## Current Directions in the Study of Risk And Adversity in Early Childhood

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#### **Outline of talk**



- Models of risk
- Understanding adverse environments
- Experience getting under the skin
- Importance of child caregiver relationships









### Models of Risk

Lack of specificity in risks and outcomes Cumulative risk Diathesis-stress Differential susceptibility

# Lack of specificity between risk factors and outcomes

#### Multifinality of risks

- A single risk factor increases risks for multiple outcomes
- Maternal depression:
  - Insecure attachment
  - Emotion regulation difficulties
  - Language and cognitive problems
  - Social interactive problems
  - Behavior problems

#### Equifinality of risks

- A variety of risk factors may increase risk for a single outcome.
- Risk for aggression:
  - Maternal depression
  - Insecure attachment
  - Difficult temperament
  - Parental conflict

### **Cumulative risk models**

#### Adverse Childhood Experiences

#### **Household dysfunction:**

| Substance abuse             | 27% |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Parental separation/divorce | 23% |
| Mental illness              | 17% |
| Battered mother             | 13% |
| Criminal behavior           | 6%  |

#### Abuse:

| Psychological | 11% |
|---------------|-----|
| Physical      | 28% |
| Sexual        | 21% |

#### Neglect:

| Emotional | 15% |
|-----------|-----|
| Physical  | 10% |

#### Adverse Childhood Experiences Study (ACE)

- ACE Score
  - 0
  - 1
  - 2
  - 3
  - 4 or more

- Prevalence
  - 33%
  - 26%
  - 16%
  - 10%
  - 16%

#### **ACE Results**

- Persons with ACE of 4 compared 0:
  - 7.4 fold increase for alcoholism
  - 10.3 fold increase for drug abuse
  - 4.6 fold increase for depression
  - 12 fold increase in suicide attempts
  - 2.2 fold increase in ischemic heart disease
  - 1.9 fold increase cancer

## Percentage of young children in the U.S. challenged by major risk factors



#### **Preschool Maltreated Sample**

| Caregiver Mental Health Problem       | 30% |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Minority Status                       | 58% |
| Low Caregiver Education               | 29% |
| <ul> <li>Single Caregiver</li> </ul>  | 48% |
| Biomedical Risk Condition             | 22% |
| <ul> <li>Poverty</li> </ul>           | 46% |
| Teen-aged Caregiver                   | 19% |
| <ul> <li>Domestic Violence</li> </ul> | 40% |
| 4 or More Children in Home            | 14% |
| Caregiver Substance Abuse             | 39% |

Barth et al. (2008)

#### Significant Adversity Threatens Development in the First Three Years



Barth et al. (2008)

#### **Summary of Cumulative Stress**

- Individual risk factors contribute non-specifically to adverse outcomes.
- Rarely occur in isolation.
- Sum of number of risk factors powerfully predictive.

## Diathesis Stress vs. Differential Susceptibility

#### Diathesis stress

Inherited vulnerability plus stressful experience leads to poor outcome = G X E



Caspi et al., 2002

## Differential susceptibility: BDNF, parental depression and child negative emotionality



#### Differential susceptibility in 4 ½ year old children

s/s +met/\* genotypes and indiscriminate behavior



#### Effects of adverse environments

**Toxic stress** 

Inadequate input

Excessive unwanted input

#### **Toxic stress**

#### Levels of stressful experiences

#### **Positive Stress**

- A personal challenge that has a satisfying outcome
- **Result**: Sense of mastery and control
  - HEALTHY BRAIN
     ARCHITECTURE
  - good self esteem, judgment and impulse control

#### **Tolerable Stress**

- Adverse life events buffered by supportive relationships
- **Result**: Coping and recovery
  - HEALTHY BRAIN ARCHITECTURE
  - good self esteem, judgment and impulse control

#### **Toxic Stress**

- Unbuffered adverse events of greater duration and magnitude
- **Result**: Poor coping and compromised recovery
- **Result**: Increased life-long risk for physical and mental disorders
  - COMPROMISED BRAIN DEVELOPMENT
  - Dysregulated physiological systems

#### **Toxic Stress Changes Brain Architecture**





Toxic stress

> Prefrontal Cortex and Hippocampus

#### **Examples of Toxic Stress for Children**

- Chaos in home
  - Poor self regulatory behavior
  - Obesity, elevated blood pressure and cardiovascular reactivity
- Witnessing verbal and physical violence
  - Increased risk for lasting physical and mental health problems
- Abuse
  - Increased risks for lasting physical and mental health problems
  - Shorter lifespan
- Neglect
  - cortisol dysregulation
- Problematic parenting
  - Internalizing and externalizing behavior problems

#### Inadequate input (neglect/deprivation) VS.

Excessive unwanted input (abuse/exposure to violence)



#### **Extreme Neglect Reduces Brain Power**



Positive Relationships Extreme Neglect

Marshall, Fox & BEIP (2004)

#### **Total Cortical White Matter**



#### **Body of Corpus Callosum**





#### Tracts involved in limbic circuitry



#### Tracts involved in fronto striatal circuitry

#### Anterior (right) and Superior (left) Corona Radiata





Corona Radiata





External Capsule (Right and Left)





but EIG > NIG)

#### PTSD

- Exposure to trauma
- Re-experiencing
- Avoidance
- Alterations in mood or cognition
- Hyperarousal
- Impairment
- One month duration

# Functional neuroanatomy of chronic anxiety, fear and PTSD

**Hippocampus** 

#### Prefrontal Cortex & Anterior Cingulate Gyrus



#### Summary of environmental adversity

- Toxic stress
  - child's coping mechanisms overwhelmed
  - compromises health and mental health
- Inadequate input, neglect and deprivation
  - abnormal brain structure
  - abnormal brain functioning
- Excessive unwanted input, emotional abuse & exposure to violence
  - leads to harm if chronically overactivates fear circuitry

Experience Getting Under the Skin

Sensitive periods Epigenetics

## Sensitive periods in brain and behavioral development
#### **Research with Rhesus Macques**

#### Judy Cameron and colleagues



#### Heritability estimates

(with 126 Rhesus monkey infants)

- Play room test (exploration vs. inhibition)
  - Latency to leave mom, h<sup>2</sup>=1.0
  - Time away from mom, h<sup>2</sup>=1.0
- Remote-Controlled Car test (approach to novel object)
  - Vocalizations, h<sup>2</sup>=1.0
- Human Intruder test (approach to stranger)
  - Movement (profile), h<sup>2</sup>=0.54
  - Movement (stare), h<sup>2</sup>=0.75
  - Teethgrinding (stare), h<sup>2</sup>=0.89
- Novel Fruit test (approach to novel rewarding stimulus)
  - Latency to inspect, h<sup>2</sup>=1.0
  - Latency to touch, h<sup>2</sup>=0.74

#### Summary of results

- 3 month separated
  - minimal effects
- 1 month separated
  - depressed initially
  - followed by clingy behavior, persists into adolescence
- 1 week separated
  - aloof
  - asocial

#### Super Mom Results

- Pairing with an experienced mother is more effective when initiated earlier.
- Critical period of 7 days after which remediation no longer possible.

# Feral children and language development



- Shamdeo, the wolf boy
- Found in forest in 1972 playing with wolf cubs
- Walked on all fours, craved blood, ate dirt, hunted chickens, loved the dark, and preferred company of dogs and jackals to people.

### 30,000,000 word gap



## Persistence to age 15 years of deprivation specific patterns of impairment



Rutter et al., 2010



#### Secure vs. insecure: 42 months



Smyke et al., 2010

#### Attachment security and age at entry



Smyke et al., 2010

## Distribution of alpha power من across the scalp by timing and group



Epigenetics: non-inherited changes in DNA

DNA methylation Telomere modification

#### Methylation and gene expression





#### Michael Meany and Licking and Grooming Rats



<u>Offspring</u> High corticosterone High anxiety Low licking as mothers <u>Offspring</u> Low corticosterone Low anxiety High lickers as mother

Francis et al., 1999

#### **Cross fostering rats**



LLG mothers foster

Non-anxious offspring

Offspring High corticosterone High anxiety Low licking as mothers HLG mothers foster Anxious offspring



<u>Offspring</u> Low corticosterone Low anxiety High licking as mothers

## High nurturing (HLG) releases methyl groups increasing GR (NR3C1) expression



#### GR protein binds cortisol significantly more in HLG rats



#### Inside the hippocampus

#### Methylation of the NR3C1 promoter in the hippocampus



McGowan et al., 2009







#### **Telomeres**



#### Telomere length and percent of life in Romanian institutions

0

#### Girls at baseline (22months)



#### Boys through 54 months



Drury et al., 2012

#### Child telomere length and family instability



#### Summary of epigenetic mechanisms

- Methylation affects gene expression leading to heritable changes (not involving DNA sequencing).
  - How experiences shape offspring
- Telomere lengthening
  - reflects cellular aging

Importance of the Infant Caregiver Relationship

#### Importance of child caregiver relationships

- Human infants *require* caregivers' *protection* and support to ensure survival for years after birth.
- Relationships with caregivers essential in helping children *regulate responses to stressors and adversity*.
- THE most important context for child development is child's *relationship(s) with caregiver(s)*.

#### Protection within risk Tharner et al 2012



#### Children with histories of severe deprivation



Psychiatric symptoms, disorders and impairment at 54 mos.

McGoron et al., 2012

# What promotes health and well-being in young children?



### Thankyou!

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