

1 **Title:** Research article: Relationships between Sickle Cell Trait, Malaria, and Educational  
2 Outcomes in Tanzania

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28

29 **Abstract**

30 **Background**

31 Sickle Cell Trait (SCT) has been shown to be protective against malaria. A growing literature  
32 suggests that malaria exposure can reduce educational attainment. This study assessed the  
33 relationship and interactions between malaria, SCT and educational attainment in north-eastern  
34 Tanzania.

35 **Methods**

36 767 children were selected from a list of individuals screened for SCT. Febrile illness and  
37 malaria incidence were monitored from January 2006 to December 2013 by community health  
38 workers. Education outcomes were extracted from the Korogwe Health and Demographic  
39 Surveillance system in 2015. The primary independent variables were malaria and SCT. The  
40 association between SCT and the number of fever and malaria episodes from 2006 to 2013 was  
41 analyzed. Main outcomes of interest were school enrolment and educational attainment in  
42 2015.

43 **Results**

44 SCT was not associated with school enrolment (adjusted OR 1.42, 95% CI [0.593,3.412]) or  
45 highest grade attained (adjusted grade difference 0.0597, 95% CI [-0.567, 0.686]). SCT was  
46 associated with a 29% reduction in malaria incidence (adjusted IRR 0.71, 95% CI [0.526,  
47 0.959]) but not with fever incidence (adjusted IRR 0.905, 95% CI [0.709 - 1.154]). In subgroup  
48 analysis of individuals with SCT, malaria exposure was associated with reduced school  
49 enrollment (adjusted OR 0.431, 95% CI [0.212, 0.877]).

50 **Conclusions**

51 SCT appears to reduce incidence of malaria. Overall, children with SCT do not appear to  
52 attend more years of school; however children who get malaria despite SCT appear to have  
53 lower levels of enrolment in education than their peers.

54

55 **Background and Introduction**

56 While a relatively large literature has highlighted the negative consequences of cerebral  
57 malaria on children's cognitive development, evidence on the impact of repeated exposure to

58 uncomplicated malaria infections remains scarce [1]. A growing literature has documented  
59 the importance of human genetic variations in the exposure to, and transmission of, malaria.  
60 Genes with protective traits against malaria have been shown to occur with increased  
61 frequencies in malaria-endemic regions. Among the genetic variations which offer protection  
62 against malaria are those that determine red blood cell (RBC) haemoglobin disorders in  
63 general, and those that cause thalassaemia and sickle cell disease (SCD) in particular. SCD is  
64 a classic example of a balanced polymorphism: although the heterozygous state of the sickle  
65 cell gene (HbAS) confers protection against malaria, the homozygous state of the sickle gene  
66 (SS) is associated with increased morbidity and mortality [2-5]. Subjects with one allele  
67 (HbAS – the sickle cell *trait*, hereafter referred to as *SCT*) are generally perceived to not  
68 suffer immediate negative health consequences, but to benefit from protection from malaria  
69 infection and mortality. There is also suggestive evidence that these protective effects  
70 translate into cumulative health benefits such as reduced rates of stunting [5]. Both SCD and  
71 SCT are very common in sub-Saharan Africa, and have been demonstrated to occur with high  
72 frequency in areas with high malaria transmission.

73

74 There is a large literature suggesting that malaria explains an important component of the  
75 lagging development performance of sub-Saharan Africa [6]. Using micro data, several  
76 recent papers [7-12] show long run benefits to cohorts exposed to malaria control or  
77 eradication programs early in life with respect to educational attainment, cognition,  
78 employment, and/or earnings. However, these studies largely rely on ecological designs; for  
79 example several compare educational outcomes for individuals born in more versus less  
80 malarial areas prior to national eradication campaigns. As such they may be subject to  
81 confounding biases. Research which examines educational outcomes as a function of  
82 individual, rather than geographic, variation in malaria exposure is needed.

83

84 The genetic variations generated by SCD provide an opportunity to identify the effect of  
85 malaria exposure in childhood on educational attainment. Using the technique of Mendelian  
86 randomization, the key assumption is that a specific genotype (in this case HbAS) is linked to  
87 a health-related characteristic (protection from malaria), but is unrelated to other confounding  
88 variables or to the outcome of interest [13]. If this assumption is valid, then individuals with  
89 SCT will have reduced exposure to malaria but will otherwise be comparable to individuals  
90 without sickle cell trait. This property of SCT has been previously used, in a Mendelian  
91 randomization framework, to study the relationship between malaria and stunting [14], but

92 has not to our knowledge been used to study the relationship between malaria and educational  
93 attainment. If it is true that exposure to non-severe malaria reduces children's cognitive  
94 development and ability to learn, children with the SCT living in highly endemic malaria  
95 areas should therefore display improved educational outcomes in the long run. This study  
96 therefore utilized genetic and epidemiological data to assess the effects of exposure to  
97 malaria and SCT on children's educational attainment in an area that was until recently  
98 holo/hyper-endemic to malaria (Korogwe district in north-eastern Tanzania.)  
99

## 100 **Methods**

### 101 **Study area**

102 The data used in this study was collected in Korogwe district in north-eastern Tanzania.  
103 Korogwe district is topographically stratified into lowland and highland areas with altitude  
104 ranging from 300-1200m above sea level, and a population of 310,346. The district is  
105 characterized by varying malaria transmission with areas in the lowlands having high  
106 transmission, where *Plasmodium falciparum* is the dominant malaria species [15, 16].  
107 Tanzania's National Institute for Medical Research (NIMR) has been running a Health and  
108 Demographic Surveillance System (HDSS) in 14 villages with a population of more than  
109 28,000 people, since January 2006 [17]. Out of 14 villages, six have been participating in  
110 surveillance of febrile episodes using community health workers known as community  
111 owned resource persons (CORPs) [18]. Three of these villages (Kwashemshi, Mkokola and  
112 Mng'aza) are in the lowland areas with traditionally high malaria transmission, and three  
113 villages (Kwamasimba, Kwamhanya and Magundi) are in the highland areas with low  
114 malaria transmission. Two of these villages (Kwamasimba and Mkokola) started the passive  
115 case detection (PCD) of febrile episodes in 2003 [19], while in the remaining four villages the  
116 surveillance was introduced in January 2006. Over 30,000 febrile illnesses have been  
117 recorded from the six villages since January 2006. Data from the HDSS shows that by 2013,  
118 the number of households in the six villages in which PCD of fever was operational was  
119 3,221, with a total population of 14,049 people.

120

121 767 individuals aged 0-19 years were selected from a malariometric cross sectional survey  
122 conducted between May 2006 and May 2007 for genotyping of different malaria-associated  
123 polymorphisms including SCD. Genotyping was done by the MalariaGEN genomic  
124 epidemiology network. Educational attainment information was obtained for 704 (91.7%) of

125 these individuals through the HDSS system up to May 2015. Genotype data was collected  
126 specifically for research purposes, malaria and fever diagnosis data was collected as part of  
127 the implementation of the passive case detection system of febrile illness, and education and  
128 other socioeconomic status indicators were collected through the routine procedures of the  
129 Korogwe Health and Demographic Surveillance System. Permission was obtained to use the  
130 data for this study.

131

132 **Outcome variables:** The primary outcome variables analyzed were a continuous measure of  
133 educational attainment, defined as highest grade of schooling attained, and a binary measure  
134 school enrolment, both measured as of 2015. Secondary outcome variables were febrile illness  
135 and malaria over the period 2006-2013.

136

137 **Independent variables:** The primary independent variables of interest were the presence of  
138 the SCT and malaria. Given the possibility that educational outcomes and malaria morbidity  
139 could be correlated with location and with socioeconomic status, control variables that proxy  
140 for socioeconomic status (such as access to electricity and piped water, asset ownership, and  
141 quality of housing) as well as village and ethnic group indicator variables are included in  
142 adjusted models as control variables.

143

144

#### 145 **Empirical analysis**

146 Multivariable Poisson regression models were used to analyze the associations between SCT  
147 and the number of febrile illnesses as well as the number of malaria episodes. For education,  
148 the association between SCT and grade attainment was estimated controlling for each age-  
149 year category. As an alternative empirical model, the probability that a child was still in  
150 school when last surveyed in 2015 was analyzed using standard logistic models.

151

152 For all models, both unadjusted estimates and adjusted estimates controlling for child age and  
153 sex, village, ethnic group, and a range of additional socioeconomic characteristics are shown.  
154 Robust standard errors are clustered at the village level. All empirical analysis was conducted  
155 using the Stata SE 13 software package.

156

#### 157 **Results**

158

159 Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the sample. Mean age of individuals in the sample  
160 was 15.9 years as of May 2015. Approximately half of the individuals (56%) were female. In  
161 the SCT group, 36% of sampled individuals lived in a household that owns a bicycle and  
162 16% owned a phone, 38.7% had piped water, 2.7% had electricity in their homes. For the  
163 non-SCT sample, 29.6% owned bicycles and 8% owned phones, while 0.5% had electricity  
164 and 27.9% had piped water in their homes. The adjusted models presented in Tables 2-4 use  
165 all of the variables in Table 1 as controls.

166

167 Figure 1 shows the number of malaria cases reported in each year. Highest incidence was  
168 observed for 2007 with a total of 248 cases; the number of cases declined rapidly after 2008,  
169 with less than 50 cases reported per year from 2009-2013. The percentage of febrile illnesses  
170 that were confirmed as malaria also declined sharply, from 34% in 2006 to 19% in 2013.

171

172 Table 2 shows the main results for fever and malaria incidence. SCT does not appear to have  
173 had a protective effect for episodes of fever. However, the presence of SCT was associated  
174 with reduction in the incidence of confirmed malaria cases by 29% in the fully adjusted  
175 models (Adjusted IRR 0.710, 95% CI [0.526, 0.959]).

176

177 The main results for educational outcomes are presented in Table 3. In the first two columns  
178 of Table 3 the odds ratios for current (as of May 2015) school attendance are shown. In  
179 columns 3 and 4, the difference in the highest grade attained conditional on students' age in  
180 individuals with SCT compared to those without SCT is presented. There were no statistically  
181 significant associations for either of the two outcomes. The adjusted point estimates of the  
182 effect of SCT on highest grade attained was positive but not significant (0.0597), while  
183 adjusted odds ratio point estimate on the likelihood of being enrolled suggested a 42% greater  
184 likelihood of being in school among SCT individuals, but this was imprecisely estimated and  
185 not significant.

186

187 In Table 4, the sample is restricted to those with SCT, comparing educational attainment  
188 among those who have had at least one confirmed malaria episode versus those who did not  
189 have an episode of malaria over this period. In this subsample of 75 individuals, malaria was  
190 associated with reduced school enrollment (adjusted OR 0.431, 95% CI [0.212, 0.877]). The

191 association between malaria and grade attainment in the SCT group was negative but not  
192 significant (adjusted grade difference -0.256, 95% CI [-0.701, 0.190].

193

## 194 **Discussion**

195

196 The results presented in this paper yield three main results. First, similar to other studies  
197 sickle cell trait (SCT) was found to be protective against malaria, with an estimated incidence  
198 reduction of 29% in fully adjusted models. Despite this reduced incidence of malaria,  
199 individuals with SCT did not show any greater educational attainment. When analysis was  
200 restricted to individuals with SCT, exposure to malaria was associated with reduced school  
201 enrollment, even after adjusting for geographic and socioeconomic differences.

202

203 With respect to estimated effect sizes, the protective effect of SCT on malaria observed in  
204 this sample was notably smaller than recent estimates from Kenya, where a 50% reduction in  
205 the incidence of mild malaria, a 75% reduction in hospitalization and 90% reduction for  
206 severe malaria [3] was found, but similar to a recent study from Ghana, where a relative risk  
207 of 0.82 was found for subjects with SCT [5]. Interestingly, in both the Kenya study [3] and  
208 the study presented here, reduced exposure to confirmed cases of malaria did not result in  
209 reduced exposure to fevers more generally. One possible explanation for the relatively  
210 smaller protective effect observed in the study setting may have been the average age of  
211 subjects. An average age of 16 years old at the study endpoint implies that many participants  
212 were observed after the likely development of immunity to malaria for the entire seven year  
213 period of febrile illness monitoring. The lower protective effect could also have been due to  
214 the rapidly dropping malaria burden, which has been observed in the study region after 2008  
215 by several analyses [18, 20] and can very easily be seen in Figure 1 of this paper as well.

216 While the determinants of this decline are still not well understood, it seems likely that  
217 malaria control interventions such as Tanzania's large scale bed net distribution campaign for  
218 all children under 5 years in 2008-2009 and for every sleeping space in 2010-2011, and the  
219 change in first line treatment to artemisinin combination therapy in 2007, played a major role.  
220 Other possible contributing factors include changes in climate, improved health service  
221 provision, and socio-economic development. The smaller estimated effects for fever  
222 incidence could be interpreted as evidence for SCT being associated with an increased  
223 incidence of other infections. However, the sample size of this study is not large enough to  
224 precisely estimate such differences.

225

226 Despite finding that SCT conferred protection from malaria, no associations between SCT  
227 and educational attainment were observed. This lack of association could partially have been  
228 due to the relatively small sample of 704 individuals, with only 81 SCT cases. (The sample  
229 was limited to 704 cases because these were the only individuals who were genotyped for  
230 SCD within the study area.) As a result, the study was only powered to reliably detect  
231 relatively large effect sizes. For example, in unadjusted models, the study was powered to  
232 detect an increase of 0.8 years of school attainment with 80% power. While the minimum  
233 detectable effect was smaller in adjusted models, because covariates such as age explain a  
234 great deal of the variation in schooling, power nonetheless remains a limitation of this study.

235

236 It is also possible that with half of the study population still in school, differences in  
237 educational attainment may not have fully emerged yet. Another possibility is that despite its  
238 frequent use in this literature [7-12], educational attainment is not an ideal measure for the  
239 underlying trait of cognitive improvement. While some studies have identified a link between  
240 malaria protection and schooling attainment [12], others have found cognition effects without  
241 educational attainment effects. For example a recent study which found links between birth  
242 year exposure to malaria eradication in Mexico and cognitive gains as measured by Raven  
243 progressive matrices nonetheless did not find schooling attainment gains [11]. In settings  
244 where poverty is a barrier to continued education, increased ability may not translate directly  
245 into increased educational attainment.

246

247 It is also worth highlighting that in the six villages studied, starting in 2007 malaria treatment  
248 was provided by community health workers, who used rapid diagnostic tests (RDTs) to  
249 diagnose malaria. The presence of trained CHWs may have reduced the risk of malaria cases  
250 progressing in severity, and thus lowered the overall impact of malaria exposure. This would  
251 have had the effect of dampening the sickle-cell trait-induced differences in malaria  
252 morbidity between HbAS (SCT) and HbAA groups. Another potential reason why increased  
253 education as a result of sickle cell trait was not observed could be because individuals with  
254 and without sickle cell trait differ on unobserved characteristics in addition to their  
255 differential susceptibility to malaria. Table 1 shows relatively modest differences across the  
256 two groups on observed characteristics, but other unmeasured or unobservable differences  
257 between HbAS (SCT) and HbAA households are possible. For example, individuals with  
258 sickle cell trait are more likely to have a sibling with sickle cell disease, a serious illness



259 which could necessitate that family resources are devoted to medical care rather than  
260 education.

261  
262 Finally, within the SCT group, malaria was associated with lower levels of school enrollment,  
263 even after controlling for a range of socioeconomic and demographic factors. This suggests  
264 that even in the SCT group, which was relatively protected from malaria, there may have  
265 been subpopulations which are particularly vulnerable to acute episodes of malaria that have  
266 deleterious effects on longer run social and developmental outcomes. This is an area that  
267 should be researched further.

268  
269 Given the wide range of studies which suggest long run benefits to malaria protection in  
270 childhood [7-12], the relationship between SCT and long run cognitive development should  
271 be further investigated. This study points towards two potential avenues for future research.  
272 First, researchers could follow up on this or similar populations to determine whether SCT-  
273 induced protection from malaria translates into cognitive differences when measured directly  
274 via standard batteries of cognitive tests, rather than the proxy of educational attainment.  
275 Second, alternative empirical strategies can be applied to isolate the causal effect of reduced  
276 malaria morbidity on cognitive ability. In this study, just 145 out of 704 children were  
277 genotyped together with other members of their household, which was too small of a sample  
278 to estimate household fixed effects models. Future data collection efforts could be designed  
279 to exploit within-household variation on hemoglobin genotype, thereby eliminating the  
280 possibility that differences in household level characteristics such as wealth or parental  
281 education are confounding the hypothesized relationship of SCT to educational or cognitive  
282 outcomes.

## 283 284 **Conclusions**

285 The results of this study suggest limited association between SCT and educational attainment.  
286 Given that SCT lowers incidence of malaria, this suggests that the causal impact of malaria  
287 morbidity on educational attainment, as measured by years in school and enrolment, was  
288 likely to have been relatively limited in this population. However, children who get malaria  
289 despite SCT also appeared to have lower levels of enrolment in education than their peers.  
290

291 **Declarations**

292 **Competing interests**

293 The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

294 **Ethics and consent:** This study was approved by the Medical Research Coordinating  
295 Committee of the National Institute for Medical Research, Tanzania. Informed consent both  
296 orally and in writing (in Kiswahili) was obtained from all individual participants or  
297 parents/guardians in case of children and adolescents (below 18 years).

298

299 **Consent for publication**

300 Not applicable

301

302 **Abbreviations**

303 CORPs: Community-owned resource person. SCD: Sickle-cell disease; SCT: Sickle-cell trait;  
304 HbSS: Homozygous sickle hemoglobin; HbAS: Heterozygous sickle hemoglobin; HbAA:  
305 Normal hemoglobin. HDSS: Health and Demographic Surveillance System. PCD: Passive  
306 Case Detection. RBC: Red Blood Cell. RDTs: rapid diagnostic tests

307

308

309 **Availability of data and materials:** The data on which the analysis for this article was  
310 conducted is available from the authors upon request.

311

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326 and interpretation of the data, or preparation, review, or approval of the paper. KC had full  
327 access to all data and had final responsibility for the decision to submit for publication.

328

329 **Author contributions:** KC, GF, BM, and HL conceptualized the study. KC and GF led data  
330 analysis and drafting. FF and MK led data collection, managed the Health and Demographic  
331 Surveillance system, and contributed to study interpretation. BM, JL, HL, JM, ML, and DI  
332 contributed to analysis and interpretation and revised the manuscript. All authors read, and  
333 approved the final version of the manuscript.

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**Figure 1:** Number of malaria cases and percent of febrile illnesses confirmed as malaria by year

**Table 1: Characteristics of the sample**

	Group			
	HbAA (N=623)		HbAS (N=81)	
Age of child (years), Mean (SD)	15.9	(4.0)	15.5	(3.7)
Child is female, n (%)	350	(56.1)	49	(60.5)
Village: Kwamasimba, n (%)	171	(27.4)	19	(23.5)
Village: Kwamhanya, n (%)	43	(6.9)	3	(3.7)
Village: Magundi, n (%)	77	(12.4)	8	(9.9)
Village: Mkokola, n (%)	162	(26.0)	33	(40.7)
Village: Mng'aza, n (%)	49	(0.1)	9	(0.1)
Village: Kwashemshi, n (%)	121	(0.2)	9	(0.1)
Ethnicity: Sambia, n (%)	339	(54.4)	40	(49.4)
Ethnicity: Zigua, n (%)	53	(8.5)	9	(11.1)
Household has bike, n (%)	173	(29.6)	28	(36.0)
Household has radio, n (%)	415	(71.1)	55	(73.3)
Household has phone, n (%)	46	(8.0)	12	(16.0)
Household has brick walls, n (%)	264	(45.5)	23	(32.0)
Household has electricity, n (%)	3	(0.5)	2	(2.7)
Household has piped water, n (%)	162	(27.9)	29	(38.7)
Household has toilet, n (%)	523	(89.7)	66	(88.0)
Head is employed (n%)	21	(3.6)	8	(10.7)
Land area cultivated (acres), Mean (SD)	2.3	(1.6)	2.5	(2.1)

\*Socioeconomic status (SES) variables available for N=584 HbAA and N=75 HbAS

**Table 2: Sickle cell trait and incidence of fever and malaria**

	Number of fever episodes		Number of malaria episodes	
	Unadjusted Incidence Rate Ratio (IRR)	Adjusted Incidence Rate Ratio (IRR)	Unadjusted Incidence Rate Ratio (IRR)	Adjusted Incidence Rate Ratio (IRR)
Sickle cell trait	0.897 (0.647 - 1.244)	0.905 (0.709 - 1.154)	0.861 (0.610 - 1.214)	0.710** (0.526 - 0.959)
Number of observations	704	654	704	654

Notes: Adjusted models include all covariates listed in Table 1; dummy variables for each year of age are also included. Robust standard errors clustered at village level. \*\*  $p < 0.05$

**Table 3: Sickle cell trait and educational outcomes**

	Child is currently in school		Grade attained conditional on age	
	Unadjusted Odds Ratio (OR)	Adjusted Odds Ratio (OR)	Unadjusted grade difference	Adjusted grade difference
Sickle cell trait	1.339 (0.676 - 2.654)	1.423 (0.593 - 3.412)	-0.187 (-0.782 - 0.409)	0.0597 (-0.567 - 0.686)
Number of observations	704	555	697	650

Notes: Adjusted models include all covariates listed in Table 1; dummy variables for each year of age are also included. Robust standard errors clustered at village level.

**Table 4: Malaria and educational outcomes, sickle cell trait only**

	Child is currently in school (adjusted)	Grade attained conditional on age (adjusted)
>1 malaria episode	0.431** (0.212 - 0.877)	-0.256 (-0.701 - 0.190)
Number of observations	70	75

\*Notes: Adjusted models include all covariates listed in Table 1. Due to reduced sample size, adjusted regressions control for age and age squared rather than with dummy variables for each year of age. \*\* p < 0.05



Figure 1: number of malaria cases and percent of febrile illnesses confirmed as malaria by year

