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The Biopsychology of Ending Poverty: Lessons from Research on Economic Instability, Household Chaos, and Child Cortisol

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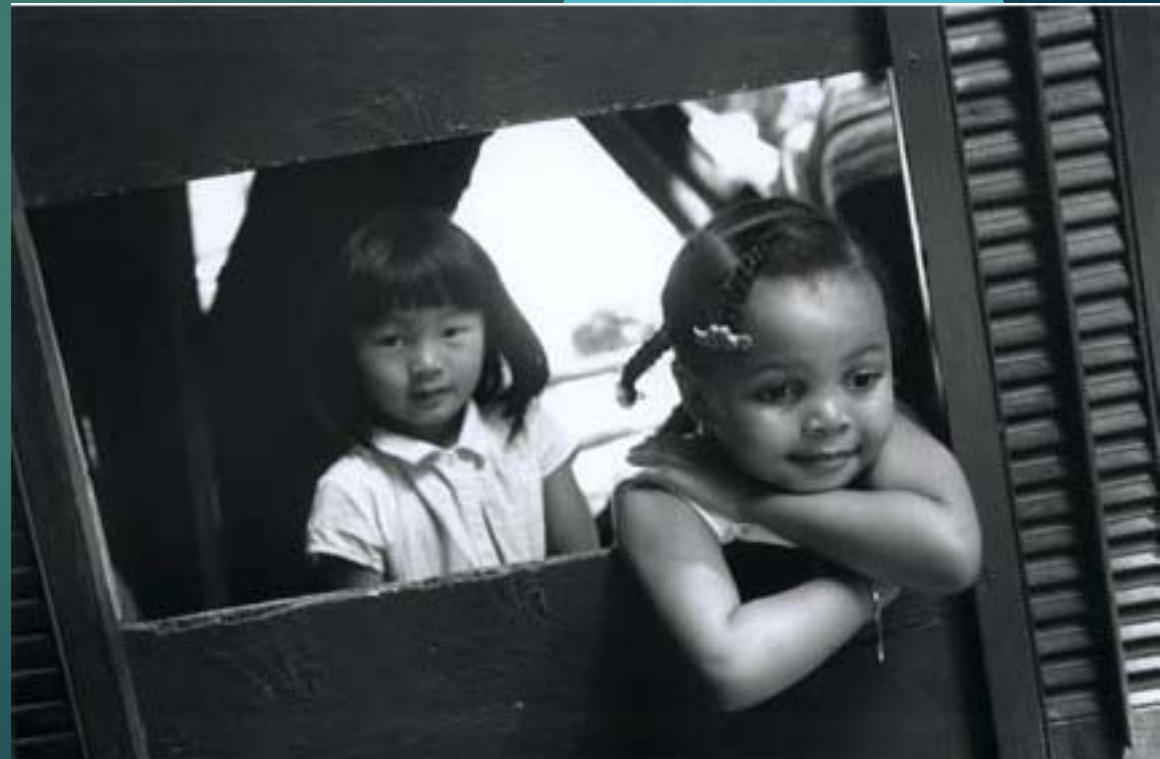
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The Biopsychology of Ending Poverty

LESSONS FROM RESEARCH ON ECONOMIC INSTABILITY, HOUSEHOLD CHAOS, AND CHILD CORTISOL

ELLIE D. BROWN, PHD

WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY



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- ▶ Mentor: Brian Ackerman
- ▶ Collaborators: Kate Anderson, Mallory Garnett, Erin Hill
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- ▶ WCU ORSP, CAS/CSM, and Psychology Department
- ▶ Journal of Family Psychology

Significance of Poverty



17 UN Sustainable Development Goals

▶ #1: END POVERTY IN ALL ITS FORMS EVERYWHERE

- ▶ The targets under Goal 1 include aiming for a world where the poor are not vulnerable to climate change, and have "equal rights to economic resources."

Ending Poverty

- ▶ Structural change
- ▶ Cultural change
- ▶ Individual change
 - ▶ Those with economic power and resources
 - ▶ Those facing economic hardship



Traditional Frame

- ▶ Social address
- ▶ Deficit
- ▶ Individual blame



Traditional vs Alternative Frame

- ▶ Social address
- ▶ Deficit
- ▶ Individual blame
- ▶ Ecology
- ▶ Diversity
- ▶ Social causation



Social Address Model

- ▶ **Unit:** Individual
- ▶ **Cause:** Bad genes
- ▶ **Mechanism:** Faulty neural pathways
- ▶ **Symptoms:** Poor impulse control; academic failure and conduct problems
- ▶ **Treatment:** Eugenics, social control



Focus on Children in Poverty

- ▶ Diversity (in persons)
- ▶ Within group variation
- ▶ Ecology



Social Address vs Alternative Model

- ▶ **Unit:** Individual
 - ▶ **Cause:** Bad genes
 - ▶ **Mechanism:** Code for faulty neural pathways
 - ▶ **Symptoms:** Poor impulse control; academic failure, and conduct problems
 - ▶ **Treatment:** Eugenics, social control
- ▶ **Unit:** Ecology
 - ▶ **Cause:**
 - ▶ **Mechanism:**
 - ▶ **Symptoms:**
 - ▶ **Treatment:**



Cumulative Contextual Risk

- ▶ Diversity (in context)
- ▶ Ecology, as a whole
- ▶ Synergy
- ▶ Equifinality



Social Address vs Alternative Model

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- ▶ **Unit:** Ecology
 - ▶ **Cause:** Cumulative risk
 - ▶ **Mechanism:**
 - ▶ **Symptoms:**
 - ▶ **Treatment:**

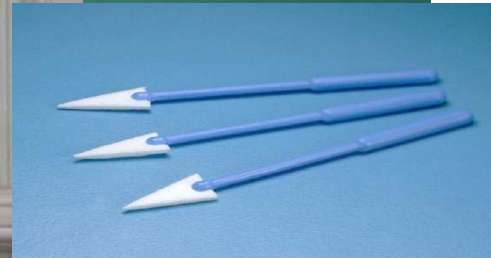


Instability and Chaos

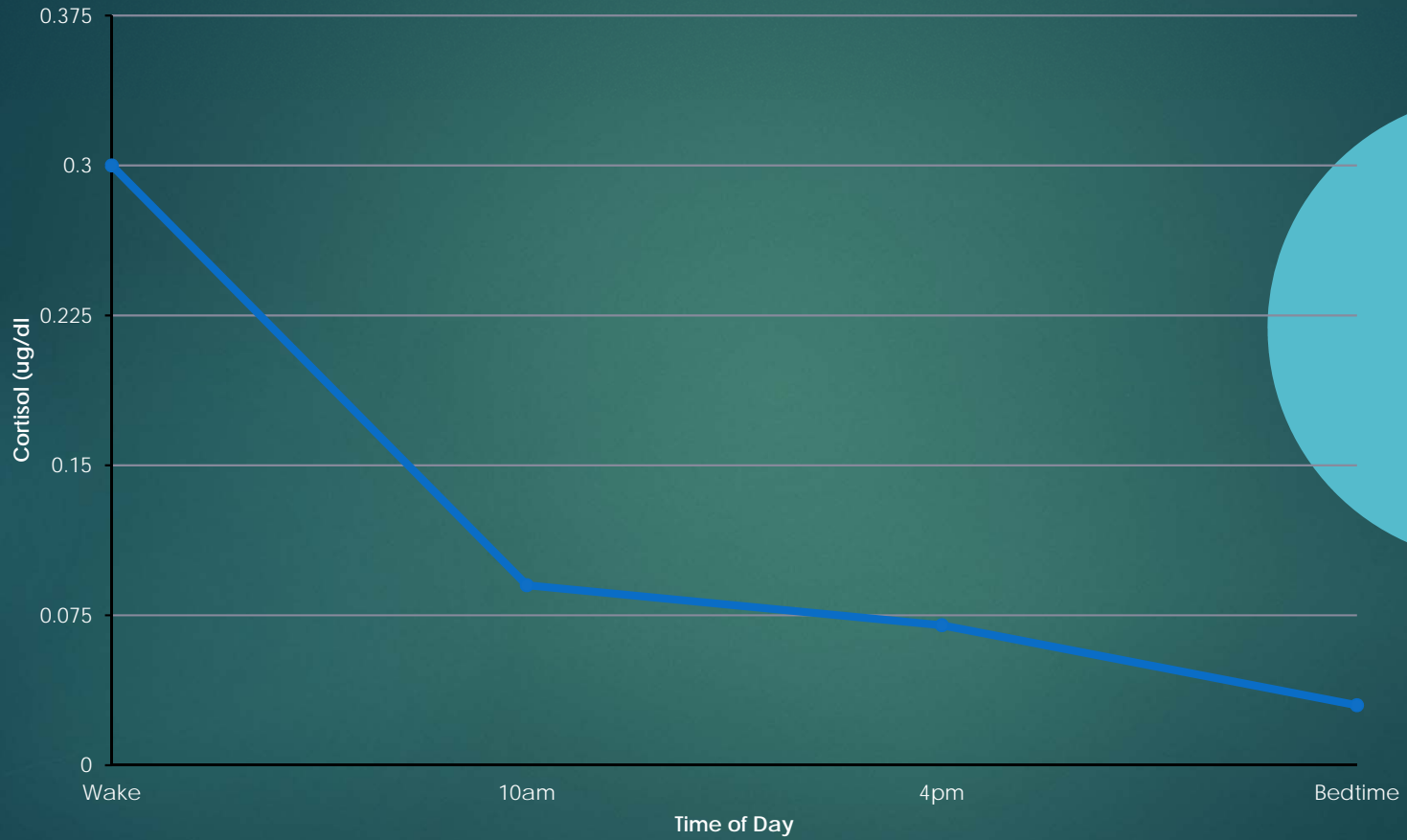
- ▶ Diversity (in process)
- ▶ Unpredictability of proximal processes
- ▶ Burdens stress response systems
- ▶ Impact on brain and behavior



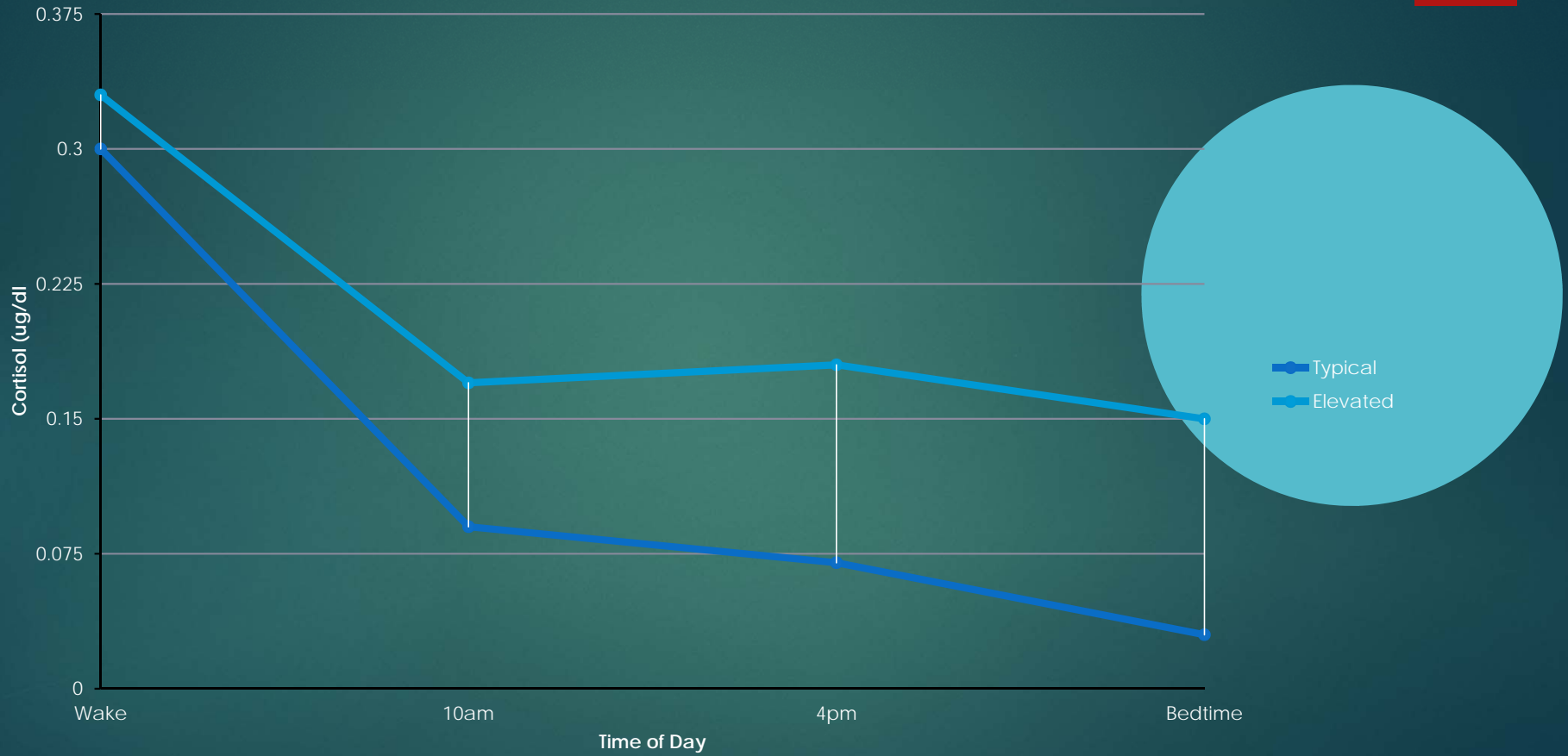
Hypothalamic Pituitary Adrenal (HPA) Axis



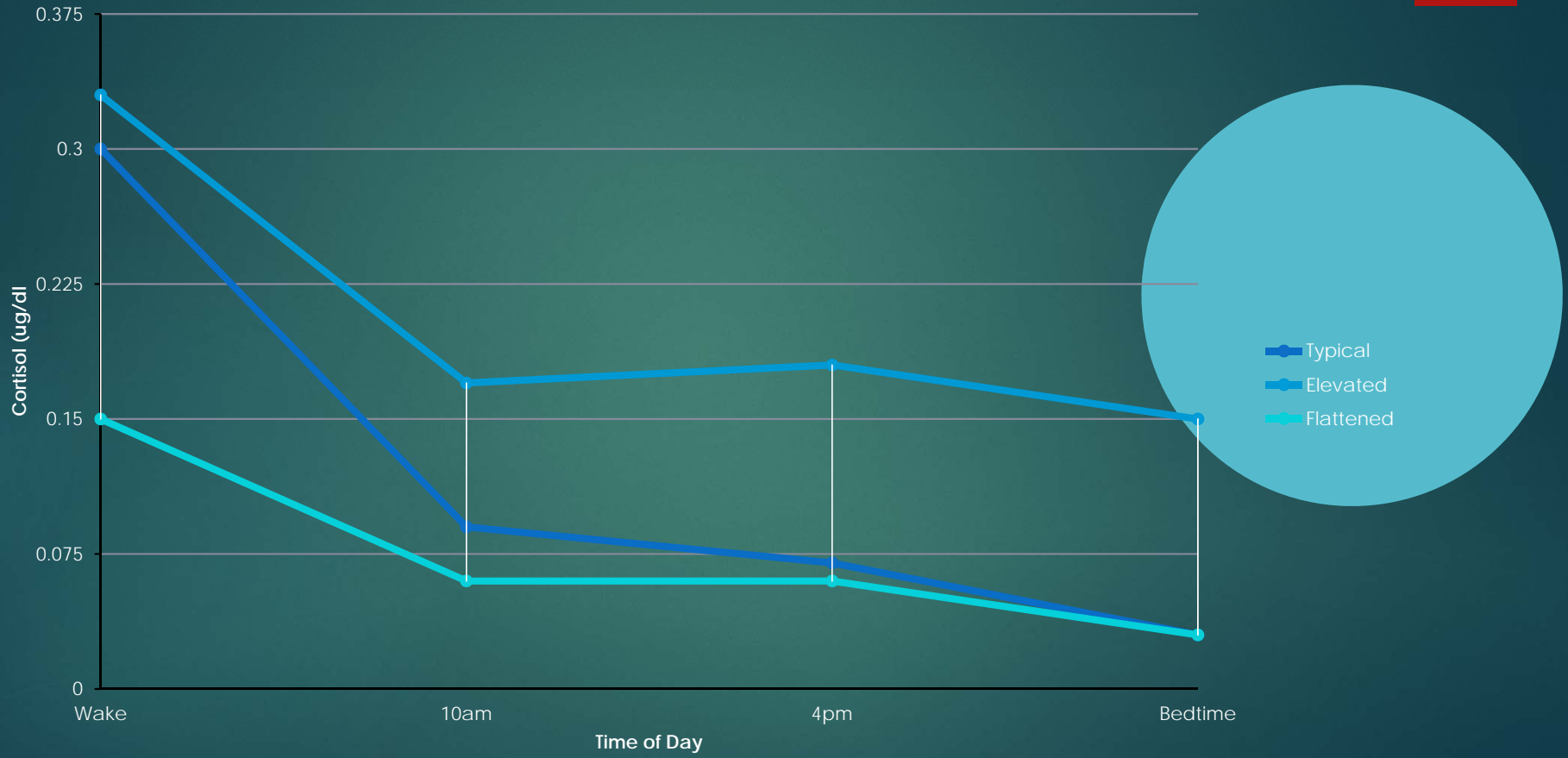
Diurnal Cortisol Trajectory

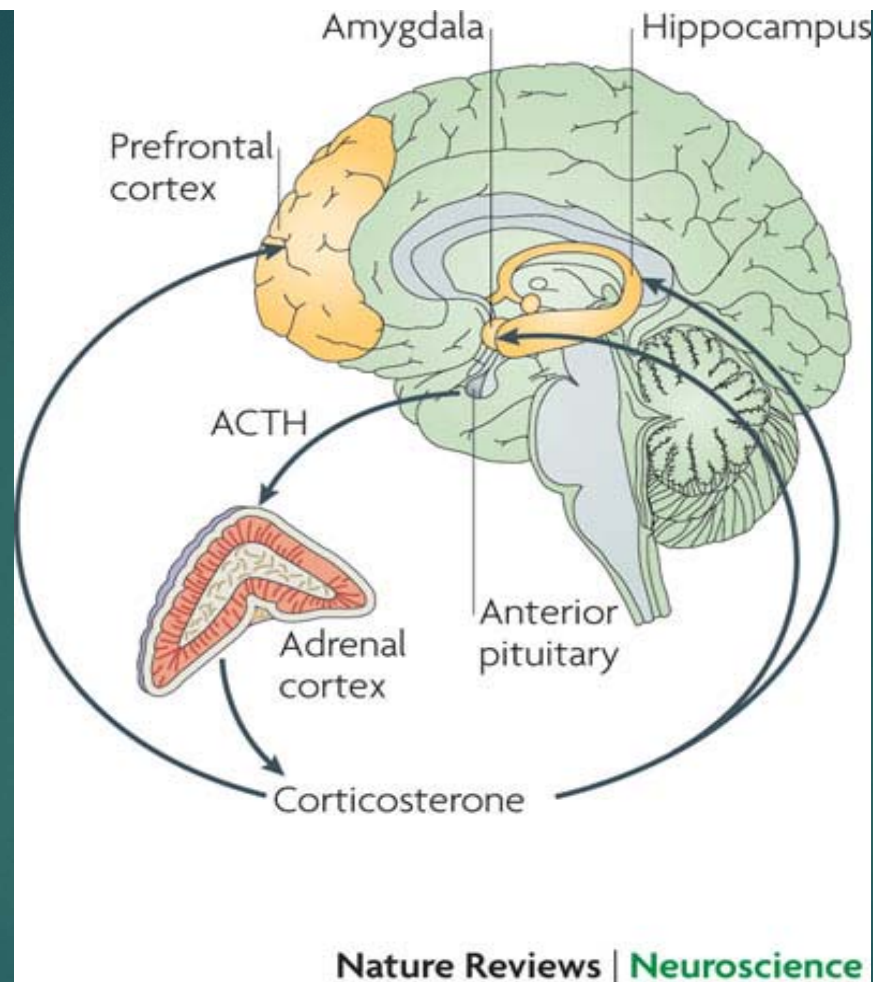


Diurnal Cortisol Trajectory



Diurnal Cortisol Trajectory





Stress hormones and AMPA receptor trafficking in synaptic plasticity and memory

Harmen J. Krugers, Casper C. Hoogenraad & Laurent Groc

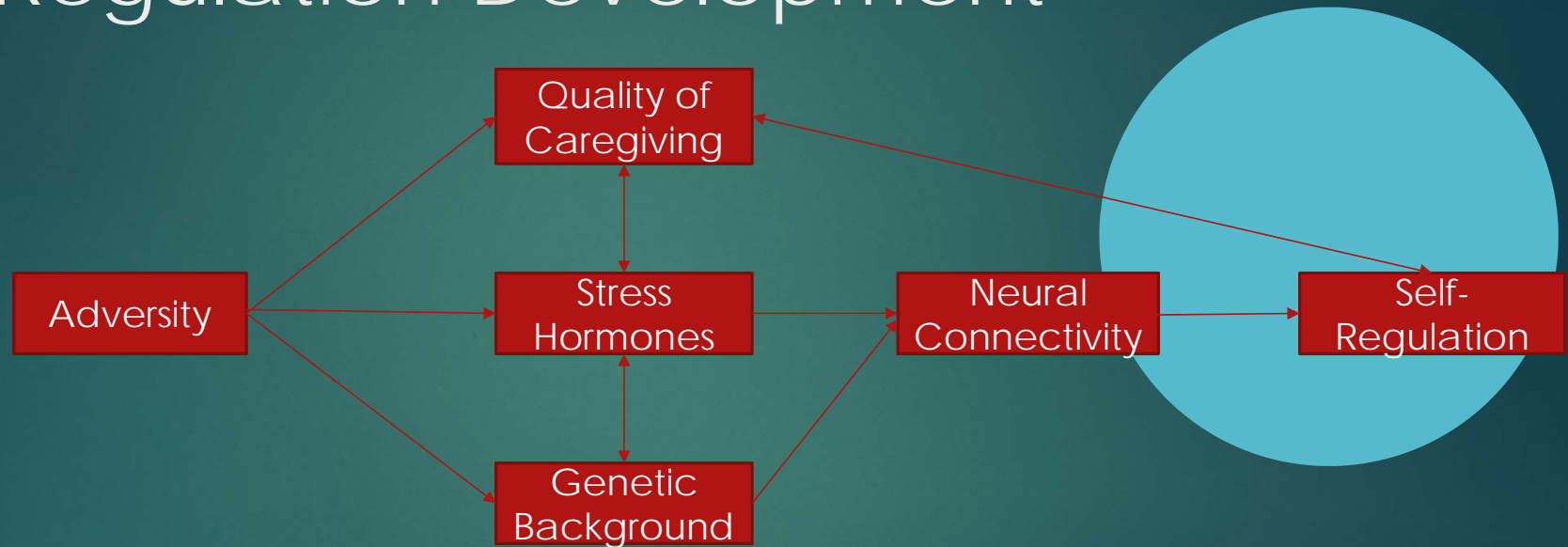
Nature Reviews Neuroscience **11**, 675-681 (October 2010)

HPA Axis

- ▶ Diversity (across time)
- ▶ Adaptive → problematic
- ▶ High allostatic load
- ▶ Experiential canalization



Model of the Experiential Canalization of Self-Regulation Development



Blair, C., & Raver, C.C. (2012). Child development in the context of adversity: Experiential canalization of development. *American Psychologist, 67*, 309-318.

Social Address vs Alternative Model

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- ▶ **Unit:** Ecology
- ▶ **Cause:** Cumulative risk; instability and chaos
- ▶ **Mechanism:** Unpredictable proximal processes, high allostatic load, experiential canalization
- ▶ **Symptoms:** Self-regulatory difficulties; cognitive and social-emotional problems
- ▶ **Treatment:**



Gaps in Understanding

- ▶ Poverty “gets under the skin”
 - ▶ Emergent area of research
- ▶ Limitations of family investment models
 - ▶ Few studies include robust account of contextual risk
- ▶ Unique importance of instability and chaos
 - ▶ Few studies examine isolate instability and chaos
 - ▶ No studies isolate economic instability in relation to cortisol
 - ▶ No studies examine chaotic living conditions as a family process variable in relation to young children’s cortisol



Present Study

- ▶ Economic adversity in relation to child cortisol
- ▶ Limitations of family investment models
- ▶ Prepotency of economic instability
- ▶ Role of chaotic living conditions



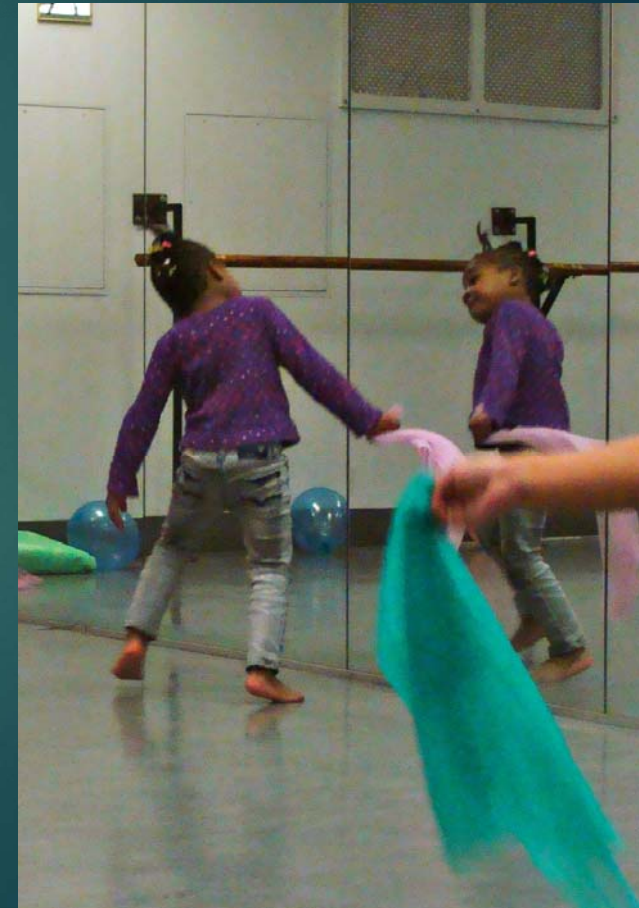
Participants

- ▶ 374 children, and caregivers
- ▶ 50.8% female
- ▶ 55.1% African American, 15.2% Latino/Hispanic American, 9.9% Asian American, and 19.8% Caucasian/European American.
- ▶ Mean age was 4 years, 1 month
- ▶ 98.3% of the children were from poor or low-income families.



Procedure

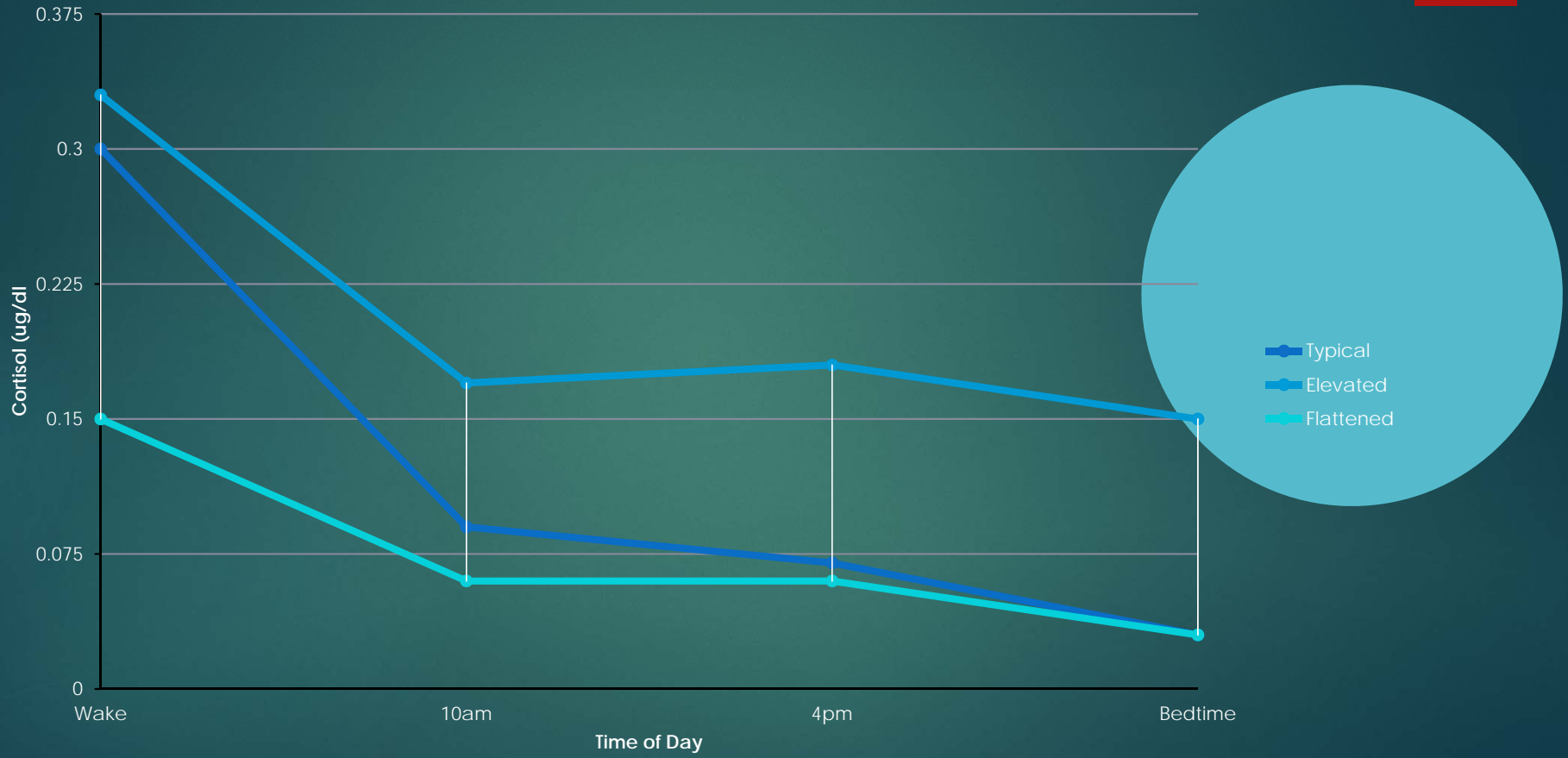
- ▶ Ethical standards
- ▶ Recruitment
- ▶ Parent Measures
 - ▶ Demographics
 - ▶ Economic Events
 - ▶ CHAOS
- ▶ Child Measure
 - ▶ Cortisol



Child Cortisol



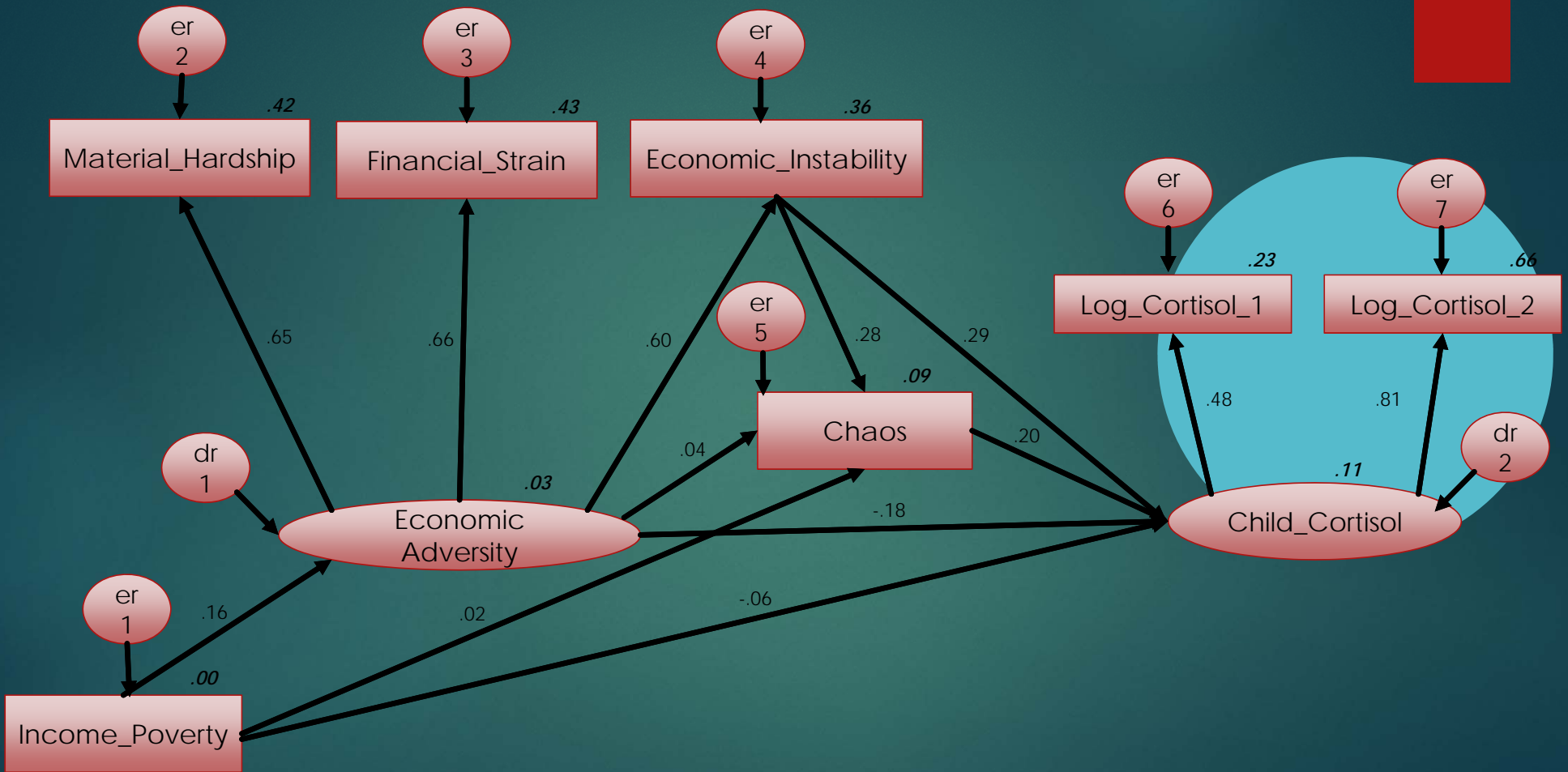
Diurnal Cortisol Trajectory

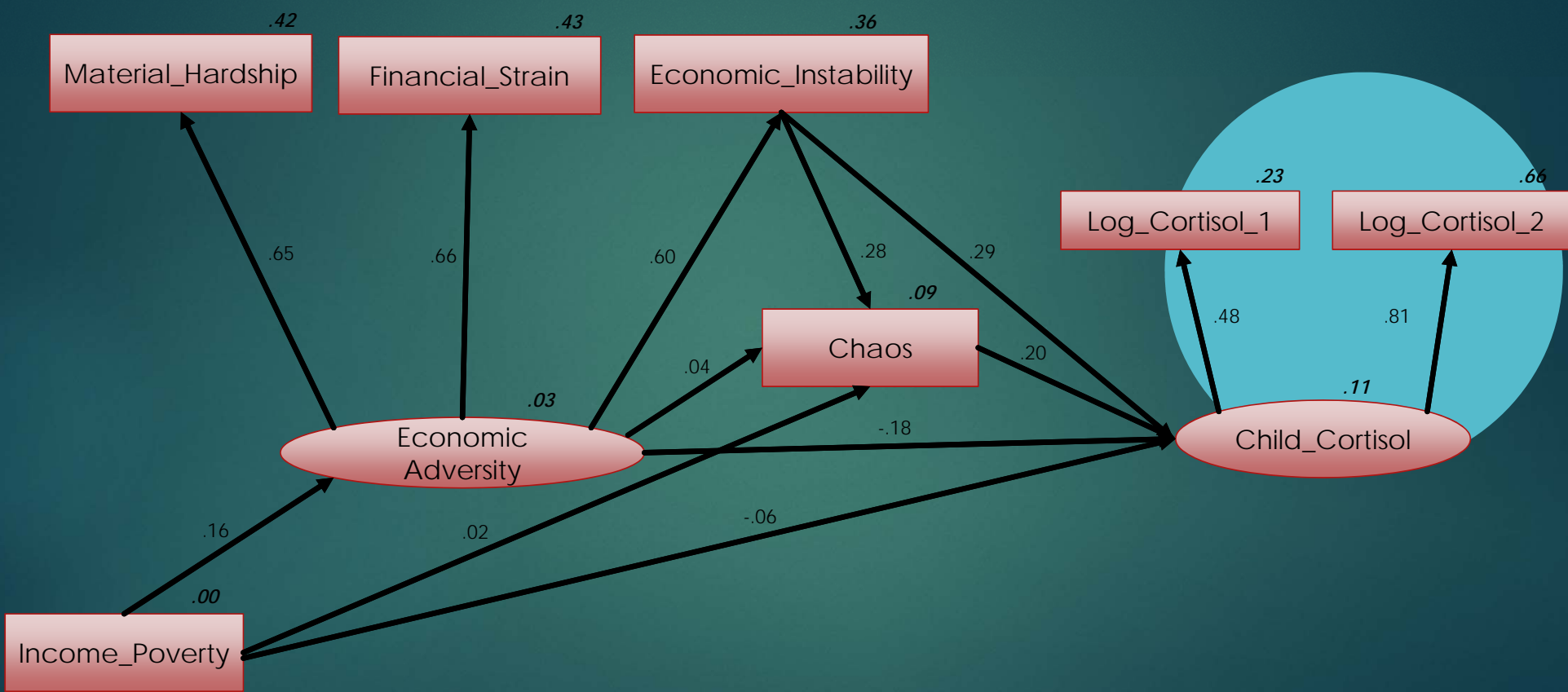


Data Analyses

- ▶ Zero-order correlations
- ▶ Structural equation modeling
 - ▶ Latent variables:
 - ▶ Economic Adversity
 - ▶ Three subscales
 - ▶ Child cortisol
 - ▶ Two days
 - ▶ Path model
 - ▶ Income, economic hardship, family chaos, child cortisol







Summary of Results

- ▶ Income → Economic Adversity → Economic Instability, Financial Strain, Material Hardship, Family Chaos
- ▶ Economic Adversity → Economic Instability → Child Cortisol
- ▶ Economic Adversity → Chaos → Child Cortisol
- ▶ Economic Instability → Child Cortisol
- ▶ Economic Instability → Family Chaos → Child Cortisol

Limitations

- ▶ Snapshot representation
- ▶ Parent report
- ▶ Morning cortisol
- ▶ Present sample



Implications

- ▶ Income is necessary, not sufficient
- ▶ Unique significance of instability
- ▶ Role of family-level chaos
- ▶ Deconstruction of moral model



Contribution of the Present Study

- ▶ Diversity (persons, contexts, processes, time)
- ▶ Social causation
- ▶ Intervention



Social Address vs Alternative Model

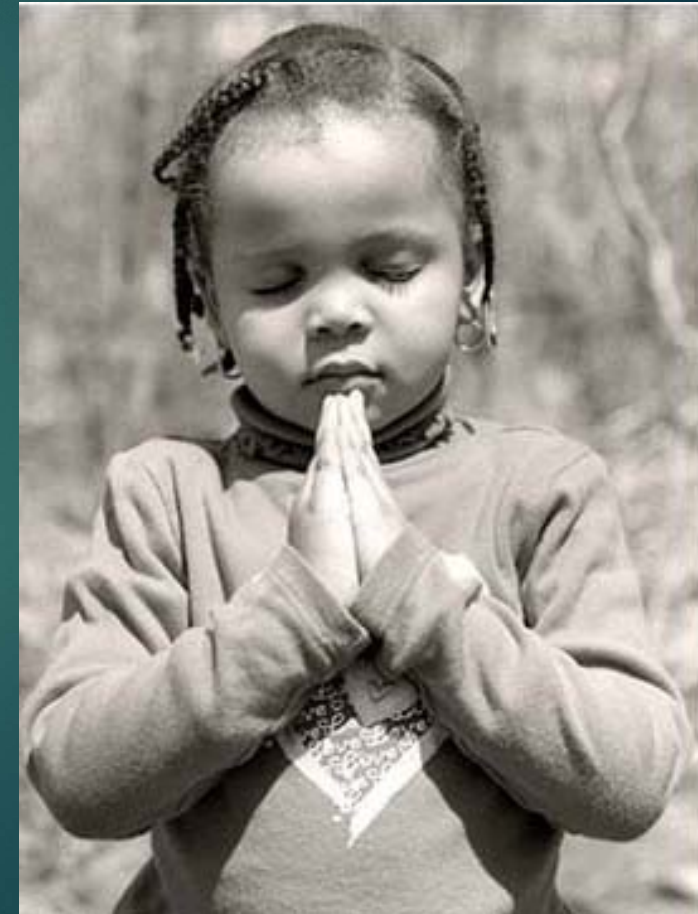
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- ▶ **Unit:** Ecology
- ▶ **Cause:** Cumulative risk; instability and chaos
- ▶ **Mechanism:** Unpredictable proximal processes, high allostatic load, experiential canalization, concurrent effects
- ▶ **Symptoms:** Self-regulatory difficulties; cognitive and social-emotional problems
- ▶ **Treatment:** Possibilities for prevention and intervention



Biopsychology of Ending Poverty

- Poverty alleviation
 - Fernald & Gunnar (2009)
- Stability
 - Economic resources
 - Microsystem processes
- Stress reduction
 - Brown et al (2017)
- Early childhood



Conclusion

- ▶ More than money
- ▶ All about money
- ▶ Ending poverty is possible
- ▶ Requires a change in frame



