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Childhood conflict exposure and political engagement in Africa

James Fenske

University of Oxford

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Question

- How does exposure to conflict in childhood affect later-life political attitudes and behaviors?

Motivation

- Political knowledge, engagement, and attitudes matter. It is important, then, to understand how Africans political views are formed, and what pressures influence their political participation.

- Studies of conflict-exposed children have, with a few exceptions, focused on health and education, and have neglected politics. Does conflict breed distrust, factionalism, and disengagement? Does violence beget violence?

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In this lecture

- I discuss the methods used to answer questions like this.
- I show that the economic consequences of conflict are not so predictable.
- I summarize recent papers that have linked individual conflict exposure to attitudes and political outcomes.
- I discuss a recent paper in which Achyuta Adhvaryu and I attempt to generalize these results to the whole of sub-Saharan Africa.

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When treatment is discrete
When treatment is continuous

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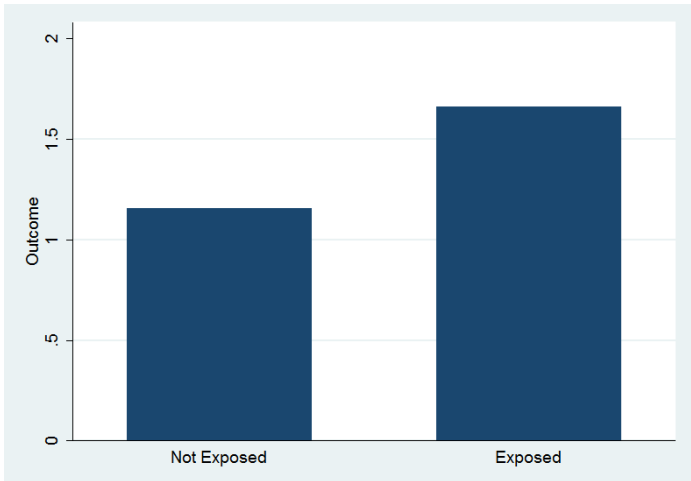Why is this a question worth asking?
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A naive comparison

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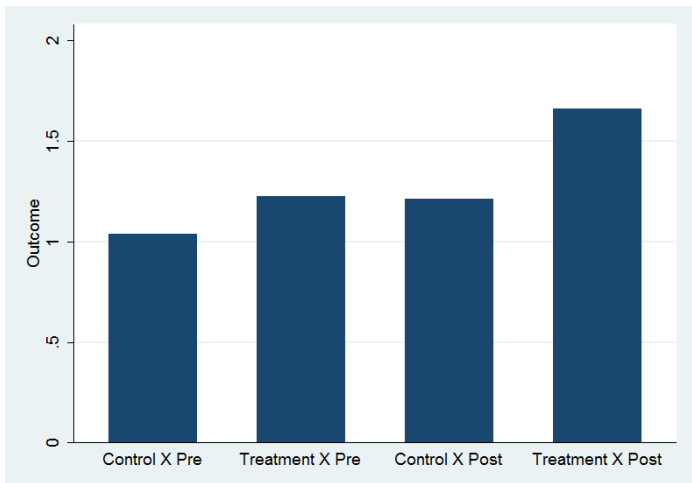Why is this a question worth asking?
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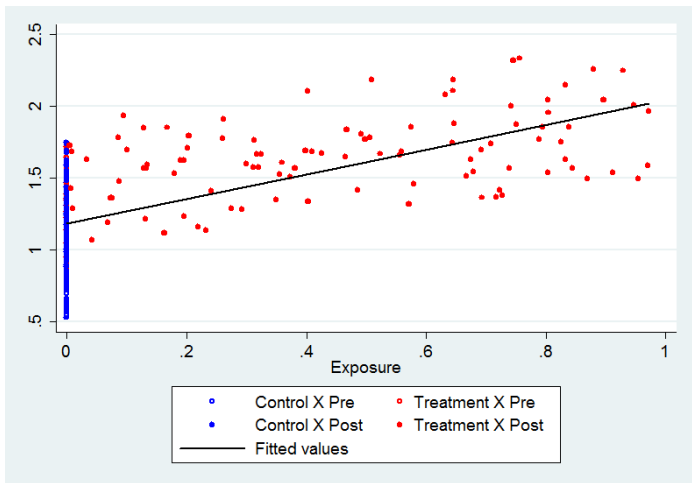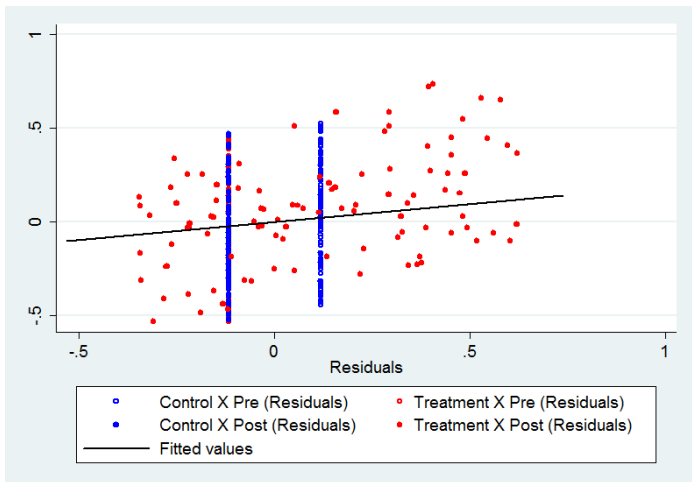What have others found outside of Africa?
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Macroeconomic impacts of war

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No poverty traps in Vietnam
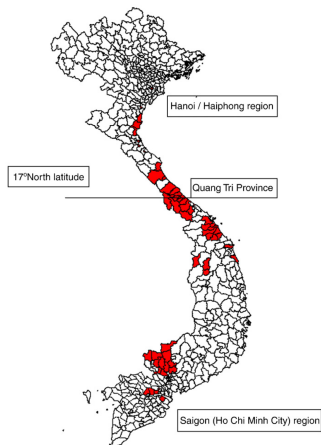
Fig. 1. Map of Vietnam — 10% of districts with the highest total U.S. bombs, missiles, and rockets per km² shaded.

Source: Miguel and Roland (2011) *JDE*

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Recovery in Japan

FIGURE 2. POPULATION GROWTH

Source: Davis and Weinstein (2002) *AER*

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Reversal in Germany

FIGURE 2.—AIRPORT PASSENGER SHARES

DEPARTING PASSENGERS AT THE TEN MAIN GERMAN AIRPORTS

Source: Redding et al. (2011) *RESTAT*

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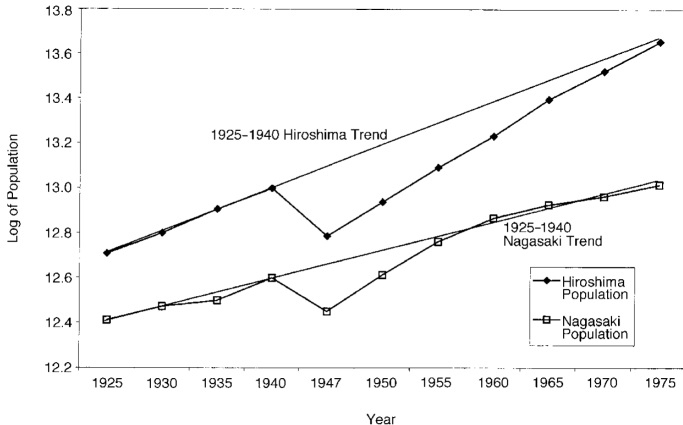What have others found in Africa?
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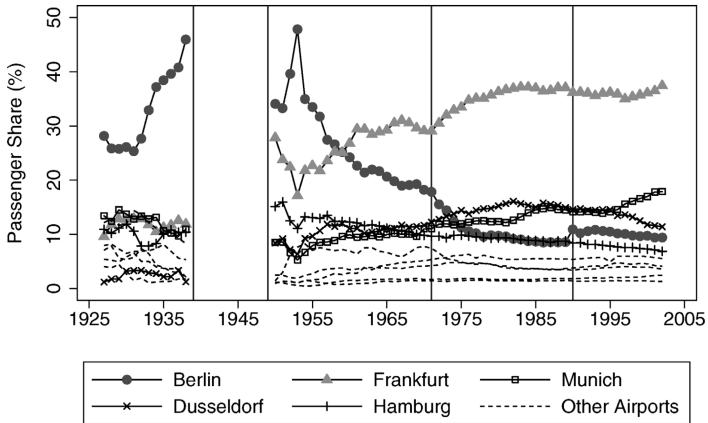
Long-lasting effects on trade

FIGURE 1.—IMPACT OF WAR ON TRADE FOR A GIVEN COUNTRY PAIR: CONTEMPORANEOUS IMPACT AND LAGS 1 THROUGH 10

Source: Glick and Taylor (2011) *RESTAT*

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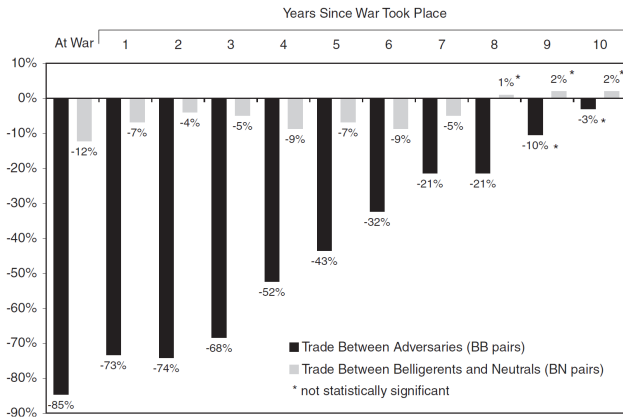
Terrorism in Spain
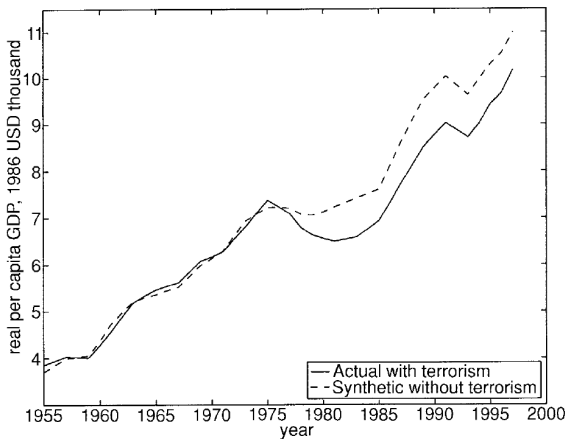
FIGURE 1. PER CAPITA GDP FOR THE BASQUE COUNTRY

Source: Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) *AER*

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Civil war and yellow cards

Area of symbol proportional to the country's number of players in these competitions

Source: Miguel et al. (2011) *E&P*

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Violent trauma and risk preference in Afghanistan
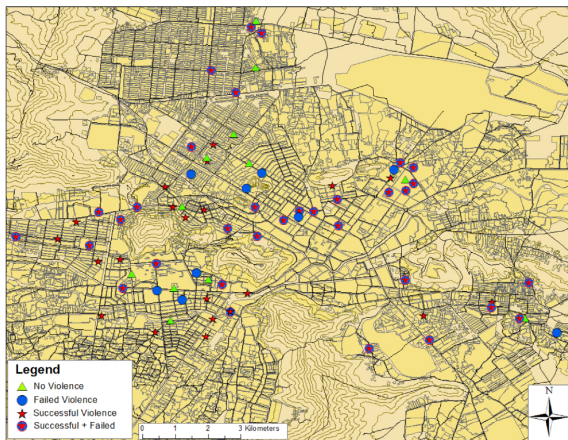
Figure 1: Successful Attacks and Failed Attacks in Kabul

Source: Callen et al. (Forthcoming) *AER*

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Figure 3. Lottery Choices by Group

Source: Moya (2012) *Unpublished*

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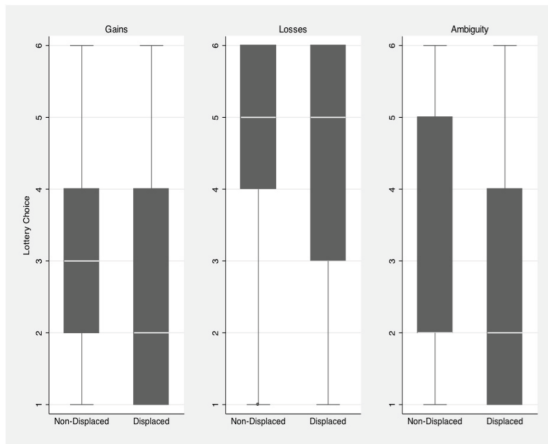
Violence and trust in Tajikistan
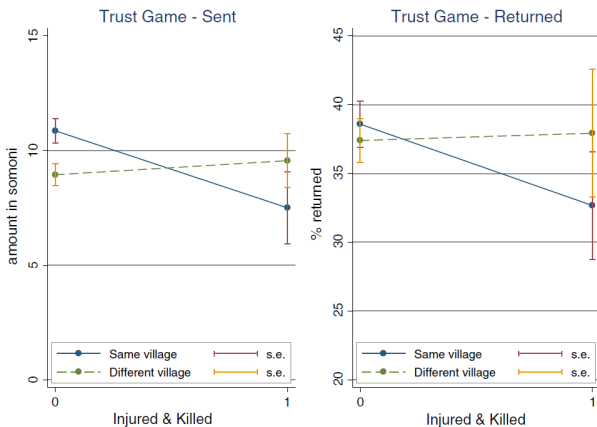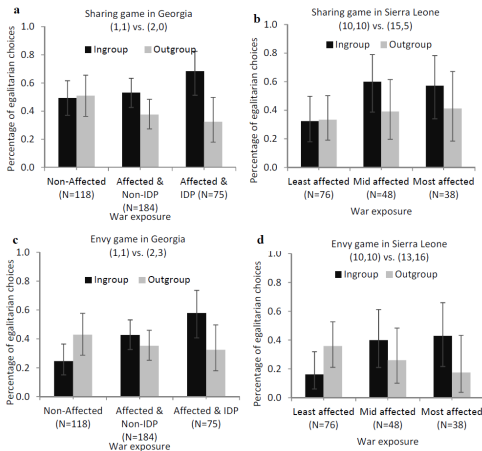

Fig. 2 Trust game and victimization: Amount sent and percentage returned. Notes: Trust game results—no controls included

Source: Cassar et al. (2012) *JEG*

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Egalitarian motivations and in-group biases

Figure 1.Warfare exposure and relative frequency of egalitarian choices in Sharing and Envy Games.

Source: Bauer et al. (forthcoming) *Psych. Sci.*

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FIGURE 2. Predicted Changes in Probabilities of Talking about Politics Never, Occasionally, and Frequently for a Senegalese Woman, following Simulated Victimization (Annotated to Facilitate Comprehension of Figure 1)
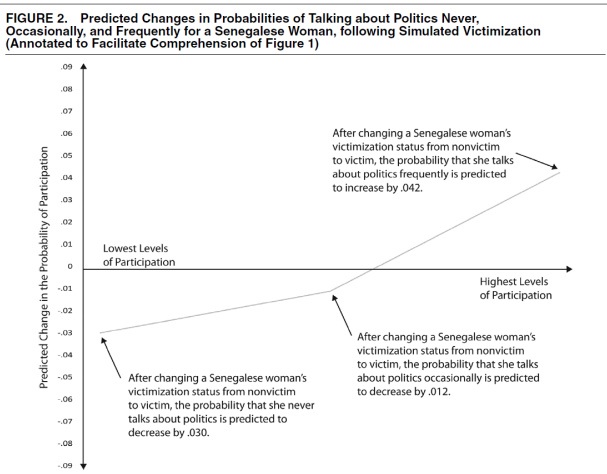
Source: Bateson (2012) *APSR*

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War and conservatism

Table 7: Conservative Political Stance for Respondents Who Had Early Exposure to Korean War (Age 4-8)

Parameter/Variable	Sample Mean	Dependent Variable: Degree of Conservativeness (0-10, 10 being the most conservative)		Dependent Variable: (Actual Voting for Conservative Candidates (LHC&LMB))	
		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Age	43.09 [14.07]	0.110*** (0.024)	0.126*** (0.032)	0.018*** (0.004)	0.016*** (0.005)
Age Squared		-0.001*** (0.0003)	-0.001*** (0.0004)	-0.0001*** (0.00004)	-0.0001* (0.00006)
Female	0.51 [0.50]	-0.122 (0.106)	-0.123 (0.106)	-0.002 (0.016)	-0.002 (0.016)
Monthly Household Income (in millions of KRW)	3.93 [2.00]	0.064** (0.029)	0.065** (0.029)	0.013*** (0.004)	0.013*** (0.004)
Early Childhood Exposure to Korean War	0.07 [0.25]	0.687*** (0.029)	0.813*** (0.028)	0.095*** (0.035)	0.082* (0.043)
People Older Than Early Childhood Exposure to War Group	0.07 [0.25]		0.304 (0.391)		-0.033 (0.060)
City Size Dummy		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Religion Dummy		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hometown Dummy		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education Level Dummy		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Degree of Conservativeness	3.47 [3.06]				
Voting for Conservative Candidate	0.37 [0.48]				
Adjusted R^2		0.052	0.052	0.107	0.107
Number of Observations:	3,415	3,415	3,415	3,415	3,415

Note: We absorbed the analysis by region. Standard deviations are reported in squared bracket and standard errors are reported in parenthesis. *** indicates significance at 1% level, ** indicates significance at 5% level and * indicates significance at 10% level.

Source: Kim and Lee (2012) *Unpublished*

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War and height in Nigeria

TABLE 1—DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES ESTIMATES OF THE
IMPACT OF WAR ON STATURE
Duration of Exposure to War × Exposed Ethnicity

Dependent variable: adult height	(1)	(2)
Months exposure in utero × war ethnicity	−0.027 (0.030)	−0.047 (0.038)
Months exposure at ages 0–3 × war ethnicity	−0.028*** (0.009)	−0.043** (0.021)
Months exposure at ages 4–6 × war ethnicity	−0.035** (0.014)	−0.061* (0.034)
Months exposure at ages 7–12 × war ethnicity	−0.054*** (0.011)	−0.094* (0.050)
Months exposure at ages 13–16 × war ethnicity	−0.162*** (0.033)	−0.220*** (0.076)
Months exposure in utero	−0.087 (0.059)	−0.081 (0.060)
Months exposure at ages 0–3	−0.129*** (0.034)	−0.125*** (0.034)
Months exposure at ages 4–6	−0.022 (0.070)	−0.015 (0.071)
Months exposure at ages 7–12	−0.014 (0.083)	−0.003 (0.083)
Months exposure at ages 13–16	−0.038 (0.138)	−0.022 (0.137)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Ethnicity fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Ethnicity time trends	No	Yes
Number of women	13,407	13,407

Source: Akresh et al. (2012) *AER P&P*

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Child soldiers and education in Uganda

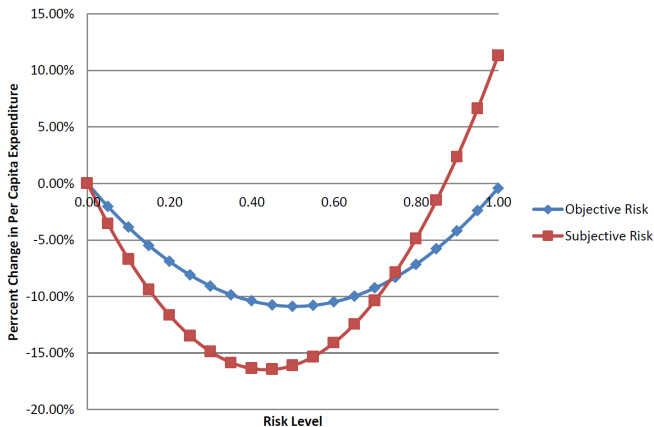TABLE 3.—ESTIMATES OF THE AVERAGE TREATMENT EFFECT OF ABDUCTION

Dependent Variable	(1) ATE	(2) Nonabducted mean	(3) %Δ
Educational and labor market outcomes			
Years of education	−0.75 [0.17]***	7.6	−10%
Indicator for functional literacy	−0.15 [0.04]***	0.80	−19%
Indicator for any employment in the past month	0.03 [0.04]	0.61	5%
Indicator for capital- or skill-intensive work	−0.05 [0.02]**	0.12	−43%
Log (Daily wage)	−0.33 [0.15]**	n.a	n.a
Psychosocial and health outcomes			
Index of psychological distress	0.57 [0.20]***	3.8	15%
Indicator for top quartile of distress	0.11 [0.04]***	0.23	49%
Index of social support	−0.16 [0.14]	5.5	−3%
Indicator for hostile attitudes	0.03 [0.01]**	0.07	40%
Indicator for physical fights	−0.02 [0.02]	0.07	−29%

Each entry represents a separate WLS regression. All variables defined and described in table 1. °Significant at 10%. °°Significant at 5%. °°°Significant at 1%. Treatment is binary and equals 1 if ever abducted and 0 otherwise. The percentage change (%Δ) is calculated as the ATE relative to the mean value for nonabducted youth. Robust standard errors in brackets, clustered by sampling unit (location and abduction status). Controls in the WLS regressions include age and location dummies, age and location interactions, and pretreatment individual and household characteristics. Weighted by inverse sampling probability, inverse attrition probability, and inverse propensity score.

Source: Blattman and Annan (2010) *RESTAT*

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War and expenditure in Uganda

Figure 1: The Effect of Risk on Expenditure

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War and preferences in Burundi

	Dependent variable: degree of altruism scale 0–100.						
Percentage dead in attacks	1.073 [0.489]**	0.875 [0.460]*	1.688 [0.464]***	1.686 [0.523]***		2.892 [0.958]***	0.486
Individual victimization index					2.940 [1.745]*		
	Dependent variable ranges from 0 (risk averse) to 3 (risk loving).						
Percentage dead in attacks	0.078 [0.024]***	0.0651 [0.0246]**	0.0527 [0.0246]**	0.0634 [0.0263]**		0.0196 [0.0204]	0.0729 [0.0376]*	0.258
Individual victim- ization index					0.165 [0.114]+		
	Dependent variable: discount rate.						
Percentage dead in attacks	0.543 [0.519]	0.666 [0.467]	1.197 [0.624]*	1.188 [0.575]**		2.337 [1.058]**	0.265
Individual victimization index					2.826 [3.294]		

Dependent variable	Social capital	Share of cash crops in total production	Expenditures on farm improvements
Percentage dead in attacks	0.033 [0.016]**	0.008 [0.005]*	−23.75 [12.810]*

Source: Voors et al (2012) *AER*

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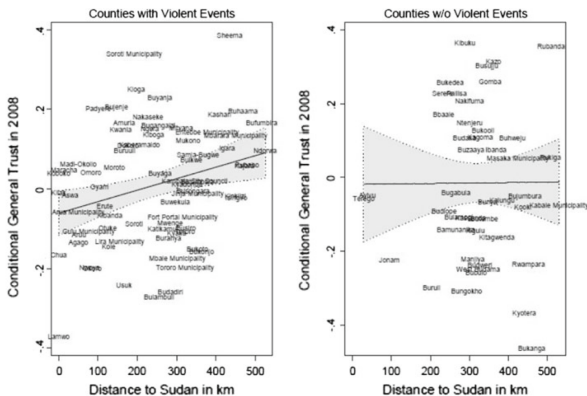**Violence and attitudes**
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War and trust in Uganda

Fig. 3 The scatter plots display the distance from Sudan (*horizontal axis*), and the county-level average of generalized trust filtered by the set of control variables (*vertical axis*). The *left panel* displays counties characterized by a positive number of fighting episodes, while the *right panel* displays counties with no fighting episodes

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Persistence of conflict
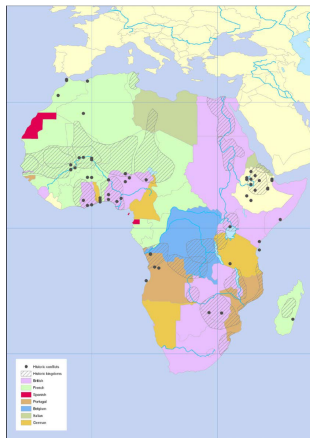
Figure 1:

Conflicts, Colonialism and Kingdoms in Africa

Source: Besley and Reynal-Querol (2009) *R&R APSR*

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From violence to voting

TABLE 3. Impact of Abduction on Social and Political Participation

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Dependent Variable	Nonabducted Mean (from Table 1)	Marginal Impact of Abduction[†]	% Change
Voted in 2005	.40	.110 [.036]***	27%
Community mobilizer	.03	.034 [.012]***	106%
Political employment	.003	.006 [.005]	190%
Any community group member	.41	−.007 [.045]	−2%
Peace group member	.05	.043 [.020]**	92%
Water committee member	.02	−.009 [.011]	−43%
Cultural group member	.15	−.021 [.049]	−14%
Sporting group/team member	.13	−.060 [.033]*	−44%
Farmer's cooperative member	.10	.002 [.015]	2%
School club/committee member	.05	.024 [.022]	49%
Church or bible study group member	.18	.032 [.049]	18%
Attends church	.79	−.014 [.041]	−2%
Volunteer	.04	.004 [.015]	10%
Disobeys elders	.06	.035 [.023]	63%
Bottom quartile of prosocial distribution	.27	−.075 [.046]	−28%
Physical fight	.07	−.024 [.021]	−35%
Ever quarrelsome	.06	.005 [.008]	8%
Ever threatens to hurt others	.01	.019 [.012]	168%

Source: Blattman (2009) *APSR*

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Violence and collective action

Table 3
Community meetings and conflict victimization.

Explanatory variables	Dependent variable: did you attend any community meetings in the past year?			
	IRCBP			
	2005 and 2007		2007	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Conflict victimization index	0.0704***	0.0652***	0.0775***	0.0686***
	(0.0164)	(0.0165)	(0.0253)	(0.0246)
Respondent is female		− 0.1300***		− 0.1276***
		(0.0084)		(0.0126)
Respondent age		0.0003		0.0002
		(0.0003)		(0.0005)
Respondent has any education		0.0590***		0.0466**
		(0.0108)		(0.0194)
Traditional authority household		0.0928***		0.0647***
		(0.0128)		(0.0194)
1990 Household head had any education				0.0205
				(0.0199)
1990 Household had a traditional leader				0.1054***
				(0.0217)
1990 Household had a community leader				−0.0067
				(0.0169)
R-squared	0.361	0.391	0.267	0.298
Observations	10,471	10,471	5193	5193
Enumeration area/Year fixed effects	X	X	X	X

Source: Bellows and Miguel (2009) *JPubE*

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Conflict exposure: Children born in 1965

Source: Adhvaryu and Fenske (2013) *Unpublished*

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Table 2. Main Results: Effects of Early-life Conflict Exposure on Political Attitudes and Behaviors

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Voting	Collective action	Contact	Refusal of bribes	Interest	Deference	Democracy	Equality	Rule of law	Trust
Mean Effects:										
Battle Deaths	0.00611	-0.0126	-0.000315	0.0236*	0.0143	0.0498***	0.00991	0.00892	0.00261	0.0138
(0-14)	(0.0109)	(0.0134)	(0.0134)	(0.0128)	(0.0131)	(0.0138)	(0.0143)	(0.0139)	(0.0150)	(0.0171)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847
Battle Deaths	-0.0155	0.0332	0.0207	0.0372	0.0236	0.0283	-0.0133	0.0109	0.0223	-0.00406
(0-14) per 1000	(0.0177)	(0.0254)	(0.0259)	(0.0238)	(0.0216)	(0.0218)	(0.0238)	(0.0241)	(0.0232)	(0.0236)
N	11,933	11,371	11,095	11,667	9,600	9,940	8,406	11,127	10,436	5,111
Battle Deaths	-0.00297	0.0323	0.0289	0.0149	0.0130	0.0492**	-0.0368*	0.0103	0.0211	-0.0272
(0-14) per area	(0.0155)	(0.0244)	(0.0272)	(0.0240)	(0.0205)	(0.0228)	(0.0211)	(0.0261)	(0.0255)	(0.0254)
N	11,933	11,371	11,095	11,667	9,600	9,940	8,406	11,127	10,436	5,111
Exposure dummy	-0.0576***	-0.0116	0.0378	-0.000932	-0.0261	0.0275	0.0126	0.00917	0.00258	-0.0494*
(0-14)	(0.0206)	(0.0222)	(0.0240)	(0.0216)	(0.0221)	(0.0230)	(0.0254)	(0.0211)	(0.0220)	(0.0261)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847
Years of exposure	-0.00852***	-0.00501*	-0.00326	0.00779***	0.00110	0.00617**	-0.000354	0.000590	0.00142	-0.00440
(0-14)	(0.00260)	(0.00266)	(0.00282)	(0.00292)	(0.00266)	(0.00307)	(0.00296)	(0.00281)	(0.00304)	(0.00344)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847
IV Battle Deaths	-0.055	-0.018	-0.026	0.042	0.062*	0.077**	-0.056	-0.024	0.090**	0.118***
(0-14)	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.039)	(0.048)	(0.034)	(0.039)	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.046)	(0.035)
First stage F-stat	103.59	102.21	104.71	101.84	101.18	105.73	89.06	110.36	104.71	109.28
N	14,094	13,484	13,352	13,777	11,910	12,008	9,938	13,384	12,455	6,227
Factors:										
Battle Deaths	0.006	0.002	-0.002	0.022*	-0.005	0.017	0.009	-0.013	0.012	0.018
(0-14)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.018)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847

Notes: ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%, *Significant at 10%. Each cell represents a regression of a political attitude/behavior (column headers) on a conflict measure (row headers). All regressions include dummies for region of residence, year of birth, female, responses to "current living standards", level of education,

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Table 3. Heterogeneous Effects of Early-life Conflict Exposure by Time Since Exposure, Minority Status, and Gender

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Voting	Collective action	Contact	Refusal of bribes	Interest	Deference	Democracy	Equality	Rule of law	Trust
Time Since Exposure:										
Battle Deaths	-0.021	0.003	0.012	-0.030*	0.034**	-0.010	-0.019	-0.031*	0.021	0.011
(0-14) x Age	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.020)
Battle Deaths	0.032	-0.017	-0.015	0.061***	-0.028	0.062**	0.034	0.047*	-0.023	0.000
(0-14)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.031)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847
Minority Status:										
Battle Deaths	-0.000	0.012	-0.013	-0.021**	0.002	-0.010	-0.020*	-0.020**	-0.017	0.012
(0-14) x Ethnic	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.012)
Share in District										
Battle Deaths	0.006	-0.014	-0.001	0.026**	0.015	0.049***	0.011	0.007	0.004	0.015
(0-14)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.017)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847
Gender:										
Battle Deaths	0.021	0.038**	0.001	-0.014	-0.024*	-0.034**	-0.005	-0.034**	0.010	-0.016
(0-14) x Female	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.018)
Battle Deaths	-0.005	-0.032**	-0.001	0.031**	0.027*	0.067***	0.012	0.026	-0.002	0.021
(0-14)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)
N	17,780	16,950	16,621	17,372	14,287	14,914	12,470	16,638	15,573	7,847

Notes: ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%, *Significant at 10%. Each column by pair of rows above represents a regression of a political attitude/behavior (column headers) on battle deaths interacted with either age, ethnic share in district, or a female dummy (see row headers). All regressions include dummies for region of residence, year of birth, female, responses to "current living standards", level of education, occupation, and urban. The share of the respondent's ethnicity in the district population is also used as a control. Standardized coefficients are reported.

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Table 4. Heterogeneous Effects of Early-life Conflict Exposure by Conflict Type

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Voting	Collective action	Contact	Refusal of bribes	Interest	Deference	Democracy	Equality	Rule of law	Trust
War of Independence	0.261	-0.196	-0.595	0.0405	-0.123	0.571*	0.543	0.320	0.104	-0.229
	(0.300)	(0.345)	(0.363)	(0.348)	(0.282)	(0.335)	(0.366)	(0.317)	(0.352)	(0.548)
International Conflict	-0.0546***	-0.0190	-0.00628	0.0266	-0.0139	-0.00530	-0.0400**	-0.0202	0.0114	0.00394
	(0.0160)	(0.0155)	(0.0152)	(0.0164)	(0.0151)	(0.0180)	(0.0185)	(0.0168)	(0.0165)	(0.0166)
Civil Conflict	0.0458*	0.0194	0.0201	-0.0122	0.0493**	0.0307	-0.0553*	0.0150	0.0360	0.0776***
	(0.0265)	(0.0270)	(0.0246)	(0.0301)	(0.0237)	(0.0273)	(0.0298)	(0.0289)	(0.0297)	(0.0280)
Ethnic Conflict	0.0514***	0.0422**	0.0766***	-0.0649***	0.0587***	-0.00936	0.0134	0.0320	-0.00992	-0.0511
	(0.0186)	(0.0209)	(0.0199)	(0.0208)	(0.0195)	(0.0226)	(0.0229)	(0.0220)	(0.0227)	(0.0356)
N	14,182	13,567	13,438	13,864	11,988	12,076	10,007	13,467	12,530	6,227

Notes: ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%, *Significant at 10%. Each column above represents a regression of a political attitude/behavior (column headers) on a conflict measure (row headers). All regressions include dummies for region of residence, year of birth, female, responses to "current living standards", level of education, occupation, and urban. The share of the respondent's ethnicity in the district population is also used as a control. Standardized coefficients are reported.

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Table 5. Heterogeneous Effects of Ethnic Conflict Exposure by Ethnic Share in District

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Voting	Collective action	Contact	Refusal of bribes	Interest	Deference	Democracy	Equality	Rule of law	Trust
Ethnic War (0-14) x Ethnic Share in District	-0.0216**	-0.0237**	-0.0199*	-0.00900	0.0229**	0.0138	-0.0133	0.00551	0.0295***	-0.00619
	(0.00976)	(0.0103)	(0.0104)	(0.0118)	(0.00965)	(0.0111)	(0.0114)	(0.0101)	(0.0108)	(0.0119)
Ethnic War	0.0239	0.0338*	0.0688***	-0.0511***	0.0431**	-0.0176	0.0105	0.0221	-0.0156	-0.0819***
	(0.0175)	(0.0190)	(0.0191)	(0.0191)	(0.0182)	(0.0215)	(0.0209)	(0.0213)	(0.0212)	(0.0291)
Ethnic Share in District	0.0350***	-0.00459	0.0236**	-0.0233*	0.0121	0.00868	-0.00648	0.00599	-0.00139	0.0187
	(0.0117)	(0.0122)	(0.0108)	(0.0119)	(0.0107)	(0.0131)	(0.0138)	(0.0116)	(0.0123)	(0.0141)
N	14,182	13,567	13,438	13,864	11,988	12,076	10,007	13,467	12,530	6,227

Notes: ***Significant at 1%, **Significant at 5%, *Significant at 10%. Each column by pair of rows above represents a regression of a political attitude/behavior (column headers) on battle deaths interacted with either age, ethnic share in district, or a female dummy (see row headers). All regressions include dummies for region of residence, year of birth, female, responses to "current living standards", level of education, occupation, and urban. The share of the respondent's ethnicity in the district population is also used as a control. Standardized coefficients are reported.

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Table 6. Results in the literature

Author(s)	Paper	Outcome of Interest	RHS Variable of Interest	Coefficient of Interest	SD(LHS variable)	SD(RHS variable)	Standardized Coefficient
Annan, Jeannie, Christopher Blattman, Dyan Mazurana and Khristopher Carlson	Civil War, Reintegration, and Gender in Northern Uganda	Member of at least one group (women) (Table 2)	Abduction as a child soldier	-0.04	0.5	0.44	**-0.035**
		Member of at least one group (men) (Table 2)		0.01	0.5	0.5	**0.010**
Bellows, John and Edward Miguel	War and Local Collective Action in Sierra Leone	Did you attend any community meetings in the past year? (Table 3)	Conflict Victimization Index	0.0775	0.49	0.34	**0.054**
Blattman, Christopher	From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda	Voted in 2005 (Table 5)	Violent acts witnessed	0.04	0.5	1.7	**0.136**
Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan	The Consequences of Child Soldiering	Index of psychological distress (Table 7)	Index of violence experienced	0.15	2.4	3.1	**0.194**
De Luca, Giacomo and Marijke Verpoorten	From vice to virtue? Civil war and social capital in Uganda	Generalized Trust (Table 5)	Battle days	-0.005	0.37	45.94	**-0.621**
Miguel, Edward, Sebastian Saiegh, and Shankar Satyanath	Civil War Exposure and Violence	Yellow cards (Table 2)	Years of civil war (country level)	0.0076	2.73	4.74	**0.013**
Rohner, Dominic, Mathias Thoenig, and Fabrizio Zilibotti	Seeds of Distrust: Conflict in Uganda	Generalized Trust (Table 1)	All fighting	-0.00206	0.466	45.96	**-0.203**

Notes: This review is limited to studies that estimate the association between conflict exposure and beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors related to politics. Studies estimating associations between war exposure and other outcomes are omitted, as are studies focusing on other determinants of political beliefs, attitudes, or behaviors. Studies in which standard deviations of the LHS or RHS variables of interest are not reported, and for which we could not obtain these numbers from the authors, are also omitted.