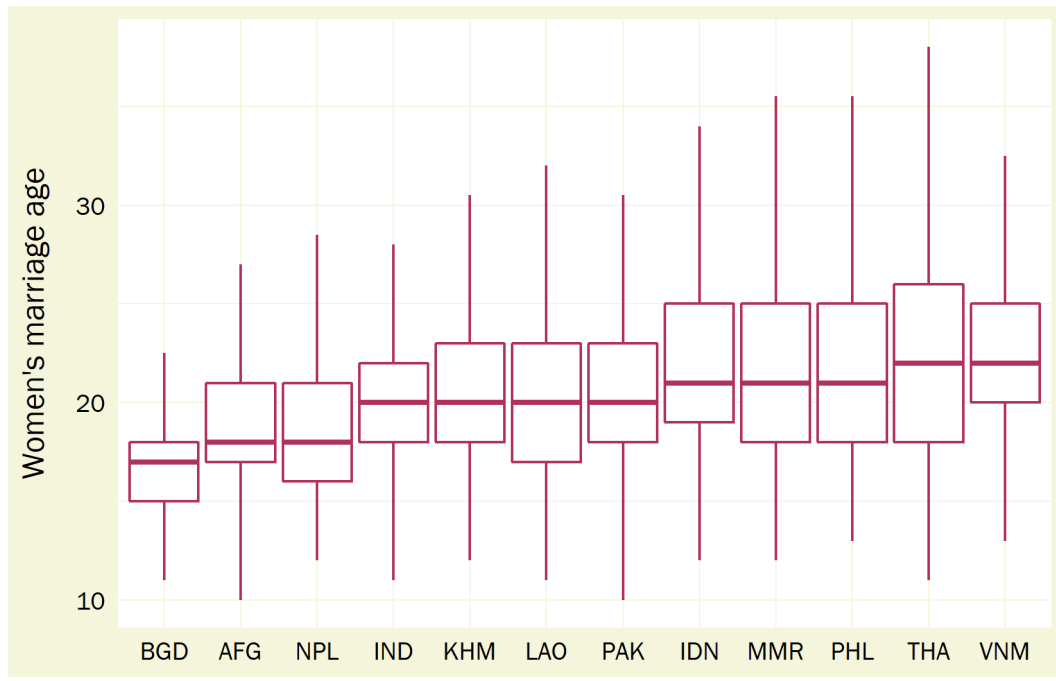
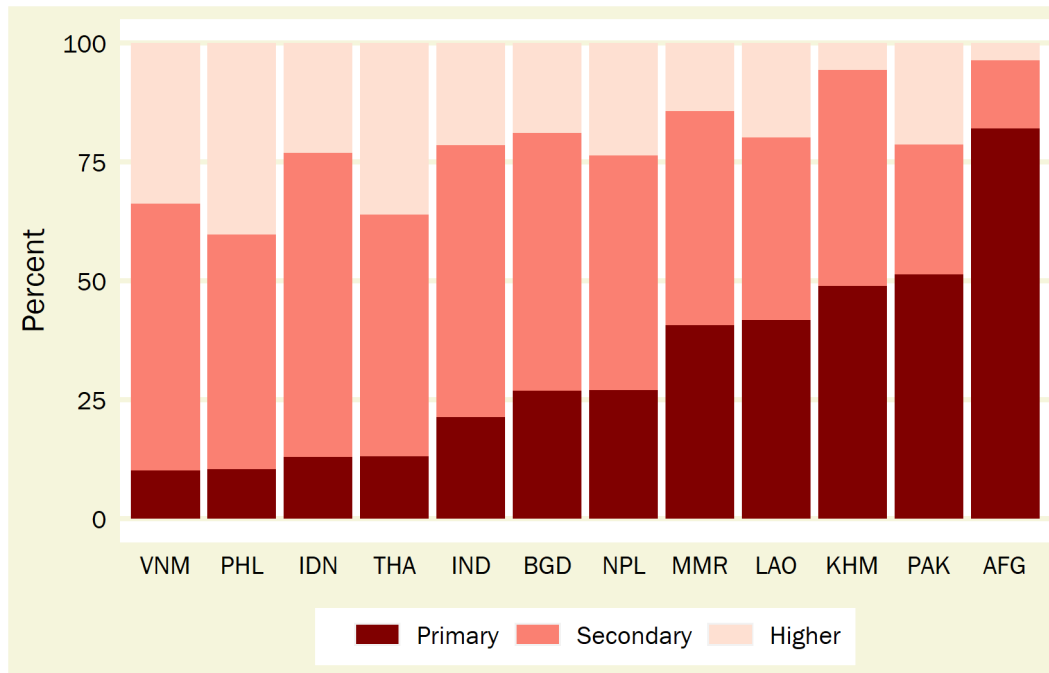


Figure 2 presents the educational composition of women who married in the five years preceding the survey. There are striking differences in educational composition across the countries. In Afghanistan about 75% of women had only primary education compared to less than 10% in Vietnam. The educational levels across countries do not fit any regional pattern. Among the countries with lower levels of education include Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos. At the other end of the education spectrum, Philippines had the largest proportion of women with higher education, closely followed by Thailand. Pakistan shows an interesting pattern of relatively large number of women having higher education and at the same a significant proportion having only primary education, reflecting educational inequality in the country.

**Figure 2**

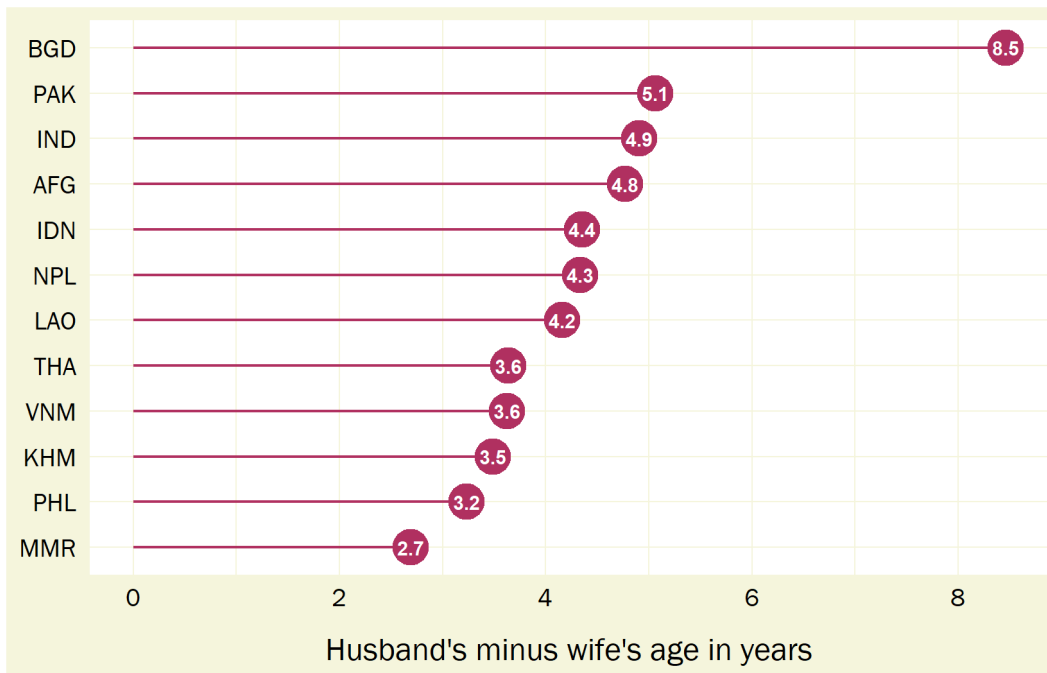
Educational composition of women, ordered by primary education level



Next Figure 3 presents the average age difference between spouses. This is calculated as average of the difference between husband's and wife's age. The average age difference ranges from 8.5 years in Bangladesh to 2.7 years in Myanmar. Excluding these two countries, for all other countries the average age difference is in a narrow range of three to five years. The four countries with largest age difference are all from South Asia and the four countries with lowest age difference are from Southeast Asia. Countries that had later marriage age and higher levels of non-marriage such as Philippines and Myanmar have also lower age difference. The largest age difference is in Bangladesh which also has the lowest median marriage age. There is over three-year difference between Bangladesh and its South Asian neighbors. The ordering of the countries seems to have remained fairly unchanged since Casterline et al.'s study in 1986.

**Figure 3**

Average age difference between spouses (husband's minus wife's age)

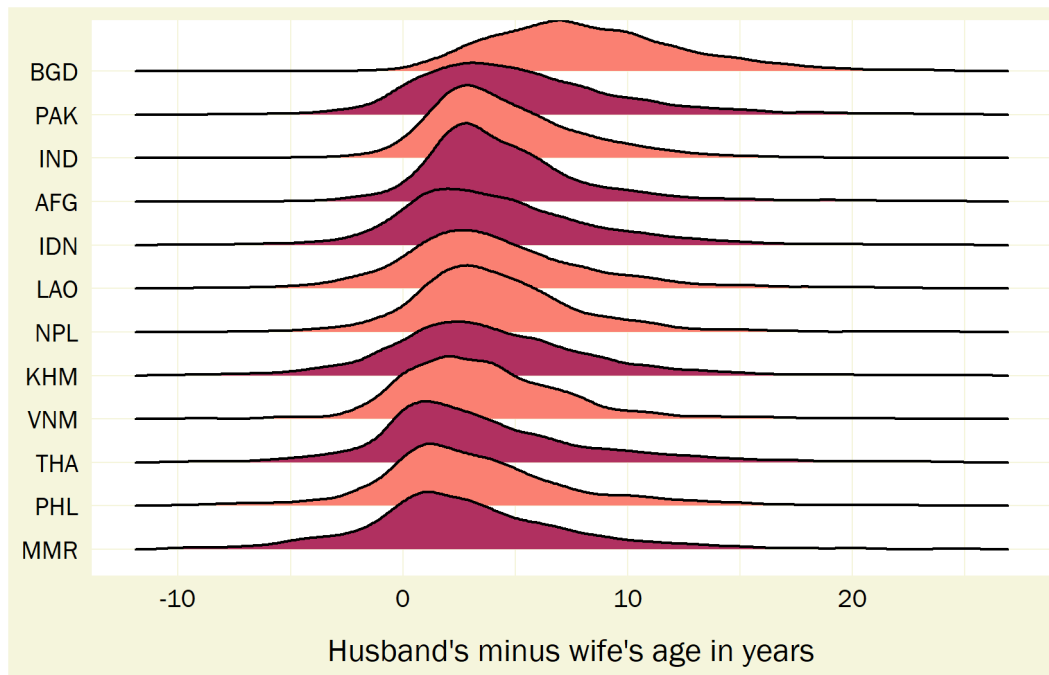


Within country variation in age differences between spouses is visualized using a ridge plot in Figure 4. One pattern that is consistent across countries is that the



variation below zero is small. In all countries there is positive skew in the distribution of the age differences. In Bangladesh there is a greater dispersion of values. With the exception of Bangladesh, the distributions suggest that age difference beyond 10 years occurs infrequently.

**Figure 4**  
Distribution of age differences between spouses

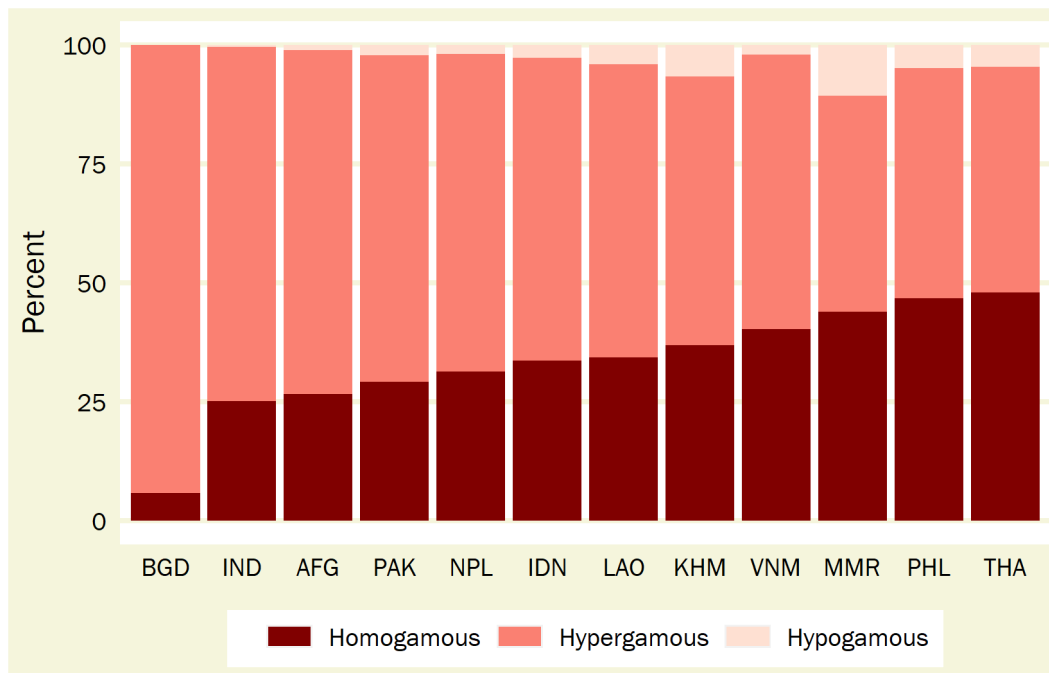


Another way of looking at age difference is by examining age heterogamy presented in Figure 5. The percentage of homogamous marriages ranges from quarter to half of all marriages in all countries except for Bangladesh. In

Bangladesh such marriages constitute about 6% of all marriages. This is followed by India with 25% and going as high as 50% in Thailand. Hypergamous marriage are the most common type of marriages in all countries. The sole exception to this is Thailand where homogamous and hypergamous marriage are both equally common. In India nearly three fourth of all marriages are hypergamous marriages. Among Southeast Asian countries, hypergamous marriages are most common in Indonesia at about 64%. Hypogamous marriages are not common in the two regions. Only in Myanmar they reach 10% followed by Cambodia at 6%. In all other countries, such marriages are well below 5% and in many South Asian countries lower than 1%.

**Figure 5**

Age homogamous, hypergamous and hypogamous marriages, ordered by homogamous marriages

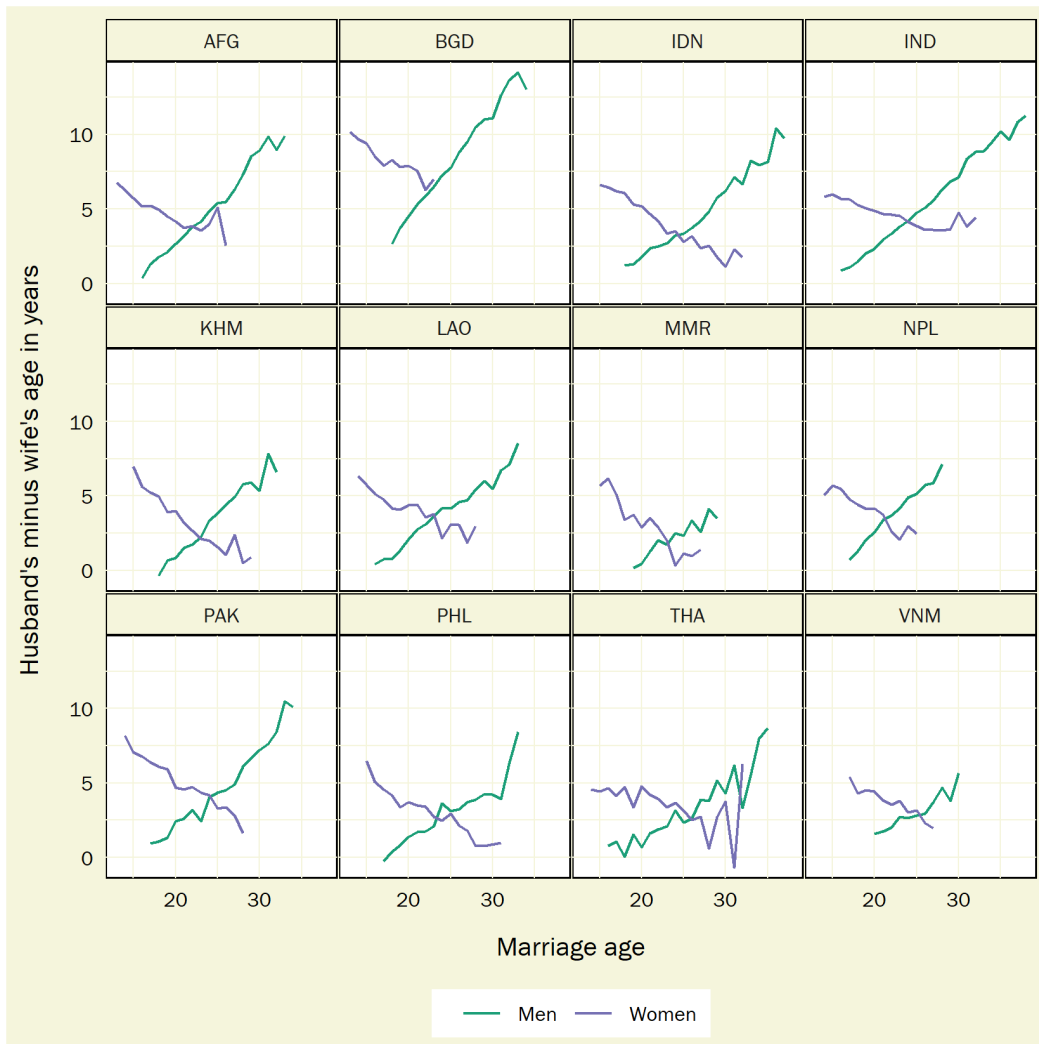


Next, the age difference between spouses by men's and women's ages at marriage is presented in Figure 6. In all countries there is a negative relationship between women's age at marriage and age differences. The age gap is higher for women marrying at younger ages and this age gap narrows for women marrying

at older ages. The degree of narrowing age differences varies across countries. In India, for instance, beyond the marriage age of 25, the age differences remain stable. In Indonesia there is continuous decline in age differences with increase in marriage age for women. The pattern for men is the reverse of that of women. For men who marry at later ages, the age difference is larger compared to men who marry early. This pattern can be clearly seen in the case of Bangladesh as there is a steep increase in the age difference as marriage age for men increases. As similar pattern could be seen in almost all other countries.

**Figure 6**

Age difference by marriage age of men and women



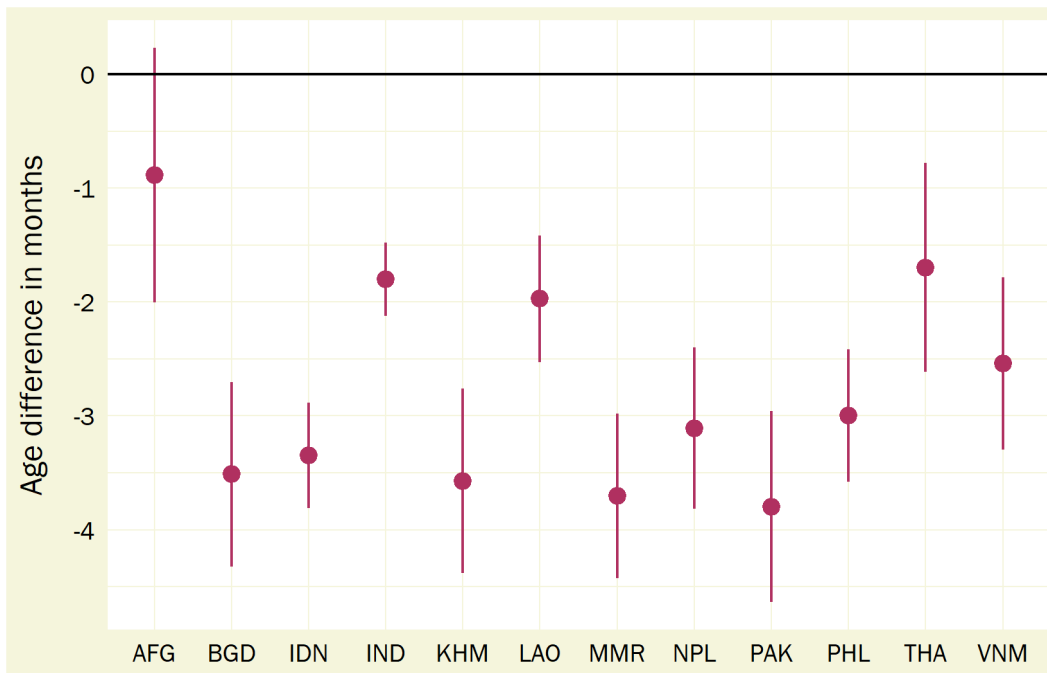
In the above figure, the age differences are calculated at different ages only if there are a minimum of 50 cases. Therefore, the start and endpoints of the lines are different for different countries as in some countries there are few cases for

early marriage age while in others there are very few cases at older marriage ages.

The first regression is a bivariate regression with age difference as dependent variable and women's age at marriage as the sole independent variable. The findings from these analyses are presented in Figure 7. The figure shows that in all countries except Afghanistan marriage age has a negative influence on age difference and this effect is statistically significant. A one-year increase in marriage age of women lowers the age difference by one to four months. Women's marriage age has the largest effect in Pakistan and Myanmar. Besides Afghanistan where there is no statistically significant effect, the next lowest effect is seen in India at lower than 2 months.

**Figure 7**

Women's marriage age and age difference, regression estimates

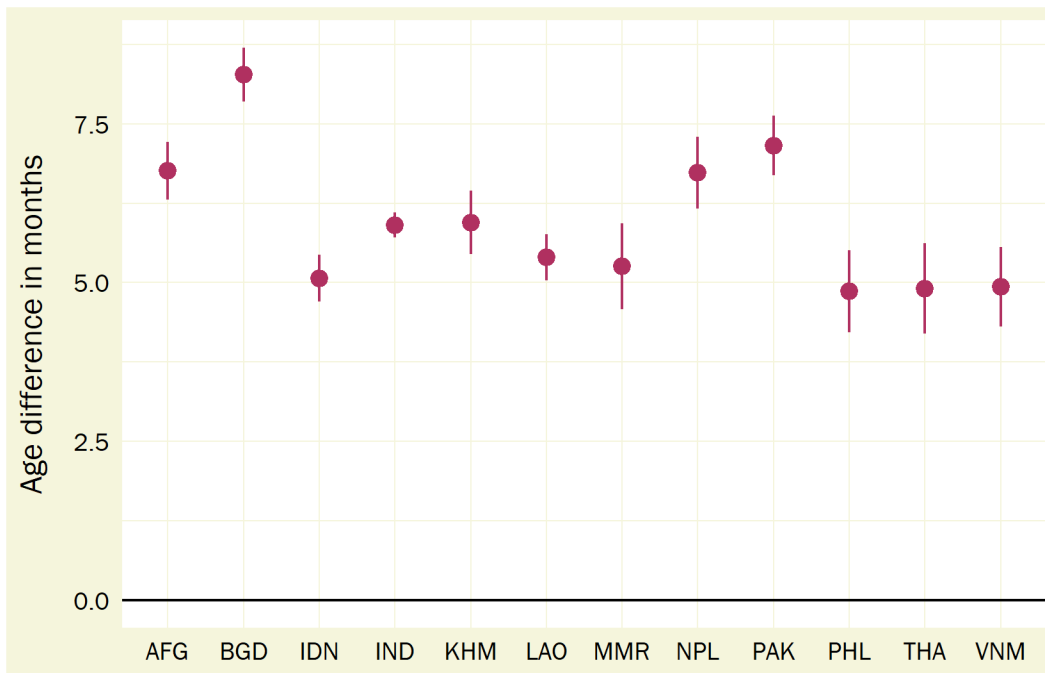


The next figure examines the influence of men's marriage age on the age difference between spouses. In all countries men's age at marriage has a significant influence with a one-year increase leading to increase in age difference by 5 to 8 months. Men's marriage age has a stronger influence on the

age difference compared to women's marriage age. The strongest effect of men's marriage age is seen in Bangladesh and the lowest is close to five months in Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam and Indonesia.

**Figure 8**

Men's marriage age and age difference, regression estimates



The regression estimates from bivariate model of women's education and age difference are presented in Figure 9. Women with primary and secondary education are compared to women with higher education. With few exceptions those with lower education have larger age differences compared to those with higher education. The largest effect is seen in the Philippines: women with

primary education have an average age difference of 30 months compared to those with higher education. Comparing secondary education with higher education, the largest effect is seen in Myanmar. Overall, the patterns suggest declining age differences with increase in education. The only country for which there is no difference is Cambodia.

**Figure 9**

Education and age difference, regression estimates

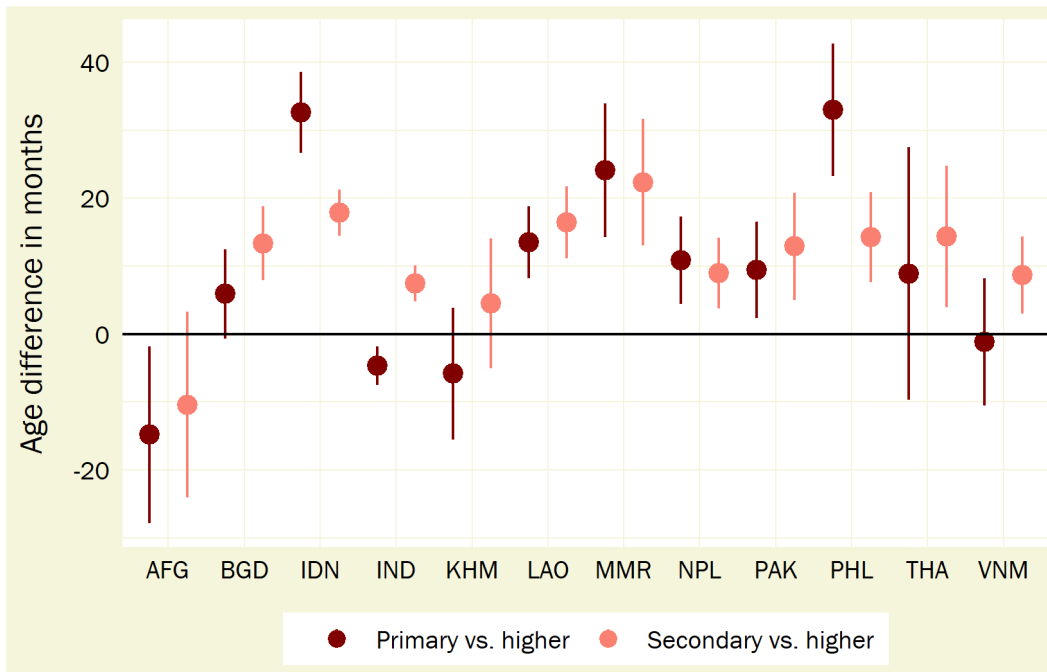
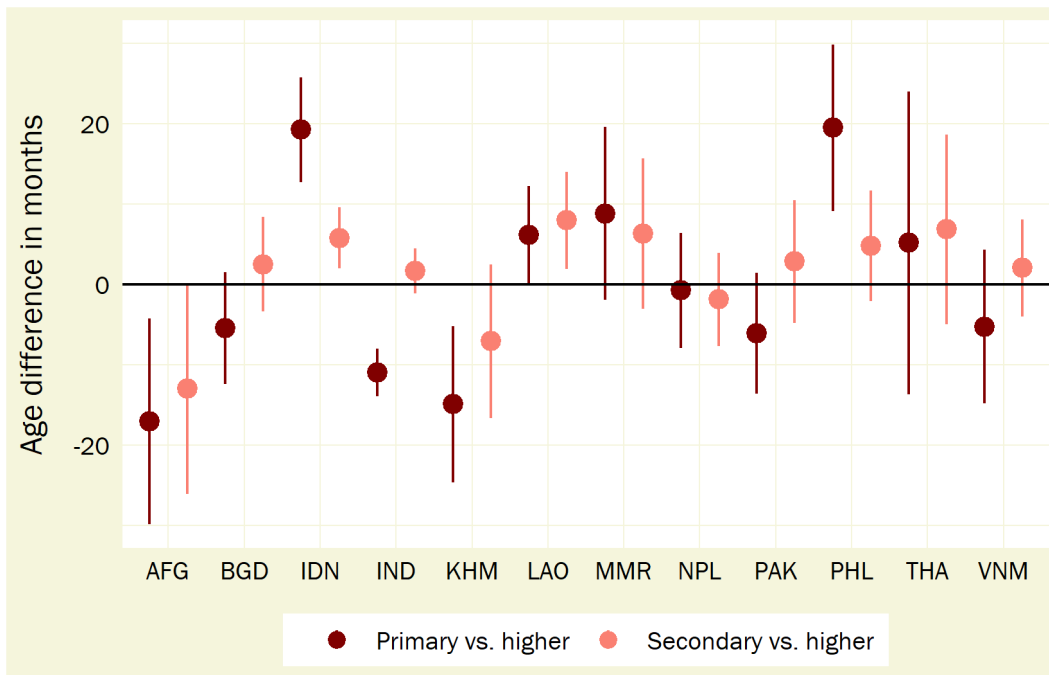


Figure 10 presents estimates of the effect of education on age difference from a multivariate model that controls for marriage age. In contrast to the estimates in the bivariate model seen in the previous figure, almost all the educational differences are no longer statistically significant in most countries. The major exceptions are Indonesia and Philippines where education continues to have a

negative association. In India, the positive association for primary vs higher education persist when women’s marriage age is accounted. Overall, the findings suggest a strong role of marriage age in mediating the relationship between education and age difference. The estimates for marriage age from the same model (not shown here) are very similar to the bivariate estimates presented earlier in Figure 7. That is after controlling for education, the effect of marriage age does not change.

**Figure 10**

Education and age difference, adjusted for marriage age, regression estimates

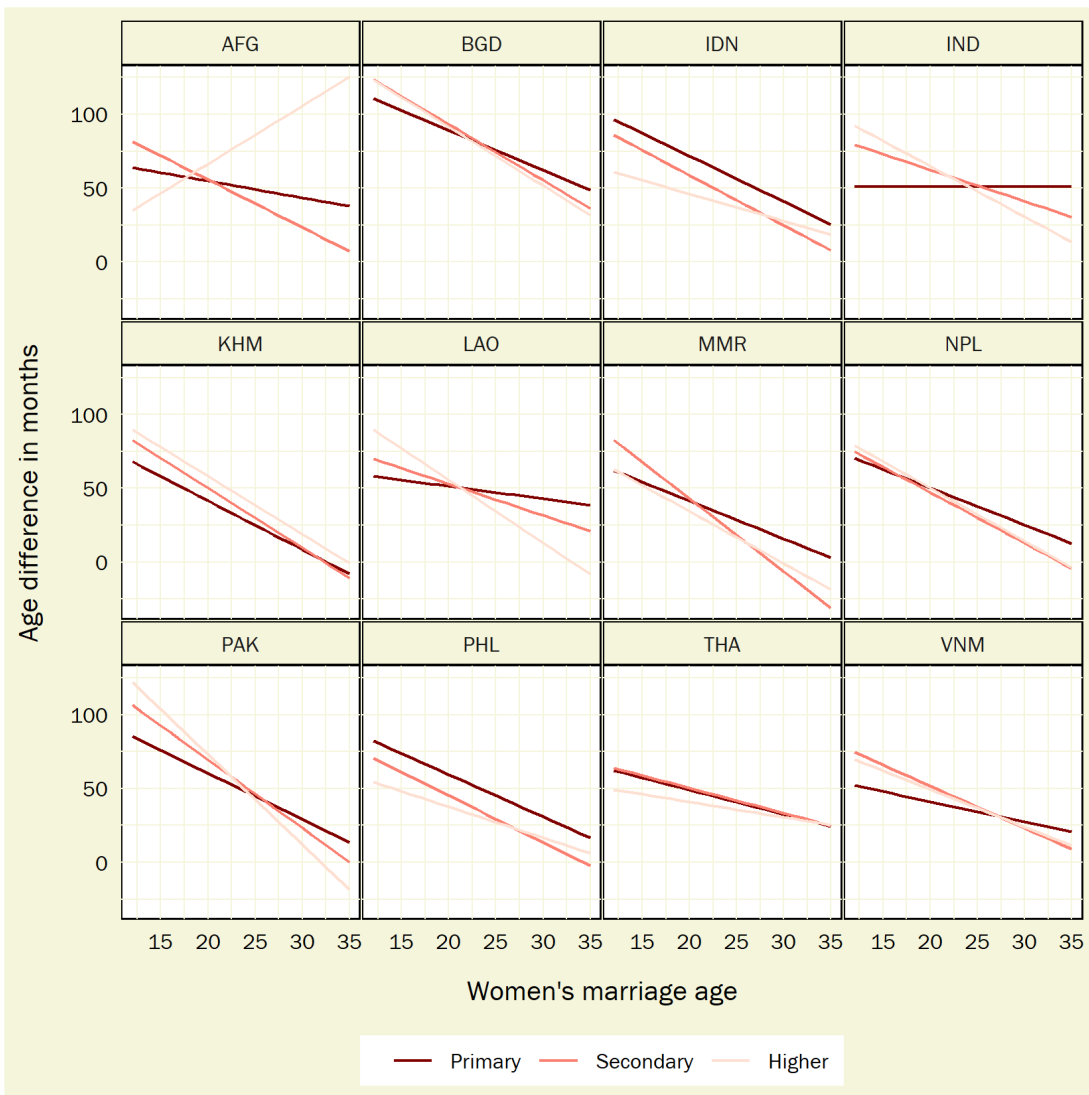


To further explore the relationship of education, marriage age on age differences, the next model uses an interaction term to test if the effect of marriage age is different for different education groups. Figure 11 presents the estimates from the interaction model for education and marriage age. In majority of the countries, the patterns reveal a negative slope for all education groups. In general women

marrying at later ages have smaller age gaps and this does not vary by education level of women. There are exceptions to this trend. In Afghanistan for higher educated women, age difference increases as marriage age increases. In India for those with primary education, marriage age does not have an influence on the age difference.

**Figure 11**

Education, marriage age and age difference, interaction model, regression estimates



The analyses of education, marriage age, and age difference could be expanded by analyzing not just education for women but also for men. Specifically, we can examine the relationship between age homogeneity and educational homogeneity. For this analysis I define educational homogeneity as marriages in which both

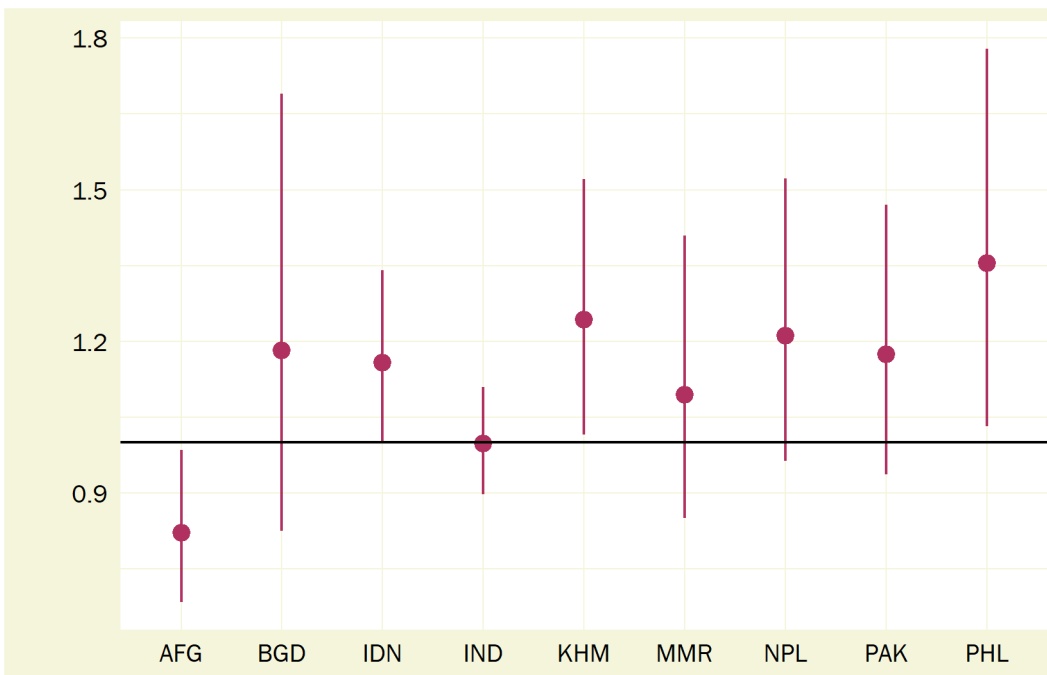


spouses have the same educational level. Educational hypergamous marriages in which women marry up and hypogamous marriages in which women marry someone with lower education level than themselves. Data for husband's education are not available for MICS countries and therefore the analysis is restricted to nine countries instead of twelve.

To simplify the analyses, I examine the relationship between educational homogamous marriages (yes or no) and age homogamous marriages (yes or no). The results are shown in Figure 12. The odds ratios presented indicate that relationship is weak or statistically insignificant for all countries in the two regions. This is to say that there is no significant relationship between educational homogamy and age homogamy for countries in the region.

**Figure 12**

Odd ratios of age homogamous marriage for those in educational homogamous marriage



## Discussion

The paper provides a detailed examination of age gap between spouses in South and Southeast using the most recent data available. The findings reveal the diversity of patterns across countries in the two regions. But the countries also

share certain similarities such as the low rates of hypogamous marriages. In countries in the two regions, the age difference between spouses is influenced strongly by marriage age. The age at marriage for men has considerably stronger influence on the age difference than women's marriage age. As seen in other countries, increase in marriage age for men increases the age difference while the reverse is true for women. Further the paper examined the role of education on the age difference by examining if the effect of marriage age is different for different educational groups, and if educational homogamy has an influence on age homogamy. In both these analyses, the results suggest that educational differences are not very prominent.

The paper examined changes at one point in time. But a comparison with Casterline et al. (1986) estimates suggest that the age differences have not radically changed over the last thirty plus years. While marriage system and many other aspects that could influence age differences have changed, the changes in age differences appear to be rather modest. This is not unique situation to South and Southeast Asia. In many European countries too the age difference patterns have remained stable over the last few decades (Drefahl, 2010; Dribe and Nystedt 2017).

Age preference, as Hu and Qian (2019) note is a "personalized preferences for a 'suitable' spouse, such preferences are often informed by the social, economic, and cultural institutions in which the marital institution is embedded". The two regions provide diversity of economic, social and cultural institutions that have shaped age preferences. These include ascriptive gender status, familism and family systems in the two regions (Uddin et al., 2017). Besides socio-economic and cultural aspects, age differences between spouses have been explained using a variety of perspectives from social evolutionary perspectives to those related the marriage market factors including age-sex structure of the population (Bouchet-Valat, 2015). The findings in this paper call for further work to chart the trends and to situate the changes within broader context of the societies in the two regions.

## References

- Banks, C.A., & Arnold, P. (2001). Opinions towards sexual partners with a large age difference. *Marriage and Family Review*, 33(4), 5–18.  
[https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v33n04\\_02](https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v33n04_02)
- Blossfeld, H. P. (2009). Educational assortative marriage in comparative perspective. *Annual Review Sociology*, 35, 513–530.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-115913>
- Bouchet-Valat, M. (2015). Fewer singles among highly educated women. A gender reversal of hypergamy across cohorts in France. *Population-E*, 70(4), 665–688. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pope.1504.0665>
- Carmichael, S. (2011). Marriage and power: Age at first marriage and spousal age gap in lesser developed countries. *The History of the Family*, 16(4), 416–436. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hisfam.2011.08.002>
- Carollo, A., Oksuzyan, A., Drefahl, S., Camarda, C. G., Ahrenfeldt, L. J., Christensen, K., & van Raalte, A. (2019). Is the age difference between partners related to women's earnings? *Demographic Research*, 41, 425–460.  
<https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2019.41.15>
- Casterline, J. B., Williams, L., & McDonald, P. (1986). The age difference between spouses: Variations among developing countries. *Population Studies*, 40(3), 353–374.
- Drefahl, S. (2010). How does the age gap between partners affect their survival?. *Demography*, 47(2), 313–326. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dem.0.0106>
- Dribe, M., & Nystedt, P. (2017). Age homogamy, gender, and earnings: Sweden 1990-2009. *Social Forces*, 96(1), 239–264.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sox030>
- England, P., & McClintock, E. A. (2009). The gendered double standard of aging in US marriage markets. *Population and Development Review*, 35(4), 797–816. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2009.00309.x>
- Esteve, A., Cortina, C., & Cabre, A. (2009). Marital age homogamy patterns in Spain. *Population*, 64(1), 173–202.
- Esteve, A., Schwartz, C. R., van Bavel, J., Permanyer, I., Klesment, M., & García-Román, J. (2016). The end of hypergamy: Global trends and implications. *Population and Development Review*, 42(4), 615–625.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12012>
- Gustafson, P., & Fransson, U. (2015). Age differences between spouses: Sociodemographic variation and selection. *Marriage & Family Review*, 51(7), 610–632. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2015.1060289>
- Hu, Y., & Qian, Y. (2019). Educational and age assortative mating in China. *Demographic Research*, 41, 53–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.4054/DemRes.2019.41.3>

- Kalmijn, M. (1998). Intermarriage and homogamy: Causes, patterns, trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1), 395–421.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.395>
- Kolk, M. (2015). Age differences in unions: Continuity and divergence among Swedish couples between 1932 and 2007. *European Journal of Population*, 31(4), 365–382. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-015-9339-z>
- Lin, Z., Desai, S., & Chen, F. (2020). The emergence of educational hypogamy in India. *Demography*, 57(4), 1215–1240.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-020-00888-2>
- Mansour, H., & McKinnish, T. (2011). Who marries differently-aged spouses? Earnings, ability and appearance. DIW Berlin Discussion Paper No. 1123, Berlin, Germany.
- Mu, Z., & Xie, Y. (2014). Marital age homogamy in China: A reversal of trend in the reform era? *Social Science Research*, 44, 141–157.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.11.005>
- Shafer, K. (2013). Disentangling the relationship between age and marital history in age-assortative mating. *Marriage & Family Review*, 49(1), 83–114.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2012.728557>
- Sung, N., Lee, B. S., & Jo, D. (2015). Who marries a younger man? Marriages between older women and younger men in Korea. *Asian Population Studies*, 11(2), 149–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441730.2015.1049798>
- Uddin, E., Hoque, N., & Islam, R. (2017). Familial factors influencing age-heterogamy vs. age-homogamy in marriage in Bangladesh: Implication for social policy practice. *Global Social Welfare*, 4(3), 127–140.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40609-016-0064-2>
- Uggla, C., & Wilson, B. (2020). Age gaps between partners among immigrants and their descendants Adaptation across time and generations? Stockholm Research Reports in Demography, 1–38.
- Utomo, A. (2014). Marrying up? Trends in age and education gaps among married couples in Indonesia. *Journal of Family Issues*, 35(12), 1683–1706.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513x14538023>
- Van Bavel, J., Schwartz, C. R., & Esteve, A. (2018). The reversal of the gender gap in education and its consequences for family life. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 341–360.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041215>
- Van de Putte, B., van Poppel, F., Vanassche, S., Sanchez, M., Jidkova, S., Eeckhaut, M., Oris, M., & Matthijs, K. (2009). The rise in age homogamy in 19th century Western Europe. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(5), 1234–1253. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2009.00666.x>
- Yeung, W.-J. J., Desai, S., & Jones, G. W. (2018). Families in Southeast and South Asia. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 44(1), 469–495.  
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041124>