Beyond the Battlefield: Armed Conflict and Domestic Violence in Ethiopia*

Andreas Kotsadam[1], Charlotte Ringdal[2], and Espen Villanger[2]

[1]Ragnar Frisch Centre for Economic Research
[2]CMI

Abstract

This paper examines how armed conflict intensifies domestic violence in Ethiopia, focusing on intimate partner violence (IPV) and child-directed punishment. Linking georeferenced data from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) project with six waves of a longitudinal household survey collected between 2016 and 2021, we find that heightened conflict intensity, measured by the frequency of violent events and related fatalities within 50 km, is associated with substantially higher rates of physical and sexual IPV, as well as increased physical punishment of children by both fathers and mothers. Specifically, a one standard deviation rise in conflict-related fatalities correlates with a 12% increase in physical IPV and a 33% increase in sexual IPV relative to sample means, while child-directed punishment escalates by roughly 5%. Mechanism analyses indicate that economic hardship and heightened stress—particularly among husbands play a key role in fueling this violence. Sensitivity tests and placebo analyses confirm the robustness of our findings, which are especially pronounced in conflict-affected regions like Tigray.

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1 Introduction

Conflicts worldwide have significantly increased since the mid-2000s, particularly in Africa, where devastating events such as the Congo Wars, the Rwandan genocide, and the Eritrean-Ethiopian War have occurred (Marshall, 2020; Rustad and Bakken, 2019). Beyond immediate loss of life, these conflicts have long-term consequences on communities and economies, entrenching poverty (Azariadis and Drazen, 1990; Sachs, 2005) and hindering development by exacerbating health crises, disrupting education, and destabilizing labor markets (Bruck et al., 2019; Bundervoet et al., 2009). While these consequences are well-documented, less attention has been paid to the impact of conflict on household dynamics, specifically how conflict exposure affects intimate partner violence (IPV) and violence against children (VAC).

Approximately 30% of women globally experience intimate partner violence (IPV) (Organization, 2012). While IPV is a widespread issue in both conflict and non-conflict settings, exposure to armed conflict can further exacerbate IPV through several mechanisms. Conflict-induced trauma, economic stress, and shifts in traditional gender roles all contribute to heightened risks of violence within households during times of unrest (Wirtz et al., 2014; Annan and Brier, 2010). Social and security structures further deteriorate during conflict, leaving women and children more vulnerable to violence (Bendavid et al., 2021).

In Ethiopia, political instability has escalated over recent years, particularly due to ethnic conflicts and the war in Tigray. These tensions have led to widespread displacement, disrupted family structures, and increased economic hardship (for Preventive Action, 2023). Despite the cessation of hostilities between the Ethiopian government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in 2022, the conflict has had profound and lasting impacts on millions of people. Importantly, the broader effects of political instability on IPV and VAC remain understudied in Ethiopia, particularly how conflict-induced stressors at the household level manifest as violence.

Ringdal (2024) provides a comprehensive summary of the literature on the relationship between conflict exposure and IPV. Several studies have established strong links between armed conflict and increased IPV rates. For instance, Østby (2016) and Le and Nguyen (2022) use data from the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) to find that women in conflict-affected regions of Africa are more likely to experience emotional, physical, and sexual IPV.

Causal evidence further supports this relationship across various settings. La Mattina (2017) finds that the 1994 Rwandan genocide led to higher levels of domestic violence for women who married after the conflict. Similarly, Ekhator-Mobayode et al. (2021) demonstrate that the Malian conflict increased physical, sexual, and emotional IPV. In Nigeria, Ekhator-Mobayode et al. (2022) show that the Boko Haram insurgency exacerbated IPV due to economic hardships and changes in social norms.

Several mechanisms explain how conflict exacerbates IPV, as detailed by Svallfors (2023). Conflict-induced trauma, economic stress, and shifting gender roles all contribute to heightened risks of violence within households. At the macro level, societal disruptions during conflict lead to a higher tolerance for violence, while at the micro level, psychological impacts, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression, can fuel violent behavior. Additionally, the erosion of social support structures and economic stress can challenge traditional male roles, further increasing tensions within households.

The evidence on the effects of conflict exposure on child punishment is more scarce. However, some studies suggest a similar pattern of increased violence. For example, Jewkes et al. (2018) found that women exposed to trauma in Afghanistan were more likely to physically punish their children, highlighting the intergenerational impacts of conflict-related trauma.

This study makes two key contributions to the literature. First, it combines data from ACLED with six waves of panel data collected across five regions in Ethiopia, providing robust longitudinal evidence on the relationship between conflict exposure and IPV/VAC.

Second, it expands on the existing literature by examining both IPV and physical punishment of children, offering a comprehensive analysis of how conflict affects family dynamics. This dual focus on both intimate partner and child-directed violence in the context of conflict provides valuable insights for both academic and policy debates.

We hypothesize that exposure to armed conflict in Ethiopia is positively associated with increased rates of IPV and physical punishment of children. Additionally, we expect economic stress and disrupted gender roles to mediate the relationship between conflict exposure and violence within households, with regions more intensely affected by conflict displaying higher rates of both IPV and VAC compared to less-affected regions.

2 Methods

2.1 Data sources

The data is drawn from two main sources; the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data (ACLED) to measure conflict exposure, and a self-collected panel dataset from five regions across Ethiopia.

Conflict event data are sourced from the PRIO/Uppsala Armed Conflict and Location Event Data (ACLED) dataset, covering the period from 2016 to 2021. The ACLED dataset offers precise details on the location (latitude and longitude), date, and specific characteristics of various conflict-related events across all African nations. The dataset is compiled from a wide array of sources, with a primary focus on reports from conflict zones, humanitarian organizations, and academic research. Additionally, information is continuously gathered from local, regional, national, and continental media outlets (Raleigh et al., 2010).

This paper uses data from six rounds of panel data from Ethiopia (Kotsadam and Villanger, 2022; Aalen et al., 2024). The panel consists of 1500 households across five regions in Ethiopia (Amhara, Dire Dawa, Oromia, SNNP, and Tigray). The data covers a 5-year

period, with the first round collected in 2016 and the sixth round collected in 2021. Each round collected data on experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) in the past 3 months and physical punishment of children by both mothers and fathers. The final panel used in this analysis includes 6650 observations across 1290 households.

2.2 Variables and measurement

We build our conflict measure in the following way. First, we draw a 50 km buffer zone around the factories. Second, we count all conflict episodes (defined as battles, explosions/remote violence, and violence against civilians) and the number of fatalities in the past 6 months within the buffer zone.[1]

The outcome variables are based on the WHO's measures of intimate partner violence. Table 1 provides a description of all outcomes, mechanisms, and exposure variables.

2.3 Statistical analysis

We estimate a panel fixed-effects regression to investigate the effect of conflict exposure on the probability of having experienced IPV in the past 3 months using the following regression model:

$$IPV_{ijft} = \alpha + \beta_1 ConflictIntensity_{f,t} + W'_{jft}\delta + \mu_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{ijft} \quad (1)$$

where IPV_{ivrt} is a dummy taking the value 1 if a woman i living in household j close to factory f has experienced IPV in the past three months and zero otherwise. $ConflictIntensity_{f,t}$ is the factory-specific measures of conflict intensity. In our main specification, we define it as the total number of fatalities that occurred in the 50 km radius of the factory in the

[1] ACLED distinguishes between battles, explosions/remote violence, protests, riots, strategic developments, and violence against civilians.

Table 1: Variables, measurement, and data sources

	Measurement	Data source
Outcomes		
Intimate partner violence		
Physical violence (experienced any kind of physical violence (push, shake slap, punch, kick, choke, threatened) in the past 3 months	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Sexual violence (experienced any kind of sexual violence (rape, force sexual acts) in the past 3 months	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Psychological violence (experienced any kind of psychological violence (humiliate, threaten to hurt or harm, insult) in the past 3 months	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Corporal punishment		
By mother (punish her children physically sometimes)	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
By father (punish his children physically sometimes)	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Mechanisms		
Husband stressed (often angry, frustrated or stressed)	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Husband stressed about money (often frustrated because of low income)	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Acceptance of violence (wife thinks husband is justified in beating his wife in at least one of the following scenarios: going out without telling him, neglecting children, arguing with him refusing sex, burning food)	0 = no and 1 = yes	Panel
Exposure variables		
Conflict intensity		
Number of conflict fatalities within 50 km of the factory in the past 6 months	Continuous	ACLED
Number of conflict events within 50 km of the factory in the past 6 months	Continuous	ACLED

previous 6 months.[2] As an alternative definition for conflict intensity, we use the number of conflict events overall, and the number of violence against civilians events. μ_i indicates the individual fixed effects, and γ_t the time trend. The individual fixed effects account for all time-invariant observed and unobserved individual characteristics that could influence the probability of intimate partner violence. ε_{ijft} is the error term. All regressions are estimated using robust standard errors clustered at the individual level.

Table 2 shows the descriptives for our main outcome variables (domestic violence measures), other outcome variables (mechanisms), main conflict variables, and household characteristics. The data reveals that 10% of women reported experiencing physical violence in the past 3 months, while 3% reported experiencing sexual violence, and 15% reported experiencing psychological violence. Additionally, 51% of children were physically punished in the households surveyed. Specifically, fathers were responsible for physical punishment in 32% of households, and mothers in 49% of households.[3]

For the other outcome variables, we see that 30% of the wives report that her husband was stressed, and 27% that he was stressed about money. For the main conflict variables, that is the 6-month lagged number of fatalities and conflict events. On average, within each buffer zone there was 4.88 conflict episodes and 20.86 fatalities in the last 6 months.

[2]We do not have the geo-location of the households themselves, but we know that they live close to the factories. Hence, using a buffer zone around factories should be a good proximation for buffer zones around the household.

[3]When compared to the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) 2016 data, which reported that 16.9% of women experienced physical violence, 8.3% experienced sexual violence, and 20.2% experienced psychological violence in the past 12 months, our estimates are slightly lower. This discrepancy is likely due to our shorter recall period of 3 months compared to the 12-month period used in the DHS. We could not find any official number on corporal punishment, but our number is in line with the results from Desta et al. (Desta et al., 2022).

Table 2: Descriptive statistics

	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Domestic violence measures				
Physical violence last 3 months	0.10	0.30	0	1
Sexual violence last 3 months	0.03	0.18	0	1
Psychological violence last 3 months	0.15	0.36	0	1
Corporal punishment by mother	0.49	0.50	0	1
Corporal punishment by father	0.32	0.47	0	1
Other outcome variables				
Husband stressed	0.30	0.46	0	1
Husband stressed about money	0.27	0.45	0	1
Acceptance of violence	0.34	0.47	0	1
Conflict measurement				
Number of conflict events in 50 km radius last 6 months	4.88	19.37	0	144
Number of fatalities in 50 km radius last 6 months	20.86	88.77	0	619
Household characteristics				
Number of children	1.29	1.30	0	8
Years of education	9.23	3.11	0	15
Age	25.10	6.21	16	60
Muslim	0.15	0.35	0	1
Husband Age	31.93	8.02	18	80
Husband years of education	9.59	3.71	0	21
N	6707			

3 Results

Figure 1 below and Table A.1 in Appendix A.1 show our main results; there is a significant association between exposure to armed conflict and increased rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) and physical punishment of children. Specifically, a one standard deviation increase in the number of fatalities led to a 1.2 percentage point (pp) increase in the likelihood that wives experienced physical violence in the past 3 months, representing a 12% increase compared to the mean. Similarly, there was a 1.0 pp increase in the likelihood of wives experiencing sexual violence, a 33% increase relative to the mean. No significant effect was observed on psychological violence.

Regarding violence against children, the same increase in exposure to armed conflict was associated with a 2.6 pp rise in the likelihood that children were physically punished, a 5% increase compared to the mean. Both fathers and mothers were more likely to physically

punish their children, with increases of 1.9 pp (6% increase) and 2.7 pp (5.5% increase), respectively.

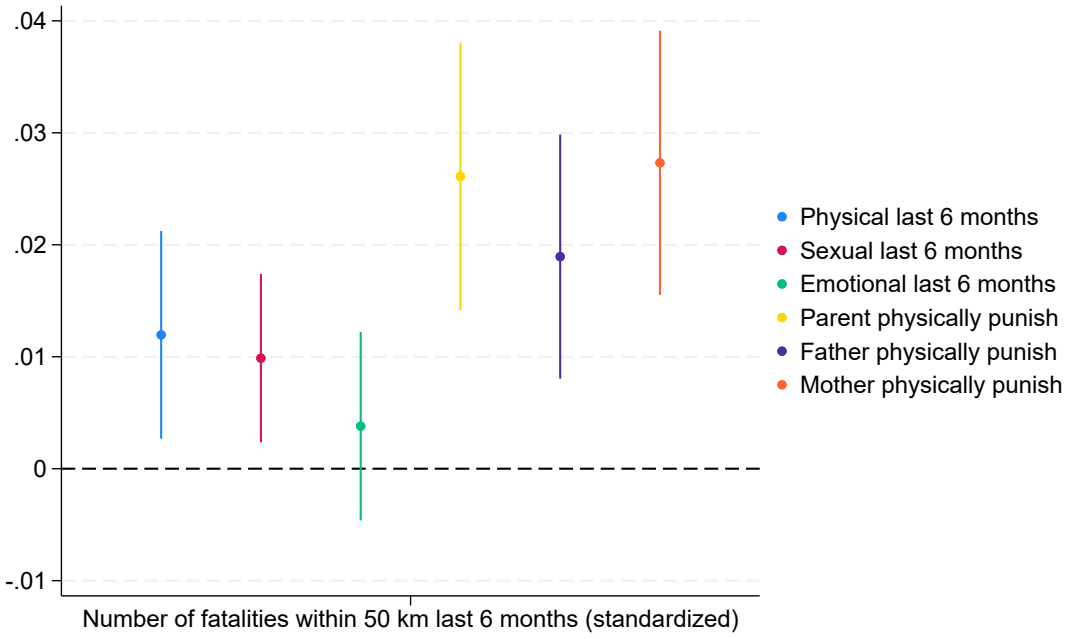

Figure 1: Main results in a coefplot

Notes: Data from Acled and our survey. Coefficient plot from Table A.1 in Appendix A.1.

Exploring potential mechanisms (Table 3), we found that increased conflict exposure was linked to higher stress levels among husbands. There was a 2.9 pp increase in the likelihood of husbands being stressed (10% increase compared to the mean) and a 2.9 pp increase in the likelihood of husbands being stressed about money (11.5% increase). Additionally, conflict exposure was associated with economic strains, evidenced by a reduction in husbands' income by 1,218 birr (7.1% decline) and a decrease in working hours by 2.9 hours per week (6.5% decline). We also find that women are more likely to justify violence after conflict exposure; specifically, a one standard deviation increase in the number of conflict events increases the likelihood that the wife reports at least one justification for violence by 1.1 pp (3.2% increase).

Table 3: Mechanisms

	Husband stressed	Stressed money	Husband income	Husband hours work	Accept abuse
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.029***	0.029***	-1217.6***	-2.88***	0.011*
	(0.0068)	(0.0068)	(223.8)	(0.36)	(0.0065)
Mean in sample	0.30	0.27	17126.08	44.40	0.34
N	6462	6462	6255	5315	6652
R-squared	0.42	0.42	0.43	0.53	0.49
Mean X-var	4.62	4.62	4.69	4.55	4.78
SD X-var	18.50	18.50	18.79	17.73	19.08
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

These findings suggest that economic stress and increased stress levels among husbands may be key pathways through which conflict exposure elevates the risk of IPV and physical punishment of children. The increase in husbands' stress—both general and financial—correlates with higher instances of violence within the household.

In summary, our results demonstrate that exposure to armed conflict in Ethiopia is significantly associated with increased rates of IPV and violence against children. The economic and psychological impacts of conflict on husbands appear to play a substantial role in this relationship.

In sensitivity analyses (Appendix A.1), we test alternative measures of conflict intensity, including the number of conflict events (Table A.2) and a specific type of conflict event, violence against civilians (Table A.3). The results remain consistent across these specifications.

Further, we conduct sensitivity tests to examine the robustness of our findings. Re-estimating our models with regional fixed effects instead of individual fixed effects (Table A.4), we find that the association between conflict exposure and IPV remains significant. This consistency suggests that both regional factors and time-varying individual influences are important in shaping IPV outcomes. Conversely, the effects on VAC, particularly maternal physical punishment, diminish and are no longer statistically significant. The coefficient for fathers physically punishing children was lower but remains marginally significant. These

results imply that individual and household-level factors, possibly related to parental stress and coping mechanisms, are more critical in understanding VAC than regional factors alone.

To further validate our findings and address potential endogeneity concerns, we conducted placebo tests by examining the association between future conflict exposure and current IPV and VAC outcomes (Table A.5). Specifically, we regressed current IPV and VAC measures on conflict fatalities occurring in the subsequent six months. The results reveal a negative association between future conflict exposure and current violence outcomes. These negative coefficients suggest that future conflict exposure does not predict an increase in current IPV or VAC. The absence of a positive relationship—and the presence of a negative one—supports the causal interpretation of our main findings. It indicates that our results are unlikely to be driven by reverse causality or unobserved confounding factors that vary over time. Furthermore, the negative associations may reflect random variation rather than substantive anticipatory effects, given the unpredictability of conflict events.

To examine the regional robustness of our findings, we conducted separate analyses focusing exclusively on Tigray and then excluding Tigray from the sample. When analyzing the data from Tigray alone, the results remain robust and statistically significant. Specifically, in Tigray, a one standard deviation increase in the number of fatalities lead to a significant increase in the likelihood of wives experiencing physical violence (1·2 pp, 12% increase, 95% CI: Y to Z) and sexual violence (0·8 pp,21% increase 95% CI: Y to Z). The effects on violence against children are also positive and significant, with increases in the likelihood of both mothers and fathers physically punishing their children (Table A.6). However, when Tigray is excluded from the analysis, the effects on intimate partner violence and violence against children disappear, and the coefficients are no longer statistically significant (Table A.7). This suggests that the observed associations between conflict exposure and household violence are predominantly driven by the conflict dynamics in Tigray, which accounts for approximately 47% of our sample.

4 Conclusion

This study provides new evidence that conflict exposure in Ethiopia significantly elevates the risk of domestic violence, encompassing both intimate partner violence and the physical punishment of children. Fixed-effects models linking longitudinal survey data to ACLED conflict records consistently show that localized conflict intensity is correlated with increased physical and sexual IPV, as well as higher rates of child punishment by mothers and fathers. Elevated stress, particularly tied to economic hardship, emerges as a key mechanism linking conflict exposure to violence within the home.

From a policy perspective, these findings highlight the importance of multifaceted interventions. Programs aimed at reducing poverty and enhancing economic security can help alleviate stress-related triggers of violence. Additionally, integrated mental health services and community-based initiatives may further mitigate the intergenerational cycle of trauma. The regional patterns, particularly the pronounced effects observed in Tigray, suggest that humanitarian and development efforts should account for localized conflict dynamics to effectively address the specific needs of affected populations.

Overall, this study underscores how armed conflict extends its destructive reach into domestic spheres, exacerbating existing vulnerabilities and creating new ones. Future research would benefit from exploring more granular geographic and temporal measures of conflict exposure, as well as studying the long-term psychological impacts of violence on children. By drawing attention to these processes, the paper encourages policymakers and practitioners to develop targeted strategies that address both the immediate and enduring household-level consequences of armed conflict.

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Appendix:

A.1 Additional tables and figures

Table A.1: Main results

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.012**	0.0099**	0.0038	0.026***	0.019***	0.027***
	(0.0047)	(0.0038)	(0.0043)	(0.0061)	(0.0056)	(0.0060)
Control mean	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.51	0.32	0.49
N	6652	6650	6651	6673	6653	6667
R-squared	0.38	0.27	0.39	0.60	0.53	0.60
Mean X-var	2.97	2.97	2.97	2.96	2.97	2.96
SD X-var	14.00	14.00	14.00	13.97	13.99	13.98
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.2: Alternative conflict exposure measure: Number of conflict events

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Conflicts last 6 months (50km)	0.011**	0.011***	0.0066	0.030***	0.021***	0.032***
	(0.0049)	(0.0038)	(0.0044)	(0.0062)	(0.0056)	(0.0061)
Control mean	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.51	0.32	0.49
N	6652	6650	6651	6673	6653	6667
R-squared	0.38	0.27	0.39	0.60	0.53	0.60
Mean X-var	4.78	4.78	4.78	4.77	4.78	4.77
SD X-var	19.08	19.08	19.08	19.05	19.07	19.06
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.3: Alternative conflict exposure measure: Number of violence against civilians events

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother pu childre
Violence against civ last 6 months (50km)	0.0091*	0.0079**	0.00084	0.030***	0.019***	0.031***
	(0.0051)	(0.0038)	(0.0048)	(0.0065)	(0.0060)	(0.0065)
Control mean	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.51	0.32	0.49
N	6652	6650	6651	6673	6653	6667
R-squared	0.38	0.27	0.39	0.60	0.53	0.60
Mean X-var	1.62	1.62	1.62	1.62	1.62	1.62
SD X-var	2.99	2.99	2.99	2.99	2.99	2.99
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.4: Main results, region FE

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.012***	0.0068*	-0.0034	0.0086	0.0089*	0.0089
	(0.0045)	(0.0038)	(0.0039)	(0.0056)	(0.0051)	(0.0055)
Mean in sample	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.51	0.32	0.49
N	6652	6650	6651	6673	6653	6667
R-squared	0.37	0.25	0.36	0.59	0.52	0.58
Mean X-var	20.41	20.42	20.42	20.36	20.42	20.38
SD X-var	87.37	87.38	87.37	87.24	87.36	87.28
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
F.E.	Region	Region	Region	Region	Region	Region

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.5: Main results, including future exposure to conflict

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.011**	0.0081**	-0.0021	0.012**	0.0089*	0.012**
	(0.0047)	(0.0038)	(0.0041)	(0.0058)	(0.0053)	(0.0057)
Fatalities coming 6 months (50km)	0.0068	-0.0049***	-0.0052	-0.012**	0.00035	-0.011*
	(0.0044)	(0.0017)	(0.0046)	(0.0057)	(0.0050)	(0.0057)
Mean in sample	0.10	0.03	0.15	0.51	0.32	0.49
N	6652	6650	6651	6673	6653	6667
R-squared	0.37	0.25	0.36	0.59	0.52	0.58
Mean X-var	20.41	20.42	20.42	20.36	20.42	20.38
SD X-var	87.37	87.38	87.37	87.24	87.36	87.28
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.6: Main results, in Tigray

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.012***	0.0084**	-0.0029	0.0095	0.0095*	0.011*
	(0.0048)	(0.0041)	(0.0041)	(0.0059)	(0.0054)	(0.0058)
Mean in sample	0.10	0.04	0.18	0.49	0.26	0.48
N	3121	3121	3121	3121	3120	3121
R-squared	0.35	0.29	0.40	0.69	0.57	0.68
Mean X-var	26.84	26.84	26.84	26.84	26.85	26.84
SD X-var	121.41	121.41	121.41	121.41	121.43	121.41
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.

Table A.7: Main results, excluding Tigray

	(1) Physical last 3m	(2) Sexual last 3m	(3) Emotional last 3m	(4) Phys. punish children	(5) Father punish children	(6) Mother punish children
Fatalities last 6 months (50km)	0.011	-0.0089	-0.0086	-0.0012	0.0031	-0.0095
	(0.011)	(0.0078)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Mean in sample	0.10	0.03	0.13	0.52	0.37	0.51
N	3531	3529	3530	3552	3533	3546
R-squared	0.38	0.22	0.32	0.49	0.48	0.49
Mean X-var	14.73	14.74	14.74	14.67	14.74	14.69
SD X-var	35.84	35.85	35.85	35.76	35.84	35.78
Wave f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ind. f.e.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Notes: Standard errors, clustered at the individual level, are in parentheses. P-values are $\leq 0.01^{***}$, $\leq 0.05^{**}$, and $\leq 0.1^{*}$.