

# How Much Would Reducing Lead Exposure Improve Children's Learning in the Developing World?

Lee Crawfurd, Rory Todd, Susannah Hares, Justin Sandefur, and Rachel Silverman Bonnifield

# ABSTRACT

Around half of children in low-income countries have elevated blood lead levels. What role does lead play in explaining low educational outcomes in these settings? We conduct a new systematic review and meta-analysis of observational studies on the relationship between lead exposure and learning outcomes. Adjusting for observable confounds and publication bias yields a benchmark estimate of a 0.12 standard deviation reduction in learning per natural log unit of blood lead. As all estimates are non-experimental, we present evidence on the likely magnitude of unobserved confounding, and summarize results from a smaller set of natural experiments. Our benchmark estimate accounts for over a fifth of the gap in learning outcomes between rich and poor countries, and implies moderate learning gains from targeted interventions for highly exposed groups (~ 0.1 standard deviations) and modest learning gains (< 0.05 standard deviations) from broader public health campaigns.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Lead Poisoning, Child Education, Developing Countries

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## 1 Introduction

Over 600 million children in low- and middle-income countries have elevated blood lead levels (Rees and Fuller, 2020). This includes just 3 percent of children in high-income countries, and more than half of children in low-income countries (Figure A1).<sup>1</sup>

Children's scores on standardized tests of reading and mathematics in these same countries typically fall between one and three standard deviations below the level of performance of children in high-income settings (Angrist et al., 2021). The World Bank and UNESCO's modeled estimates suggest 91 percent of children in low-income countries cannot read and comprehend a simple text by age 10, compared to just 8 percent in high-income countries (Azevedo et al., 2022).

Are these two broad patterns connected? In this paper we explore the evidence of a causal link between lead exposure and children's learning outcomes. Since the relationship between lead and cognition varies with level of exposure, we place particular emphasis on the likely impacts at blood-lead levels observed among children in the developing world. We then ask what potential gains there are to learning from feasible interventions to reduce lead exposure in low- and lower-middle income countries. What proportion, if any, of the large learning gaps between countries might be explained by lead exposure? Further, is lead abatement a viable and cost-effective strategy to improving education performance?

We approach these questions by revisiting and extending existing meta-analyses of studies on the relationship between measures of blood lead and child learning outcomes. Much of the literature on the effects of lead on cognitive development has focused on impacts on IQ. A key contribution of our study is in additionally gathering effects on standardized test scores for reading and mathematics. We show that the magnitude of the association between blood lead levels is fairly consistent across these alternative outcomes. On average, we estimate that a one (natural) log unit increase in blood lead is associated with a  $-.23\sigma$  change in reading and mathematics test scores. Ninety-five percent of estimates are between -.28 and  $-.18\sigma$ .

We then review how inclusion of controls for parental characteristics and socioeconomic status changes the association between lead and cognitive outcomes in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>These figures are derived from estimates produced by IHME/UNICEF (Rees and Fuller, 2020), who define elevated blood lead levels as exceeding the US CDC reference value of 5 micrograms per deciliter (the CDC lowered its reference value to 3.5 micrograms in 2021). We combine these exposure rates with population estimates from the UN (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019).

associational studies. Standard controls typically, but not uniformly, lead to smaller associations with magnitudes that remain relevant for public health policy. We also assess the importance of publication bias in the literature. Standard tests based on funnel plots suggest publication bias may exaggerate the magnitude of the relationship between lead and cognitive outcomes. Lower-powered studies report larger effects, and an anomalous share of p-values fall just below conventional significance levels. However, standard approaches to correcting for this bias only moderately reduce our estimated average effect.

Accounting for study characteristics and correcting for publication bias, we find that a (natural) log unit increase in blood lead is associated with a  $-.12\sigma$  decrease in reading and mathematics scores in the developing world. Magnitudes are similar for effects on IQ, reading, and mathematics scores.

While all of these estimates are based on observational studies, we also review the smaller number of quasi-experimental studies, all of which show larger effects for IV estimates than OLS estimates. By contrast, bounding procedures based on coefficient stability imply that unobserved heterogeneity could explain roughly one-third of the OLS association.

In order to quantify the overall potential learning gains from eliminating lead exposure, we combine our estimates of the association between lead and learning, with estimates of the prevalence of lead poisoning, and estimates of the effect of interventions targeting lead exposure. If given a causal interpretation, the overall results of this meta-analysis imply that reducing children's mean blood lead levels from average existing levels in LMICs (5.3  $\mu g/dL$ ) to high-income country levels  $(0.5\mu g/dL)$  in the US according to the EPA) would close 21 percent of the learning gap between developing and developed countries for which we have data. Projects designed to reduce acute lead exposure at specific polluted sites have reduced mean blood lead levels by 1.35 - 2.3 log units, implying a 0.16 to to  $0.26\sigma$  increase in learning for affected children. Projects targeting chronic low-level lead exposure in wider populations have reduced blood lead levels by 0.34 - 0.42 log units, imply learning gains of 0.04 to  $0.05\sigma$ . Even these smaller effect sizes based on conservative assumptions about the effect of broad public health initiatives offer a potentially cost-effective means to improve learning outcomes (ignoring health benefits), if these programs can be implemented effectively and cheaply at scale in low- and middleincome countries.

## 2 Meta-analytic methods

We review the literature on the relationship between lead poisoning, measured through blood testing, and learning outcomes. We focus on studies that measure some kind of cognitive test outcome, and also have blood lead level measures from the same individuals, whether contemporaneously or from different points in time.

## 2.1 Search strategy

Our search strategy is summarised in the flowchart in Figure A2. We seek to identify all studies measuring the correlation between blood lead levels and IQ or test scores. We start with three recent systematic reviews. The first finds 27 papers published between 2010 and 2020 that measure child (aged 0–19 years) blood lead levels and 'full-scale' IQ scores (Galiciolli et al., 2022)<sup>2</sup>, of which 9 had at least one eligible result according to the criteria described in the next section. The second reviews 8 papers published between 2000 and 2020, focused on effects on IQ, with a study population under the age of 12 years (Heidari et al., 2022), of which 7 had at least one eligible result. The third reviews 34 studies in low-and middle-income countries with measures of lead exposure and a standardized measurement of neurodevelopment, from which we extract an additional 7 studies (Heng et al., 2022). In addition, we conducted our own systematic search using Google Scholar. We search for articles with the following terms in their title: (lead) AND (exposure OR blood OR level) AND (intelligence OR intellectual OR cognitive OR cognition OR education OR achievement OR IQ OR score OR math OR reading OR school). From this we found 951 potential results. We also found several studies through citation searching from an initial relevant paper. These two methods identified an additional 24 papers that had at least one result fulfilling the eligibility criteria described below. This led to a combined total of 47 unique studies.

### 2.2 Extracting estimates from studies

Two researchers independently extracted estimates from studies following the same protocol, with disagreements resolved by a third researcher. We extract any coefficient relating maternal or child blood lead levels to any of three cognitive outcomes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Full-scale IQ scores are the average of scores on five distinct abilities: Verbal Comprehension, Visual Spatial, Fluid Reasoning, Working Memory, and Processing Speed.

- IQ, math skills, or reading skills- on the full sample. We include estimates from sub-samples where subgroups are defined according to blood lead level. We focus on full-scale IQ rather than its separate components (performance and verbal IQ) where those are reportedly additionally. We include studies that use tests that are designed as general intelligence or IQ tests, such as the General Cognitive Index (Schnaas et al., 2006; Cooney et al., 1989), the British Ability Scales (Fulton et al., 1987), and the Kohs Block Design Test (Vega-Dienstmaier et al., 2006). We focus on general reading and math composite outcomes rather than any individual subcomponents. We exclude estimates which are entirely a combination of other extracted estimates. We exclude results which include blood measures for multiple ages in a model separately, as this has a different estimand: the effect of exposure at a particular age, relative to exposure at another age. We exclude estimates where the outcome is a binary re-coding of a continuous outcome, and a result using this continuous outcome has been extracted. We exclude estimates where the outcome was measured before the age of three. We exclude results of models which interact lead exposure with other covariates. For results to be eligible, studies need to report - or provide the information to calculate - an effect size, a standard error or confidence interval, a measure of blood lead exposure, and the standard deviation of the outcome. We also discarded results with less than 20 observations. After discarding studies that did not meet these criteria, we are left with 286 estimates from 47 unique studies.

We also code a number of other characteristics for each study: the country where the study was carried out; the specific outcome type (IQ, reading, or mathematics); the standard deviation of this outcome in the sample; the functional form for the estimation of the effect of blood lead on the cognitive outcome; the mean blood lead level of the sample<sup>3</sup>; whether exposure for a result was based on more than one blood measurement; the average age at blood sampling; the average age at outcome testing; and which variables were adjusted for in the analysis.

As we have multiple estimates from most studies, we account for the resulting dependence between results using robust variance estimation (Hedges et al., 2010), imputing a conservative value of 1 for the correlation between results from the same study, meaning that studies which contributed more results were not overweighted (Fisher and Tipton, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Studies report averages as arithmetic means, geometric mean, and medians. We convert medians to arithmetic means using the method in Wan et al. (2014). Studies which report both arithmetic means and geometric means show the former are generally slightly larger as a result of the skewed distribution of blood lead levels. However, differences are small and so we treat both types as equivalent in analysis.

#### 2.3 Harmonizing variables across studies

We follow the guidelines provided by the Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions (Higgins and Green, 2008) to calculate effect sizes and standard errors where these are not given in the required form. Where studies give effects as correlation coefficients, these are converted to raw regression coefficients using the formula:

Effect Size = Correlation Coefficient 
$$\times \frac{\sigma_y}{\sigma_x}$$
 (1)

where  $\sigma_y$  and  $\sigma_x$  denote the standard deviation of the outcome (IQ or test scores, in our case) and the independent variable (blood lead levels), respectively.

Where studies only provide p-values for effect sizes, we convert these to standard errors using the formulas:

Standard Error = Effect Size/
$$z$$
 (2)

where z is calculated using the inverse CDF of the p-value divided by 2.

Where studies report only that a p-value is less than a particular value, we impute half the threshold value (e.g if a paper were to report p < 0.01, we would impute p = 0.005). For studies which do not report sample standard deviations, we impute population standard deviations where available. One study (Shadbegian et al., 2019) has as its outcome the percentile in which the child placed in math and reading tests; we convert this to a z-score, assuming test scores to be normally distributed.

#### 2.4 Re-expressing coefficients from log and linear models

Existing meta-analyses have documented a roughly log-linear relationship between blood lead levels and IQ, whereby the natural logarithm of blood lead levels is proportional to IQ scores (see for example Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> Letting  $\mathbf{X}$  denote a vector of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>In Figure 1 we collect published dose-response curves from 13 different studies. These include Lanphear et al. (2005) who combine data from seven different longitudinal studies that track a total of 1,333 children followed from birth or infancy until 5–10 years of age. Rothenberg and Rothenberg (2005) directly compare a linear and log-linear specification, finding a substantially better fit with the log-linear specification.

individual and family control variables, and subscript i denote individuals, this loglinear specification is our reference benchmark in what follows:

$$\frac{Y_i - \mu_y}{\sigma_y} = \alpha \ln(BLL_i) + \mathbf{X_i}\gamma + \varepsilon_i \tag{3}$$

where  $Y_i$  represents an individual's IQ or test score on mathematics or reading tests.

However, individual studies use a range of functional forms to model the relationship between blood lead exposure and the cognitive outcome. Some report a regression coefficient for a linear increase in blood lead, some report the coefficient for a log-unit increase—with bases of 2, e, or 10—and some report the difference between two groups defined by a value or range of values for blood lead levels. In order to compare the effects of lead exposure across studies, we first need to harmonize these results. Based on Lanphear et al. (2005) and other studies shown in Figure 1, we assume that the true relationship between blood lead and cognitive outcomes is log-linear, although we allow more flexibility in our meta-regression by including a linear term for a study's mean blood lead level. In order to compare across studies, we convert all effect sizes into natural log units. We do this using a 're-expression algorithm'. All such algorithms are necessarily imperfect. Linakis et al. (2021) show that re-expressions are likely to be biased where the distribution of the underlying variable has a skewed distribution, which is true in our case. In Table A3 we use microdata from the US NHANES study and three other studies in our review, to estimate both logarithmic and linear specifications using the same data, and compare the performance of three algorithms: Linakis et al. (2021), Rodríguez-Barranco et al. (2017), and Dzierlenga et al. (2020). The Linakis et al. (2021) method has the lowest root mean squared error, and so we proceed with this algorithm.



#### Figure 1: Log-linear dose-response curves

Note: This figure reproduces dose-response curves published from the individual studies named. They have been standardized and centred to converge at 5  $\mu$ g/dL, to allow gradients to be compared. Curves from Edwards et al, 2013, refer to those for non-Hispanic Black children.

We first convert studies which compare discrete low and high exposure groups to a linear equivalent. Studies define "low" and "high" exposure groups using different thresholds. We therefore convert these effects to linear estimates by dividing the estimated effect size by the difference in average BLL between the high and low exposure groups.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Where results are from models with a wider range of covariates which excludes observations without selected variables, the mean blood lead level and outcome standard deviation may be slightly different to the values for the sample; however, these differences are likely to be negligible. For studies which express effects as the difference between two groups defined by a range of blood lead levels, we require mean blood lead levels for the two groups. Where this is not given, we impute these values where possible. Where the range of a group is only 1 µg/dL, we take the midpoint; for example, for a group with blood lead levels 4 to 5 µg/dL, we impute a mean of 4.5 µg/dL (Shadbegian et al., 2019; Edwards et al., 2013). For 7 studies, we simulate log-normal distributions using the overall mean and standard deviation given for the study sample, and then approximate group means given this simulated distribution (Liu et al., 2013; Surkan et al., 2007). For another we instead simulate a normal distribution as this better fits the reported moments of the data (Rasoul et al., 2012).

Following Linakis et al. (2021), we calculate a conversion factor I as a function of the desired logarithmic base  $\alpha$  and median blood lead level (BLL).<sup>6</sup>

$$I = \alpha^{\log_{\alpha}(meanBLL) + 0.5} - \alpha^{\log_{\alpha}(meanBLL) - 0.5}$$
(4)

We then multiply coefficients estimated from linear models by this conversion factor to obtain an estimate of what the coefficient would have been under a logarithmic model.

Overall, we see larger effects for estimates from linear models than from logarithmic models, suggesting that some error may still result from this approximation. In order to mitigate against this, we adjust for whether a result was reported in a nonlogarithmic form in our metaregression analysis, described below. We also include an interaction with the average blood lead level of the sample, as the magnitude of error will be a function of this variable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>While this algorithm performs best using the median of the exposure distribution, we find it still performs well using arithmetic means, the most commonly reported average in our studies.

### 2.5 Adjustments for publication bias

A common concern in meta-analyses, particularly those involving observational studies, is publication or reporting bias. If only statistically significant results are reported, we will produce a biased estimate of the true average effect. In our case, funnel plots do indicate that publication bias may be an issue in this literature, with relatively few statistically insignificant results (Figure A4). Specifically, results are asymmetrically distributed, with "missing" results in the region of null or even positive associations, and the distribution of z-statistics shows a spike just below the significance threshold. The former pattern is confirmed by an Egger et al. (1997) asymmetry test, and appears not to be caused by errors arising from the re-expression algorithms (Figure A5).

There are several approaches to adjusting for publication bias, none of which are perfect. For our main estimate we include a control for the variance of each estimate, following Stanley and Doucouliagos (2014). We also show in Appendix Table A4 that adjusting our uncontrolled result using three other approaches, which generally only moderately weaken the effect. The simplest approach is the Egger regression intercept, which includes the standard error as a control variable. The Egger approach is shown by Stanley and Doucouliagos (2014) in simulations to be overly biased towards zero, and that a better approach ('PET-PEESE') is to use a nonlinear quadratic approximation to the true unknown nonlinear relationship between effect sizes and effect size variance, as we do in our main result. The trimand-fill approach estimates the number of results 'missing' due to publication bias and impute these results. Finally, the p-uniform<sup>\*</sup> method makes use of the principle that the p-values of estimates should be uniformly distributed at the true effect size (Aert and Assen, 2018). We can also show the sensitivity of average effects to different assumptions about the degree of selection on statistical significance (Copas and Shi, 2001). Results from this method, shown in table A6, indicate that treatment effects remain statistically significant with a range of reasonable assumptions about the potential degree of selection of estimates on statistical significance (Figure A6).

#### 2.6 Meta-regression

Our focus in this review is estimating the effect of lead exposure on learning in developing countries. Our primary estimate of the average effect is therefore the constant term  $\beta_0$  from a meta-regression in which an observed effect size  $\hat{\theta}_{ij}$  for result *i* in study *j* is related to *m* result covariates, 1 through *M*. Estimates are

weighted inversely to their variance, and we use the Hedges et al. (2010) estimator which is robust to unknown correlation between multiple estimates from the same study.

$$\hat{\theta}_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1ij} + \beta_2 X_{2ij} + \dots + \beta_m X_{Mij} + \epsilon_{ij} \tag{5}$$

The independent variables correspond to characteristics of the underlying studies. These are (i) whether the original result modelled the effect of blood lead on the cognitive outcomes using a logarithmic specification or not; (ii) the average blood lead level for the result sample, centred by the average of mean childhood BLLs for the 34 countries estimated by Ericson et al. (2021); (iii) an interaction between these two effects; (iv) an indicator for whether BLL was measured contemporaneously to the outcome measurement, as the highest BLL measurement among several taken for an individual, or prenatally, rather than as an average over several measurements over a lifetime or as a 'lagged' measurement during an earlier potentially critical developmental period; (v) an indicator variable for studies from high income countries; (vi) an indicator for results using IQ rather than reading or mathematics test scores as the outcome variable; (vii) an indicator for results which fail to control for parental education; (viii) an indicator for results which fail to control for family income or socioeconomic status;<sup>7</sup> (ix) the variance of the estimate, which may vary systematically with effect size in the presence of publication bias. All of these variables are coded such that a value of zero corresponds to our preferred specification: i.e., effects on reading or mathematics in a low- or middle-income country, in a context with average BLL, using a log-linear specification, where exposure is calculated as a lifetime average or from an earlier period than the time of outcome measurement, with controls for household income and parental education. Note that no single result fulfils all of these criteria.

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$ We define this kind of control broadly: for example, we code results which adjust for the Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment, which measures the physical and social environment of children, as controlling for this.

## 3 Meta-analysis results

#### **3.1** Study characteristics

From the total of 47 studies included in our meta-analysis, 17 are from the United States, 12 are from other high-income countries (Australia, Canada, Italy, New Zealand, South Korea, Taiwan, and UK), and 18 are from low or middle-income countries (Brazil, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Pakistan, and the Philippines). All except one study are observational (the exception Aizer et al. (2018) employs an instrumental variable design), however many are longitudinal.

The median sample size in our estimates is 389. The median age at blood lead testing is four years old, and at cognitive testing is eight years old. The average blood lead level is 7.06µg/dL. The majority of results have controls for parent IQ or education and family background or income (Table 1).

	Mean	Median	SD
Age at Blood Test	4.70	4.00	3.00
Age at Outcome	7.74	8.00	2.70
Mean blood lead	7.06	6.70	4.31
Sample Size	$13,\!869.04$	389.00	40,211.86
Binary Controls			
Used logarithmic specification	0.24	0.00	0.43
Controlled for parent IQ or ed	0.69	1.00	0.46
Controlled for family income or wealth	0.61	1.00	0.49
Used average or lagged BLL measure	0.62	1.00	0.49
Outcome was Maths or English	0.40	0.00	0.49
From Low/Middle Income Country	0.37	0.00	0.48
Observations	286		

Table 1: Result characteristics

Note: This table shows descriptive statistics for the 286 estimates from 47 studies in our meta-analysis.

### **3.2** Average effects

Overall, we find that a one log unit reduction in BLL is associated with a -.12 standard deviation improvement in test scores. As discussed in Section 2.6, our preferred meta-regression specification adjusts for the choice of original model specification, and control variables in each study, and is shown in Table 2.

To explore the influence of specific sets of controls systematically, we report a specification curve a la Simonsohn et al. (2014). Figure 2 displays the average effect size from a meta-analytic regression controlling for each of all possible combinations of study characteristics listed above. All specifications yield a negative relationship between (log) BLL and learning outcomes, though some are statistically insignificant.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	-0.227***	-0.225***	-0.154***	-0.115
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.021)	(0.100)
Potential confounds and sources of bias:		ref.	ref.	ref.
Effect variance (for pub.bias)		-0.139	-0.143	-0.137
		(0.488)	(0.484)	(0.462)
No control for parent $ed/IQ$			-0.173***	-0.167**
			(0.058)	(0.072)
No control for family income			0.002	0.009
			(0.061)	(0.071)
Harmonization of specification and context:				ref.
Not logarithmic				0.000
				(0.057)
Mean BLL				0.000
				(0.007)
Not log spec X Mean BLL				-0.008
				(0.011)
Exposure: not average or lag				-0.036
				(0.047)
Outcome (IQ)				0.015
				(0.061)
High income country				-0.046
				(0.063)
N (Estimates)	286	286	286	286
N (Studies)	47	47	47	47

Table 2: Meta-regression of effect size on study characteristics

Note: \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses. We use the Hedges et al. (2010) estimator to account for dependence between multiple estimates from the same study. The dependent variable in each case is the standardized effect size of one log unit increase in lead exposure. The constant represents the average effect. Column 1 presents the unadjusted average. Column 2 includes the PET-PEESE (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 2014) adjustment for publication bias. Column 3 includes controls for potentially confounding study-level characteristics - so the constant represents the average for studies that estimate a log-linear relationship, in a sample with average blood lead levels, with controls for parental IQ or education, and with a lagged measure of blood lead. In column 4, we additionally include controls to adjust the constant to studies in low or middle-income country settings, and focused on reading or mathematics test scores rather than IQ. Figure 2: Specification curve for meta-analytic regression of estimates of the relationship between (log) blood lead levels and learning outcomes





We also show our results graphically in the forest plots in Figures 3 and 4. These figures show the weighted average of effect sizes across studies for our two main outcomes, IQ and math/reading test scores, respectively. The mean of the pooled effect is -0.22 for results with IQ as the outcome, -0.20 for studies with math scores, and -0.24 for studies with reading scores.<sup>8</sup> Unlike our meta-regression estimate, however, these averages are unadjusted for study characteristics and potential publication bias.

Results are robust to dropping each individual study sequentially (Figure A3), and also to dropping studies in which we had to convert or impute different statistics (Table A6). For studies in which we use the population rather than sample standard deviation in outcomes, effects are 0.04 standard deviations larger, but not statistically significantly different.

### 3.3 Heterogeneity

Our main meta-analysis shows substantial heterogeneity between studies. The  $I^2$  statistics (the share of variability in effect sizes not caused by sampling error) from Figures 3 and 4 are all well above the 75% rule-of-thumb indicating "significant heterogeneity" (Higgins et al., 2003).

As we saw in Table 2 however, just one covariate was statistically significantly correlated with study effect size - whether that study controlled for parental education or IQ. The control for publication bias (the effect variance) also has a large coefficient, but is imprecisely estimated, and does not create a large shift in the overall mean effect size. We see no statistically significant differences for effects on math or reading compared with IQ, for high-income countries compared with middle-income countries, or between studies according to the timing of blood lead measurement, i.e., concurrent versus lagged or averaged over measurements at multiple time points.

We also show each of these controls individually in bivariate regressions in Table A5. While controlling for most of these study characteristics individually only alters the overall effect of log BLL on learning outcomes modestly, the combined effect of controlling for all of them is quite dramatic. The overall estimate of the BLL-learning link falls from  $-.23\sigma$  in column 1 with no controls to  $-0.13\sigma$  with various controls intended to adjust for potential confounding, publication bias, and differences in measurement (Table 2). Finally, because our ultimate interest is in reading

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Note that here we show results collapsed to their mean for each study where there are multiple estimates from a study. These results are similar to those obtained using robust variance estimation accounting for unknown correlation between estimates within studies (Hedges et al., 2010).

Study		Effect Size with 95% Cl	Weight (%)
Solon et al, 2008	< −	→ -2.92 [ -13.10, 7.26]	0.00
Alvarez-Ortega et al, 2017	<	-2.37 [ -3.78, -0.96]	0.14
Kamel et al, 2003	←	-1.38 [ -2.20, -0.56]	0.40
Reuben et al, 2017	←	-1.24 [ -1.92, -0.57]	0.57
Nwobi et al. 2019	← ■ ────	-0.66 [ -1.270.05]	0.68
Chen et al, 2007	<	-0.55 [ -1.04, -0.07]	0.99
Huang et al, 2012		-0.55 [ -0.98, -0.12]	1.23
Canfield et al, 2003		-0.51 [ -0.83, -0.20]	1.87
Dantzer et al, 2020		-0.45 [ -0.64, -0.25]	3.11
Rasoul et al, 2012		-0.44 [ -0.70, -0.18]	2.33
Chiodo et al, 2007		-0.39 [ -0.63, -0.16]	2.61
Counter et al, 2005		-0.38 [ -0.57, -0.20]	3.22
Kim, Yu, and Lee, 2010		-0.38 [ -0.74, -0.03]	1.60
Min et al, 2009		-0.34 [ -0.55, -0.13]	2.88
Earl et al, 2016		-0.33 [ -0.58, -0.09]	2.51
Kim et al , 2009		-0.33 [ -0.81, 0.15]	1.02
Jusko et al, 2008		-0.33 [ -0.86, 0.20]	0.87
Fulton et al, 1987		-0.32 [ -0.52, -0.11]	2.98
Rahman et al, 2002		-0.29 [ -0.60, 0.03]	1.85
Roy et al, 2013	_ <b>_</b>	-0.28 [ -0.47, -0.08]	3.12
Cai et al, 2020		-0.27 [ -0.56, 0.02]	2.04
Lucchini et al, 2012		-0.23 [ -0.43, -0.04]	3.12
Menezes-Filho et al, 2018		-0.23 [ -0.37, -0.08]	3.82
Baghurst et al, 1992		-0.23 [ -0.51, 0.06]	2.15
Hong et al, 2015		-0.20 [ -0.35, -0.04]	3.63
Dietrich et al, 1993		-0.18 [ -0.44, 0.08]	2.38
Vega-Dienstmaier et al, 2006		-0.16 [ -0.32, -0.01]	3.60
Ruebner et al, 2019		-0.16 [ -0.31, -0.02]	3.75
Liu et al, 2013		-0.16 [ -0.44, 0.12]	2.17
Surkan et al, 2007		-0.16 [ -0.42, 0.10]	2.34
Schnaas et al, 2000		-0.15 [ -0.27, -0.02]	4.09
Braun et al, 2012		-0.10 [ -0.20, 0.00]	4.40
Schnaas et al, 2006		-0.09 [ -0.31, 0.14]	2.71
Bellinger et al, 1992		-0.09 [ -0.28, 0.11]	3.14
Lucchini et al, 2019		-0.07 [ -0.18, 0.04]	4.28
Desrochers-Couture et al, 2018		-0.06 [ -0.12, 0.00]	4.85
Pan et al, 2018		-0.05 [ -0.08, -0.02]	5.12
Zailina et al, 2011		-0.04 [ -0.07, -0.00]	5.08
Taylor et al, 2017		0.04 [ -0.16, 0.24]	3.05
Cooney et al, 1989		→ 1.71 [ 0.71, 2.71]	0.28
Overall	•	-0.22 [ -0.27, -0.17]	
Heterogeneity: $\tau^2$ = 0.01, I <sup>2</sup> = 77.14%, H <sup>2</sup> = 4.38	*		
Test of θ = 0: z = -7.99, p = 0.00			
	-15 0 .5	1	
Random-effects REML model Sorted by: effect_sd_ln			

### Figure 3: Effects of lead on IQ

Note: This figure shows average effects for each study. In cases where more than one effect is reported per study, we show here the mean value The estimated overall effect size (of -0.22 with no moderators) based on these mean effect sizes is only marginally different to the effect size estimated from all individual estimates, with a robust variance estimator to account for unknown

dependence within studies.

Study		Effect Size with 95% Cl	Weight
Math			(70)
Kamel et al. 2003	< <sup>⊥</sup>	-1.36 [ -2.130.59]	0.48
Liu et al 2013	←■ !	-0.81 [ -1.30 -0.32]	1 04
Kordas et al. 2006		-0.42 [ -0.78, -0.06]	1.69
Kim, Yu, and Lee, 2010		-0.32 [ -0.91, 0.28]	0.76
Chiodo et al. 2007		-0.31 [ -0.50, -0.13]	3.47
Evens et al. 2015		-0.30 [ -0.32, -0.28]	5.65
Min et al. 2009		-0.27 [ -0.48, -0.06]	3.14
Fulton et al. 1987		-0.22 [ -0.43 -0.00]	3.08
Blackowicz et al. 2016		-0.17 [-0.21 -0.13]	5 55
Bellinger et al. 1992		-0.13[-0.34_0.09]	3.05
Surkan et al. 2007		-0.11[-0.34_0.11]	2.95
Lannhear et al. 2000		-0.09[-0.14]	5 50
Aizer et al. 2016		-0.06[-0.13_0.02]	5 16
Shadbegian et al. 2019		-0.01[-0.02 0.00]	5.69
Heterogeneity: $\tau^2 = 0.02$ $l^2 = 96.69\%$ $H^2 = 30.19$	🔺 T	-0.20[-0.280.11]	0.00
Test of $\theta_{1} = \theta_{1}^{2} Q(13) = 758 80 \text{ p} = 0.00$		0.20[ 0.20, 0.11]	
Reading			
Kamel et al, 2003	←───	-1.20 [ -1.87, -0.52]	0.61
Liu et al, 2013	<	-0.73 [ -1.21, -0.24]	1.07
Fulton et al, 1987	<b>_</b> _	-0.40 [ -0.62, -0.18]	3.03
Min et al, 2009		-0.38 [ -0.62, -0.14]	2.79
Kordas et al, 2006		-0.37 [ -0.70, -0.03]	1.87
Evens et al, 2015		-0.32 [ -0.34, -0.30]	5.66
Kim, Yu, and Lee, 2010		-0.30 [ -0.57, -0.02]	2.38
McLaine et al, 2013		-0.29 [ -0.38, -0.19]	4.84
Surkan et al, 2007	<b>B</b> +	-0.23 [ -0.47, 0.01]	2.73
Chiodo et al, 2007		-0.23 [ -0.39, -0.06]	3.83
Blackowicz et al, 2016		-0.20 [ -0.24, -0.16]	5.56
Aizer et al, 2016		-0.13 [ -0.27, 0.00]	4.23
Lanphear et al, 2000		-0.13 [ -0.18, -0.08]	5.45
Bellinger et al, 1992	<b>B</b>	-0.05 [ -0.27, 0.17]	3.05
Shadbegian et al, 2019		-0.01 [ -0.02, -0.01]	5.69
Heterogeneity: $\tau^2$ = 0.01, $I^2$ = 96.24%, $H^2$ = 26.62	•	-0.24 [ -0.31, -0.16]	
Test of $\theta_i = \theta_j$ : Q(14) = 895.88, p = 0.00	•     		
Overall	•	-0.22 [ -0.27, -0.16]	
Test of group differences: $Q_{1}(1) = 0.43$ p = 0.51			
	-1 -5 0	5	
Pandom offacts REMI model	·0 0		

Figure 4: Effects of lead on reading and mathematics assessments

Random-effects REML model Sorted by: effect\_sd\_In

Note: This figure shows average effects for each study. In cases where more than one effect is reported per study, we show here the mean value. The estimated overall effect size (of -0.20 for math and -0.24 for reading with no moderators) based on these mean effect sizes is only slightly different to the effect size estimated from all individual estimates, with a robust variance estimator to account for dependence within studies.

and mathematics scores in developing countries, in column 4 we also control for an indicator of studies in high-income countries and results using IQ as the outcome variable, yielding an estimate of  $-.12\sigma$ .

#### 3.4 Comparing our results to other reviews

How do our estimates compare to prior meta-analyses? Lanphear et al. (2005) estimate that an increase from 2.4  $\mu$ /dL to 30  $\mu$ /dl was associated with a 3.9 decrease in IQ, equivalent to a 0.18 standard deviation change per log unit increase in exposure. An earlier review found that a doubling of lead (from 10 to 20  $\mu$ g/dl blood lead or 5 to 10 ug/g tooth lead) was associated with a 1 to 2 point reduction in IQ. This is equivalent to around a 0.14 $\sigma$  reduction per log unit of lead (Pocock et al., 1994). Heidari et al. (2022) find that the standardised difference in mean IQ scores between high (>10 $\mu$ g/dL) and low exposure groups (<10 $\mu$ g/dL) is 0.541 $\sigma$ . Similarly, Galiciolli et al. (2022) find a difference between exposed and unexposed groups of 7.37 IQ points (equivalent to approximately 0.49 $\sigma$ ). Heng et al. (2022) provide a narrative review but not a meta-analytic average effect size. Our results for effects on IQ are therefore well within the range of other reviews, whilst we also extend our review to reading and mathematics test scores.

## 4 Assessing the role of unobserved confounders

Since observational studies may suffer from omitted variable bias, what reason is there to believe the associations we report above reflect a causal relationship? One piece of evidence in support of a causal interpretation is that experimental studies conducted with animals show significant impacts of lead exposure on cognitive function (see for example Gilbert and Rice (1987) and Tena et al. (2019)). Furthermore, though the mechanisms by which lead exposure causes cognitive impairment are still not fully understood, lead has been shown to interfere with several processes involved in neurological development and functioning, adding credibility to a causal interpretation (Ramírez Ortega et al., 2021).

While animal studies and the identification of neurological mechanisms lend credence to the existence of some causal effect, they don't tell us much about the magnitude of this effect in humans, or whether observational associations are biased by unmeasured confounders. In this section we present two sources of evidence on potential bias which can help us pin down the magnitude of the true causal effect. First, we discuss studies focused on natural experiments in lead exposure. Second, we assess the sensitivity of observational estimates to selection on unobserved variables using the coefficient stability method (Oster, 2016).

First, a handful of natural experiments with a reasonable claim to causality have been published on the lead-cognition relationship, and these studies allow us to directly compare causal with observational estimates. In Table 3 below we collect observational ordinary least squares (OLS) and quasi-experimental instrumental variable (IV) estimates from five studies.<sup>9</sup> In all cases, the IV estimate is larger than the OLS estimate, sometimes substantially so. Aizer et al. (2018) find results two to three times larger in the IV specification than the OLS one. They argue that the IV results are larger due to measurement error attenuating the OLS estimates. An alternative explanation for seeing larger coefficients for IV estimates than OLS estimates is that they estimate treatment effects for slightly different populations. OLS estimates the average treatment effect only amongst the subgroup of the population for whom the IV shifts their behaviour. We don't, however, have a compelling reason to believe that treatment effects would necessarily be different in the different

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>We don't include all of these studies in our meta-analysis as they don't all have direct blood lead measures. We do include the one study that does have blood lead measures, which uses a lead remediation program in Rhode Island as a source of exogenous variation, showing that instrumental variable estimates are larger than observational estimates (Aizer et al., 2018).

sub-populations affected and unaffected by the instruments in these contexts. Aizer et al. (2018) report four estimates from linear specifications (effects per unit change in blood lead), for two outcomes (reading and math) and two different instrucmental variable strategies. Applying the re-expression algorithm we describe in section 2.4, these results are equivalent to an average effect size of -0.13 standard deviations per natural log unit of blood lead, very close to our central meta-analytic estimate of -.12 standard deviation.

Clay et al. (2019) use an instrumental variable strategy based on the layout of the 1944 Interstate Highway System Plan to estimate the relationship between county soil lead levels and cognitive difficulties amongst students. They find a small and statistically insignificant relationship in the observational OLS specification, but statistically significant effects with the IV specification. Counties with a highway recommended in the 1944 plan were 17 percent more likely to have above median lead concentrations in topsoil. In the IV specification, counties with above median soil lead concentrations had 4 percentage points higher levels of children with cognitive difficulties (10 times larger than in the OLS specification).

Author	Outcome	OLS	IV	Lead measure	Instrument
Aizer	Reading	0.026	0.073	Blood	Nearby home
et al 2018	recauling	(0.002)	(0.037)	Diood	lead remediation
Aizer	Math	0.017	0.030	Blood	Nearby home
et al 2018	Wath	(0.001)	(0.034)	Diood	lead remediation
Clay	Cognitive	0.0029	0.0414	Soil	1944 Interstate
et al 2019	Difficulty	(0.004)	(0.019)	5011	Highway Plan
Grönqvist	CDA	0.164	0.256	Maaa	Leaded petrol
et al., 2020	GPA	(.030)	(.0769)	MOSS	ban
Feigenbaum	TT. ··· 1	0.219	1.022	Water	Distance to
et al., 2016	HOIMCIDES	(0.064)	(0.257)	pipes	lead refinery

 Table 3: IV Estimates Produce Larger Effects than OLS Estimates

Note: Results for Aizer et al (2018) take from Table 8, for Clay et al (2019) taken from Table 3, for Grönqvist et al. (2020) from Table 6., and for Feigenbaum et al (2016) from Table 2.

Grönqvist et al. (2020) study the phase-out of leaded petrol in Sweden in 1980-81. They show that reductions in lead measured in nationwide moss samples is associated with improved test scores. They find IV estimates that are around 50 percent larger than OLS estimates.

A similar pattern of larger effect sizes in quasi-experimental estimates than in observational estimates has also been shown in studies looking at other outcomes besides test scores, including school suspensions and juvenile detention (Aizer and Currie, 2019) and homicide rates (Feigenbaum and Muller, 2016).

Other quasi-experimental studies also show causal effects of lead exposure, though without providing a direct comparison of observational and causal estimates. Hollingsworth et al. (2022) focus on the switch to unleaded petrol in US Nascar motor racing in 2007. They estimate that removing the exposure of a school 1 mile from a race track would be equivalent to increasing school spending per pupil by \$750. Sorensen et al. (2019) evaluate lead hazard control programs, finding that each percentage point reduction in lead poisoning in early childhood led to 0.04 standard deviations higher math scores and 0.08 standard deviations reading scores. Rau et al. (2015) study the opening of a toxic waste dump in Chile in a difference-in-difference framework, showing that attending schools closer to the site after it opened lowered test scores. Higney et al. (2022) shows that water treatment in Scotland lead to improvements in test scores only in areas with high prevalence of lead pipes.

Second, we assess the robustness of observational estimates to selection on both observed covariates and proportional selection on unobserved covariates, based on the stability of estimated coefficients and model fit (R-squared). Specifically, we follow Oster (2016) in estimating the coefficient  $\beta^*$  that would result were we able to control for unobserved confounders. This equation (6) requires that we make assumptions about the proportional degree of selection  $\delta$  on unobservables (typically set at equal to selection on observables or 1), and about the maximum plausible value of the model fit  $R_{max}$  (typically set at 1.3 times the model fit in the fully adjusted model  $\tilde{R}$ ). Given these assumptions and our knowledge of the coefficients in the adjusted  $\tilde{\beta}$ and unadjusted models  $\mathring{\beta}$ , and model fits of the adjusted  $\tilde{R}$  and unadjusted models  $\mathring{R}$ , we can calculate the coefficient  $\beta^*$ .

$$\beta^{\star} = \tilde{\beta} - \delta \frac{(\mathring{\beta} - \tilde{\beta})(R_{max} - \tilde{R})}{(\tilde{R} - \mathring{R})} \tag{6}$$

We identify 18 estimates (from 16 studies) in which both an unadjusted and adjusted estimate is provided. Only six of these estimates (from five studies) also report an R-squared which allows us to calculate the Oster-adjusted estimate. These estimates are reported in Figure 5. Amongst the six estimates for which we can estimate adjustments for both observable and unobservable confounders, the average reduction in the coefficient adjusted for observables is 14 percent, whereas the average reduction for observables and unobservables is 33 percent.



#### Figure 5: Selection on observed and unobserved variables

Note: This figure shows the change in the coefficient in a regression of learning on blood lead before ("unadjusted") and after adjusting for observed covariates ("adjusted"), and proportional selection on unobserved covariates ("Oster"). We show here estimates from all studies in our meta-analysis that report both an adjusted and unadjusted estimate. We are only able to report the Oster-adjusted estimates for the five studies that report the R-squared of their regressions.

## 5 Policy simulations

In order to interpret these effects, we consider two benchmarks; first, what the effect on learning would be of reducing current lead exposure in low and middle income countries to the level in high-income countries. Second, the effect of different interventions to reduce blood lead, and what this implies for learning.

## 5.1 The effect of removing lead altogether

What would be the effect of reducing current lead exposure in low and middle income countries to the level in high-income countries? A recent systematic review shows that mean BLL levels ( $\mu_{bll}$ ) in 34 low and middle-income countries range from 1.7 to 9.3, with an unweighted average across countries of 5.3µg/dL (Ericson et al., 2021). Levels for under 18 year olds in the US are around 0.5µg/dL (US EPA, 2015).

To simulate the effect of reducing BLL levels in each country to the U.S. level, we follow Ericson et al. (2021) and assume a log-normal distribution of BLL within each country. Thus for each country we calculate the mean of the log of BLL as

$$\mu = \ln\left(\frac{\mu_{bll}^2}{\sqrt{\mu_{bll}^2 + \sigma_{bll}^2}}\right)$$

Then, because our preferred specification for the relationship between BLL and cognitive scores is log-linear, we can calculate the effect on learning as:

Improvement in learning =  $\beta \times (\mu - 0.5)$ 

where  $\beta$  is the average effect size from the meta-analysis above, e.g.,  $-.12\sigma$  after covariate adjustments.

To measure gaps in learning outcomes around the world, we rely on the harmonized learning outcomes reported by the World Bank (Angrist et al., 2021), which are normed to have a mean of 500 and standard deviation of 100 points.

Figure 6 shows the implied impact on the World Bank harmonized learning outcomes for each of the 34 countries in the Ericson et al. (2021) sample. Using the adjusted estimates of lead's effect on learning from the meta-analysis (-.12) the increments are meaningful, with a magnitude ranging from 4 to 31 points depending on the country. The results suggest a major role for lead exposure in explaining learning gaps between rich and poor countries. As an example, the lowest scoring country, the Democratic Republic of Congo, lies 250 points below the global mean of 500, and reducing BLL to 0.5µg/dL would improve scores by 29 points. On average for these 34 countries, reducing BLL to US levels improves learning by 23 points, equivalent to 21 percent of the 110 point learning gap to the global benchmark of 500 points on the World Bank scale.

#### Figure 6: Simulated effect of eliminating blood lead on national learning outcomes

Russia	580 — +23
Serbia	521 +30
Vietnam	513 <del>—</del> +21
China	508 <mark>; — +19</mark>
Turkey	469 <b>— +18</b>
Romania	455 <b>— +1</b> 4
Mexico	435 — +19
Mongolia	434 — +21
Thailand	432 — +25
Colombia	430 — +20
Iran	427 — +17
Ecuador	424 — +18
Brazil	416 <b>- +14</b>
Palestine	412 — +28
Indonesia	408 — +25
Uganda	390 — +27
Kosovo	384 — +17
Tanzania	376 — +16
Jamaica	374 — +16
India	367 — +21
Senegal	364 — +31
Morocco	357 — +23
Benin	345 — +25
Cameroon	340 — +31
Nepal	340 — +27
Bangladesh	340 — +29
Iraq	331 — +26
Egypt	330 — +30
Ethiopia	323 - +4
South Africa	319 — +25
Haiti	298 — +27
Pakistan	286 — +32
Nigeria	261 — +28
DRC	248 — +29
0 100	200 300 400 500 600
	World Bank, Harmonized Learning Outcomes

Note: For each country we simulate the effect of reducing blood lead levels to 0.5  $\mu$ g/dL, based on the distributions of BLL reported for 34 countries by Ericson et al. (2021), average learning outcomes reported by the World Bank, and the coefficient from our meta-regression of a  $-.12\sigma$  in learning per natural logarithm increase in BLL.

#### 5.2 The effect of interventions to reduce blood lead

Reducing lead exposure altogether down to US levels may be unrealistic, at least in the short-term. What kind of reductions are feasible? We review studies on four classes of intervention: regulatory, educational, medical, and targeted environmental interventions.

#### 5.2.1 Regulation

The most important regulatory intervention has been the banning of leaded gasoline or petrol, which has shown that large reductions in blood lead are feasible at low cost in both developed and developing countries Angrand et al. (2022). Before-after studies around leaded petrol bans have shown large reductions in blood lead in both high and low-income countries, including in India (Singh and Singh, 2006), Kenya (United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2014), Pakistan (Manser et al., 1990; Rahbar et al., 2002), and South Africa (Mathee et al., 2006). Whilst leaded gasoline has already now been banned in every country in the world, there may still be considerable room for increased regulatory action in other areas. Other regulatory actions taken by the majority of OECD countries include regulations on lead in water, air, food, batteries, food containers, and paint, with several countries having additional regulations on lead in dust, soil, sewage, waste, and pesticides (Silbergeld, 1997). The majority of low- and middle-income countries do not have regulations on the sale of lead in paint (UNEP, 2020). The evidence base though remains thin - a systematic review into exposure via consumer products found zero studies on either regulatory, educational, or environmental interventions, and no studies on regulatory interventions targeting exposure via drinking water (Pfadenhauer et al., 2016).

#### 5.2.2 Targeted remediation

Second, some environmental interventions targeted at high risk populations have shown large reductions, though few efforts in developing countries have been well documented. One search for remediation efforts in developing countries (whether evaluated or not) found just 13 projects in total (O'Brien et al., 2021). Another systematic review of studies on remediation of lead-contaminated soil found just five studies, all in North America, and with mixed results (Dobrescu et al., 2022). In Table 4 we summarise results from three studies Nigeria, Dominican Republic, and Bangladesh. All were areas of acute exposure and remediation was expensive, but did lead to large falls in blood lead. For example a huge reduction was documented from efforts in Zamfara, Nigeria, from 149 to 15 (Tirima et al., 2016), implying improvement in learning by 0.28 standard deviations. A soil remediation effort at a former lead smelter in Haina, the Dominican Republic, reduced lead levels from  $20.6 \ \mu\text{g/dL}$  to  $5.34 \ \mu\text{g/dL}$ , or 0.16 standard deviations in test scores (Ericson et al., 2018). Both of these large gains came from addressing acutely polluted sites. In Bangladesh, soil capping, household cleaning, and awareness-raising reduced lead levels from 22.6  $\ \mu\text{g/dL}$  to 14.8  $\ \mu\text{g/dL}$  Chowdhury et al. (2021). All of these studies rely on before-after designs and so may be biased estimates.

Several studies from the US show results of targeted paint remediation, demonstrating modest positive effects on blood lead levels (Billings and Schnepel, 2018; Leighton et al., 2003; Staes et al., 1994). Removing lead pipes has also shown promise (Pfadenhauer et al., 2016).

#### 5.2.3 Education

Parental education efforts in Georgia and China where exposure is more diffuse and chronic, have found modest reductions in blood lead. Following striking results from a nationally representative blood lead testing in Georgia, a government program of action was implemented to educate parents on the issue. This involved initial BLL testing, followed by letters sent to all families of children with elevated BLLs, with advice on how to reduce lead exposure and on dietary habits that can help reduce BLLs (increased calcium, iron and vitamin C). Parents were advised to visit a pediatrician to assess physical and mental development and iron deficiency, and pediatricians were provided training in early detection and management of lead exposure. This reduced BLLs from 9.6 to  $6.8 \ \mu g/dL$  (Ruadze et al., 2021), equivalent to a 0.04 standard deviation improvement in test scores. A parental education intervention in China reduced BLL from 10 to 8 (Shen et al., 2004). A recent study from Bangladesh has shown promising impacts on behaviour change, but doesn't yet report results on blood lead (Jahir et al., 2021).

#### 5.2.4 Medical intervention

Finally, evidence on the provision of calcium supplements has shown mixed results, from no effect in the US (Markowitz et al., 2004) and Mexico (Ettinger et al., 2009), to small effects in Nigeria (Keating et al., 2011) and large effects in Indonesia (Syofyan et al., 2020; Haryanto et al., 2015). Calcium supplementation may therefore hold promise in contexts in which calcium deficiency is of greater concern.

Change in Blood lead	High BLL	Low BLL	Effect on Learning (SD)	Study Design
			0.10	
One Log Unit (from meta-analysis)		~ ~	0.12	
Reduction from LMIC to HIC levels	5.3	0.5	0.28	
Observed reduction in US (1976 to 1990)	14.6	2.8	0.20	Before-after
1. Regulatory intervention				
- Leaded Petrol Ban				
- India	18.1	12.1	0.05	Before-after
- Kenya	8	5.6	0.04	Before-after
- Pakistan	38	15.6	0.11	Before-after
- South Africa	16	6.4	0.11	Before-after
2. Targeted Remediation				
- Soil remediation				
- Zamfara, Nigeria	149	15	0.28	Before-after
- Dominican Republic	20.6	5.34	0.16	Before-after
- Bangladesh	22.6	14.8	0.05	Before-after
- Paint remediation				
- US (NY)	24.3	12.3	0.08	Diff-in-diff
- US (NC)	17.85	9	0.08	Diff-in-diff
- US (Missouri)	34	29.58	0.02	Diff-in-diff
3. Education (parental)				
- Georgia	9.6	6.8	0.04	Before-after
- China	10.1	7.9	0.03	RCT
4. Medical (calcium supplements)				
- Indonesia (Medan)	2.1	0.01	0.64	RCT
- Indonesia (Bandung)	13.7	4.95	0.12	RCT
- Nigeria	9.9	8.8	0.01	Case-control
- Mexico	4.1	3.649	0.01	RCT
- US	21.4	21.7	0.00	RCT

Table 4: The implied effect of feasible blood lead reductions on learning

The High and Low Blood Lead Levels (BLLs) shown are the average arithmetic Note: mean for low- and middle-income countries or LMICs (Ericson et al., 2021), high-income countries or HICs (US EPA, 2015), and the study in China (Shen et al., 2004), geometric means for the studies in Nigeria (Tirima et al., 2016), Dominican Republic (Ericson et al., 2018), and Bangladesh (Chowdhury et al., 2021), and medians for Georgia (Ruadze et al., 2021). Geometric means are generally smaller than arithmetic means. The total effect on learning is calculated as the product of the log unit gap, and the estimated coefficient of the effect of one log unit on learning outcomes, taken from our meta-analysis. 32

## 6 Conclusion

Can widespread lead exposure explain low average learning outcomes in the developing world? While data coverage is limited in both cases, (a) mean lead exposure is over 5  $\mu$ g/dL among children in low- and middle-income countries with reasonably representative samples, or roughly ten-times higher than the United States, and (b) learning levels among primary-school aged pupils lag more than one full standard deviations behind OECD levels in the same set of countries.

We extend existing meta-analyses of studies linking lead exposure to cognitive outcomes, expanding the traditional focus on IQ to include measures of reading and mathematics performance among primary-school students. Taken at face value, the association between lead and learning outcomes in individual-level data across 47 studies suggests that one log unit higher blood lead levels reduces learning levels by roughly -.23 standard deviations. In a simple model of global learning gaps, this effect size is sufficient to suggest that observed lead levels explain over half of the gap in learning outcomes between developing and developed countries.

Raw correlations likely overstate the true causal impact of lead on learning levels, for at least two reasons. First, we find evidence of publication bias in estimates of the lead-learning link. Funnel plots reveal striking asymmetry in the distribution of findings, and clustering of p-values just below conventional significance levels. Second, it is impossible to rule out a large role for unobserved confounding in the lead-learning link. We present various pieces of evidence suggesting the true causal link is much smaller than the published literature.

Meta-analytic regressions controlling for these and other potential sources of bias suggest that 1 log unit in blood lead levels reduces learning levels by roughly -.12 standard deviations, approximately one half of the naive estimate. Nevertheless, a true causal effect of this magnitude may remain a viable lever for policy action based only on education outcomes – in addition to myriad other health benefits beyond the scope of this paper.

Notably, even with our most conservative estimates, the magnitude of learning gains achievable through lead eradication is comparable to many popular policy initiatives to improve education quality in the developing world (eg, Evans and Yuan, 2022 show that the average effect size on learning from RCTs in global education is 0.1 standard deviations). In cost-benefit terms, a focus on lead exposure is likely justified solely on education grounds if countries are able to achieve significant reductions in lead exposure through low-cost, large scale policy reforms such as improved regulation of the lead paint and lead battery industries.

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# Appendix



Figure A1: Estimates of overall population exposure, by region

Note: This figure shows the share of children with an elevated blood lead level, defined as exceeding the US CDC reference level of 5 micrograms per deciliter. These estimates are based on our analysis of raw numbers produced by IHME/UNICEF (Rees and Fuller, 2020), combined with population estimates from the UN (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019).

### Figure A2: Systematic review process



Note: This flowchart shows the process used to identify relevant studies and extract eligible results.



Figure A3: Sensitivity to exclusion of individual studies

Note: This figure shows the robustness of our primary specification result result to leaving out individual studies. The study which substantially weakens the effect when excluded is Taylor et al. (2017).



Figure A4: Funnel Plot for Potential Publication Bias

Note: This two top figures shows the distribution of study effect sizes and standard errors. An outlier result (Solon et al., 2008) was excluded to allow for visual inspection. Asymmetry around the vertical dashed line indicates that there may be publication bias present. Contours show that "missing" studies are primarily in the region of statistical insignificance - consistent with a statistical significance filter in publishing leading to this bias. The third figure shows the distribution of z-stats. The spike just right of the vertical dashed line separating significant and non-significant results provides further evidence for selection for significant results.



Figure A5: Funnel Plot by original exposure transformation



Graphs by exposure\_transform

Note: This figure shows funnel plots for all results, faceted by the original functional form used for the relationship between blood lead and the outcome. An outlier result (Solon et al., 2008) was excluded to allow for visual inspection. The bottom plot also excludes results which required additional conversions or imputation. The error resulting from the re-expression process has the potential to generate a spurious correlation between effect sizes and standard errors, as both would be biased in the same direction. However, these plots illustrate that this correlation exists even when results are separated by their original functional form, suggesting that small-study effects - which in turn can indicate publication bias- are genuine.

Figure A6: Copas plot



Note: This figure shows Copas method plots where we have collapsed our results, assuming an intra-study correlation of 1. An outlier result (Solon et al., 2008) was excluded to allow for visual inspection. The funnel plot (top left) is equivalent to figure A4. The contour plot (top right) shows results from simulations assuming different selection probabilities for a study with a given precision. The treatment effect plot (bottom left) shows that the estimated treatment effect is lower if we assume these selection probabilities to be lower, but even at low selection probabilities, there is still a substantial negative effect of lead.

Authors	Year	Country code	Country income group
Alvarez-Ortega et al	2017	COL	М
Baghurst et al	1992	USA	Н
Bellinger et al	1992	USA	Н
Braun et al	2012	MEX	М
Cai et al	2020	CHN	М
Canfield et al	2003	USA	Н
Chen et al	2007	USA	Н
Chiodo et al	2007	USA	Н
Cooney et al	1989	AUS	Н
Counter et al	2005	ECU	М
Dantzer et al	2020	USA	Н
Desrochers-Couture et al	2018	CAN	Н
Dietrich et al	1993	USA	Н
Earl et al	2016	AUS	Н
Fulton et al	1987	GBR	Н
Hong et al	2015	KOR	Н
Huang et al	2012	TWN	Н
Jusko et al	2008	USA	Н
Kamel et al	2003	EGY	Μ
Kim et al	2009	KOR	Н
Kim, Yu, and Lee	2010	KOR	Н
Liu et al	2013	CHN	Μ
Lucchini et al	2012	ITA	Н
Lucchini et al	2019	ITA	Н
Menezes-Filho et al	2018	BRA	Μ
Min et al	2009	USA	Н
Nwobi et al	2019	NGA	Μ
Pan et al	2018	CHN	Μ
Rahman et al	2002	PAK	L
Rasoul et al	2012	EGY	Μ
Reuben et al	2017	NZL	Н
Roy et al	2013	IND	Μ
Ruebner et al	2019	USA	Н
Schnaas et al	2006	MEX	Μ
Schnaas et al	2000	MEX	Μ
Solon et al	2008	PHL	Μ
Surkan et al	2007	UŞA	Н
Taylor et al	2017	GBR	Н
Vega-Dienstmaier et al	2006	PER	М
Zailina et al	2011	MYS	М

Table A1: Studies on association of lead with IQ

Note: We include here some three cognitive assessments that are similar but not identical to IQ tests - Vega-Dienstmaier et al. (2006) use the "Graphic Test of Reasoning" and the "Kohs Block Design Test", while Cooney et al. (1989) and Braun et al. (2012) use the McCarthy Scales of Children's Abilities, General Cognitive Index.

Authors	Year	Country code	Country Income Group	
Reading				
Aizer et al	2016	USA	Н	
Bellinger et al	1992	USA	Н	
Blackowicz et al	2016	USA	Н	
Chiodo et al	2007	USA	Н	
Evens et al	2015	USA	Н	
Fulton et al	1987	GBR	Н	
Kamel et al	2003	EGY	Μ	
Kim, Yu, and Lee	2010	KOR	Н	
Kordas et al	2006	MEX	Μ	
Lanphear et al	2000	USA	Н	
Liu et al	2013	CHN	Μ	
McLaine et al	2013	USA	Н	
Min et al	2009	USA	Н	
Shadbegian et al	2019	USA	Н	
Surkan et al	2007	USA	Н	
Maths				
Aizer et al	2016	USA	Н	
Bellinger et al	1992	USA	Н	
Blackowicz et al	2016	USA	Н	
Chiodo et al	2007	USA	Н	
Evens et al	2015	USA	Н	
Fulton et al	1987	GBR	Н	
Kamel et al	2003	EGY	Μ	
Kim, Yu, and Lee	2010	KOR	Н	
Kordas et al	2006	MEX	Μ	
Lanphear et al	2000	USA	Н	
Liu et al	2013	CHN	Μ	
Min et al	2009	USA	Н	
Shadbegian et al	2019	USA	Н	
Surkan et al	2007	USA	Н	

Table A2: Studies on association of lead with reading and mathematics scores

Table A3: Alternative re-expression algorithms

	Mean BLL	SD BLL	True effect (log)	RB	L	D
NHANES 99-2000	3.060	3.042	-0.261	-0.244	-0.148	-0.105
NHANES 2001-02	2.629	2.205	-0.194	-0.263	-0.159	-0.121
NHANES 2011-12	1.953	1.657	-0.219	-0.247	-0.150	-0.113
Canfield et al $2003$	9.015	5.488	-0.489	-0.845	-0.512	-0.427
Vega-Dienstmaier et al 2006	10.330	7.360	-0.672	-2.371	-0.750	-0.522
Kordas et al maths	11.793	6.400	-0.405	-0.573	-0.348	-0.299
Kordas et al reading	11.787	6.393	-0.463	-0.674	-0.409	-0.351
Crump et al 2013	14.607	14.230	-0.119	-0.205	-0.125	-0.089

Note: In this table we assess the performance of three different algorithms used to re-express effects estimated with linear models in terms of log units. We first use microdata to estimate directly the effect of a log unit increase in BLL on standardised test score outcomes (column 2). We then estimate the effect of a linear unit increase in BLL, and apply the algorithms to re-express the effect estimated with a linear model in terms of log units (columns 3-5). RB indicates results from the Rodríguez-Barranco et al. (2017) algorithm, L from the Linakis et al. (2021) algorithm, and D from the Dzierlenga et al. (2020) algorithm. The root mean squared error indicated that the Linakis et al. (2021) algorithm clearly performed best.

	(1) None	(2) Egger	(3) Non-linear	(4) Trim-and-fill	(5) P-uniform*
		1 150***			
Effect Standard Error		$-1.470^{***}$			
		(0.290)			
Effect Variance			-0.252		
			(0.188)		
Constant	-0.212***	-0.085***	-0.207***	-0.157***	-0.178***
	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.031)
N (Studies)	47	47	47	47	47

Table A4: Alternative adjustments for publication-bias

Note: \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses. This table shows four alternative standard approaches for adjusting for publication bias, applied to our results when unadjusted and averaged by study (column 1) (we don't use the adjusted result, as the trim-and-fill and p-uniform methods would not be applicable): in column 2, the Egger intercept (adjusting for the study standard error) (Egger et al., 1997); in column 3, the PET-PEESE nonlinear intercept (adjusting for the variance) (Stanley and Doucouliagos, 2014), also used in our main specification; in column 4, the trim-and-fill method (attempting to 'fill in' hypothetical results given no publication bias) (Duval and Tweedie, 2000); and in column 5, the p-uniform\* method (Aert and Assen, 2018).</li>

Table A5: Bivariate meta-regressions

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Not logarithmic		-0.042 (0.050)						
Mean blood lead			-0.008** (0.004)					
No control for parent $ed/IQ$				$-0.173^{***}$ (0.036)				
No control for family income				( )	$-0.123^{***}$ (0.046)			
Exposure: not average or lag						-0.036 (0.049)		
Outcome: Math							0.021 (0.055)	
Outcome: Reading							-0.015 (0.050)	
High income country								$0.035 \\ (0.057)$
Constant	$-0.227^{***}$ (0.025)	$-0.204^{***}$ (0.033)	$-0.175^{***}$ (0.033)	$-0.155^{***}$ (0.021)	$-0.169^{***}$ (0.023)	$-0.212^{***}$ (0.036)	$-0.233^{***}$ (0.032)	$-0.255^{***}$ (0.047)
N (Estimates) N (Studies)	286 47	$286 \\ 47$	$286 \\ 47$	286 $47$	$286 \\ 47$	$286 \\ 47$	286 47	286 47

Note: \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses. We use the Hedges et al. (2010) estimator to account for dependence between multiple estimates from the same study. The dependent variable in each case is the standardized effect size of a natural log unit increase in lead exposure on the cognitive outcome.

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	(1)	(2)	(3)
Imputed Outcome SD		-0.041	
		(0.066)	
Constant	-0.115	-0.094	-0.159
	(0.100)	(0.110)	(0.115)
N (Estimates)	286	286	212
N (Studies)	47	47	30

Table A6: Sensitivity

Note: \* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01. Standard errors in parentheses. We use the Hedges et al. (2010) estimator to account for dependence between multiple estimates from the same study. This table shows our adjusted meta-regression estimate (column 1), the estimate after additionally including a dummy for whether a population rather than sample standard deviation was used to calculate an effect size (column 2), and the estimate in a sub-sample that excludes those in which various imputations had to be made (column 3). These exclusions include: results in which we impute mean blood lead levels, results in which we calculate the standard error using a reported p-value, and results where the effect size is converted from a reported correlation coefficient.