Racial analysis of social determinants of psychosis in the US: A better frame for unmet needs?

Sabrina Ereshefsky, PhD
University of California, Davis
July 11, 2022
Session 3



NATIONAL Sciences Engineering Medicine

FORUM ON MENTAL HEALTH AND SUBSTANCE USE DISORDERS
Workshop on
EARLY INTERVENTIONS FOR PSYCHOSIS: FIRST EPISODES

AND HIGH-RISK POPULATIONS



From Womb to Neighborhood: A Racial Analysis of Social Determinants of Psychosis in the United States

Deidre M. Anglin, Ph.D., Sabrina Ereshefsky, Ph.D., Mallory J. Klaunig, Ph.D., Miranda A. Bridgwater, B.S., Tara A. Niendam, Ph.D., Lauren M. Ellman, Ph.D., Jordan DeVylder, Ph.D., Griffin Thayer, M.A., Khalima Bolden, Ph.D., Christie W. Musket, M.S., Rebecca E. Grattan, Ph.D., Sarah Hope Lincoln, Ph.D., Jason Schiffman, Ph.D., Emily Lipner, M.A., Peter Bachman, Ph.D., Cheryl M. Corcoran, M.D., Natália B. Mota, M.D., Els van der Ven, Ph.D.

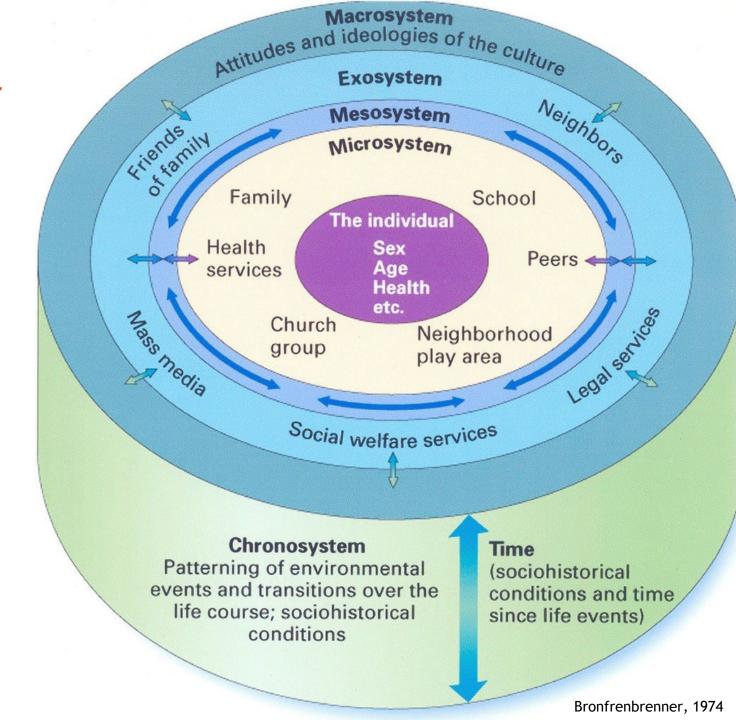


Describing the Context of Human Development:

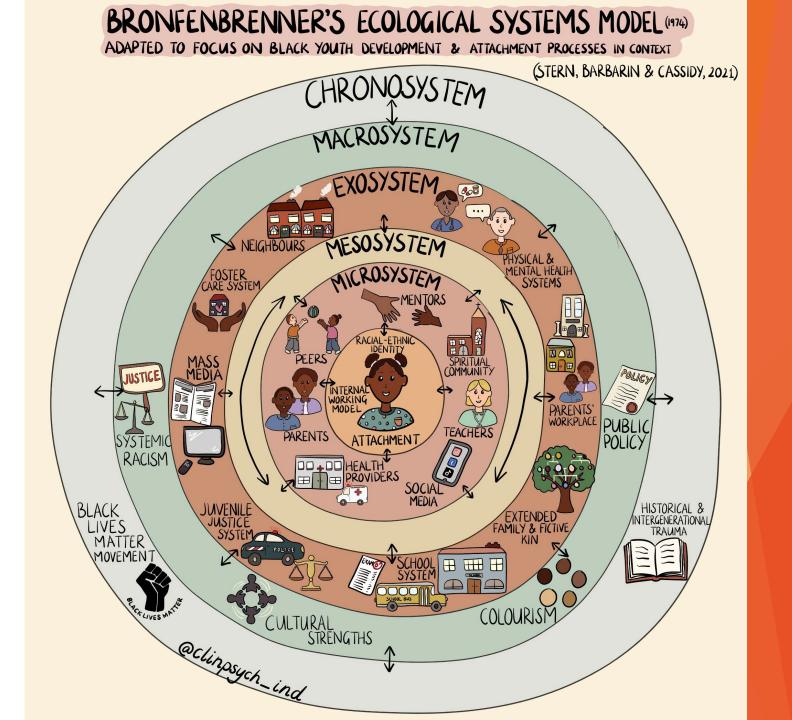
Bronfrenbrenner's Bio-Ecological Model

and

Biopsychosocial Model



Adapted model:
Different contextual
factors that
influence Black
youth development



Stress-Vulnerability Model "Two-Hit" Model of Schizophrenia High Presence of Symptoms Developmental Environmental disruptions Developing Vulnerable **Absence of Symptoms** Low Maynard Par, edominant Wieswysal Of rability High Psychosis Development Diathesis Stress Models Psychosis Development Diathesis - Stres tal Environment Substance Abuse Infectious Agents Prenatal/Perinatal Hippocampal Structure/Function HPA activation: **Hormonal Changes** HPA Activation/ Heightened cortisol release Psychosocial Stress Activation of Subcortical DA System Symptom Onset/Exacerbation ↑ Gonadal Hormones Augmented inflammatory processes Cortisol Release nherited risk alleles Neurotoxicity ↑ HPA Activity Mutations Compromised neuroplasticity Increased striatal DA activity Immune System: Epigenetic: Inflammatory Processes: Thymus function and Parentally transmitted Activation of dormant neuroinflammatory processes immune protection Prenatally acquired Augmented HPA activity **Epigenetic Changes**: **Brain Maturation:** Prenatal Complications: Aberrant Structural Brain Changes: ↓Gray Matter Hypoxia & other †Synaptic Pruning complications Accelerated Pruning Formation of Neural

BEHAVIORAL OUTCOME

Figure 1. Neural mechanisms in the effects of stressors on individuals who are vulnerable to schizophrenia. HPA = hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal; DA = dopamine.

NEURAL MECHANISMS

EXTERNAL FACTORS

Walker & Diforio, 1997

Walker et al., 2013

Circuitry

Adolescent Neuromaturation:

Prodromal Phase

Abnormal Connectivity

Abnormal Frontal-striatal Neurocircuitry

Neuropathological processes:

Psychosis

Inflammatory Processes

Origins of Congenital

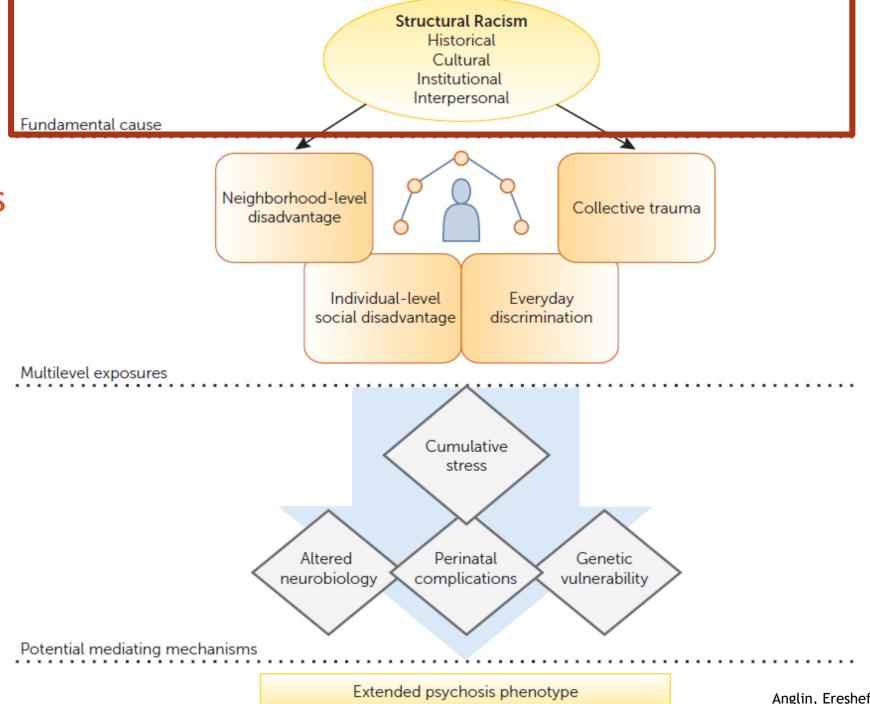
Brain Vulnerability

Reframing Psychosis Development

- ▶ Is psychosis centered within a person?
- ► How important is the socio-cultural/historical environment in the development of psychosis?
- ▶ Do we have the right frame?

We need to do a better job at understanding what drives psychosis and incorporate that into our work

Hypothesized model of systemic racism and psychosis in the United States



Societal, Socio-Cultural, Historical Context

- ▶ US rooted in racial trauma
 - ► Genocide and theft of First Nations' land
 - Slavery, oppression, segregation (redlining)
 - ▶ Jim Crow, mass incarceration
 - ► Medical experimentation (e.g., Tuskegee)
 - ▶ Ongoing "othering" of other minorities (i.e., immigration)



- ► Race/ethnicity is not the determinant:
- Determinant = Systemic racism and the social environments one lives in



Societal, Socio-Cultural, Historical Context

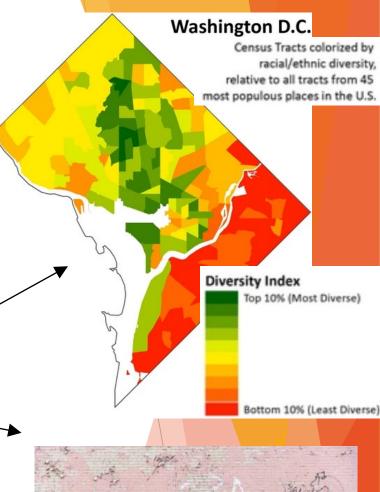
- Specific impact to the diagnosis and treatment of psychosis
 - ► Wealth inequities → different access to resources and healthcare
 - ▶ Distrust of systems (help-seeking, "compliance")
 - Over-diagnosis of psychosis in Black/Latinx
 - Misinterpretation of spiritual/cultural practices
 - ► Healthy mistrust
 - Less mood diagnoses

Hypothesized model of systemic Structural Racism Historical racism and psychosis in the United Cultural Institutional Interpersonal **States** Fundamental cause Neighborhood-level Collective trauma disadvantage Individual-level Everyday social disadvantage discrimination Multilevel exposures Cumulative stress Altered Perinatal Genetic neurobiology complications vulnerability Potential mediating mechanisms

Adverse Neighborhood Conditions

Associated with increased psychosis-spectrum experiences

- Access to resources, opportunities, services:
 - ► Healthy food, safe water, affordable childcare, healthcare, education, employment, safe housing
- Urbanicity (population density) + low SES (mostly POC)
- Perceived neighborhood ethnic density (discordant make up of neighbors)
- ▶ ↑ Perceived neighborhood disorder (e.g., vandalism)
- ► ↑ Neighborhood disruption (e.g., fear of being "pushed out")
- ► Neighborhood residential instability (i.e., % neighbors living in multiple homes in 1 yr)
- Understand context via needs assessment
- Meet basic needs before treatment





Trauma and Stressors

- Acute or Chronic
 - 61% of US pop ≥ 1 ACE
 - ≥85% Trauma/ACES in Psychosis Spectrum
 - 1 Psychosis in Minorities with Trauma
- Dose-response pattern
 - More trauma exposures, 1 psychosis frequency/socialitymber with mental illness
- ► (Perceived) Discrimination: Status or perception "othered" and "marginalized nowithin the social hiera Parent separation (e.g., divorce, death) the risk of negative health outcomes



Adverse Childhood Experiences

- 2. Ph 4. En 5. Ne 6. Av
- 8. Witnessed violence in the community
- 9. Household substance abuse
- _ . Household member in jail
- 13. Separation (e.g., foster care, immigration)
- 14. Bullying
- 15. Discrimination
- 16. Romantic partner domestic violence

Collective Historical, Racial Trauma

- Related to psychotic experiences
 - ► Police victimization (physical, sexual, psychological abuse, neglect)

Lifetime risk of lethal Black: 1 per 1,000

police force White: 39 per 100,000

Deaths per year due to police violence

US: 1,100 per year

England/Japan: 0-7 per year

Exposure to gun violence fatalities

Disproportionately impacting Black and Latinx Men

- Social health crises impacting POC deserve more attention
- ► Need to incorporate an individual, collective, and historical trauma/discrimination lens





Hypothesized model of systemic Structural Racism Historical racism and psychosis in the Cultural Institutional Interpersonal **United States** Fundamental cause Neighborhood-level Collective trauma disadvantage Individual-level Everyday social disadvantage discrimination Multilevel exposures Cumulative stress Altered Perinatal Genetic neurobiology complications vulnerability Potential mediating mechanisms

Extended psychosis phenotype

Pre- and Perinatal Factors in Racial and Ethnic Minorities in the US

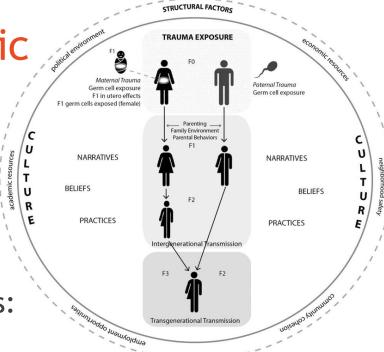
- High rates of obstetric/birth complications:
 - ▶ ↓ Fetal growth, ↓ birth weight, pre-term delivery

Interaction with stress and perceived discrimination

- Neighborhood level:
 - Exposure to environmental contaminants (heat, pollution)
 - Perceived crime

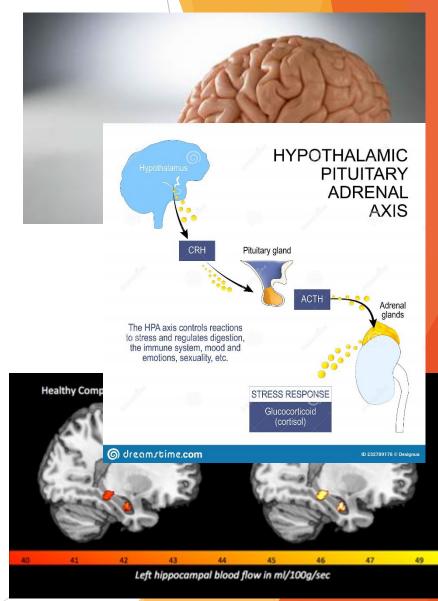
Individual/Stress biomarkers:

- ► ↓ Cortisol
- ► ↑ Inflammatory response (c-reactive protein, stress hormones, ↑cytokines)
- Allostatic load
- ▶ In offspring, linked to ↑ prevalence of psychosis
- ightharpoonup access to prenatal care and income DO NOT explain disparities
- Other birth complications associated with development of psychosis
 - ► Maternal infection, nutrient alterations, hypoxia



Biological mechanisms linking psychosis and discrimination

- Physiological and neurobiological
 - ► Threat appraisals, immune response
 - ► Altered brain development (lower volume)
- Chronic activation of stress system
 - ► Long-term changes to circuitry
 - ▶ Pairing threat cues to neutral stimuli
- ► Neural activation (amygdala, thalamus)



Other Predictors of Outcomes

1.50

- Child welfare
- Criminal justice involvement
- Homelessness/unstably housed

RISK INDICATORS

Mental Health Crisis Service

Substance Use Disorder Treatment Need

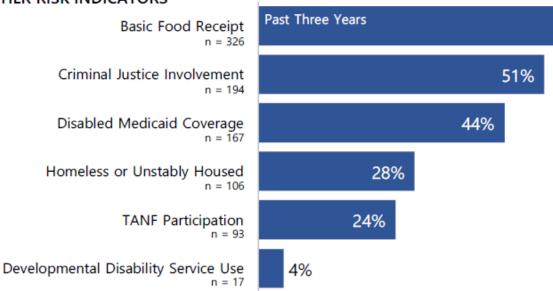
Emergency Department Visit

Mental Health Outpatient Services

Child Welfare Services

Criminal Justice Involvement





85%

Washington State Report: Hong et al., 2019

^{*}Excludes mood disorders with psychotic behavior.

Other Marginalized Groups

- ► Face similar experiences of everyday discrimination and cumulative stress
 - ► LGBTQI+ individuals
 - ► Religious minorities
 - Non-English speaking
 - ▶ Poor and rural
 - ► Individuals with disabilities
 - Etc.
- Historically not done a good job at including these experiences
- We need to create environments where people can live with dignity, respect, and equity



Recommendations

- Adopt an Anti-Racist and Equity/Justice Framework
 - Cultural humility
 - Empower most marginalized communities
 - Psychology/Psychiatry field needs to devote more efforts to address and dismantle structural racism and perpetuated social policies and norms
 - ► Shape these through:
 - ► Training and Education
 - Intervention Development
 - ► Funding and Public Health Priorities

Recommendations (cont.)

- ► Training and Education
 - Integrate racial trauma in mental health training and practice for ALL professionals and leaders
 - ► Examples: Understand conditions that shape clinical presentations, practitioner-patient interactions, course of symptoms, and efficacy of treatment for psychosis
 - ► Use the DSM-5 Cultural Formulation Interview (Free!)
 - ► Interview:
 https://www.psychiatry.org/File%20Library/Psychiatrists/Practice/DSM/APA_DS
 M5_Cultural-Formulation-Interview.pdf
 - ► Guidelines:

 https://www.psychiatry.org/File%20Library/Psychiatrists/Practice/DSM/APA_DS

 M5_Cultural-Formulation-Interview-Supplementary-Modules.pdf

Recommendations (cont.)

- ► Intervention Development
 - Optimize/personalize interventions: Incorporate social determinants in early intervention and treatment models
 - ► Example: Weisman de Mamani et al. (2014) developed a culturally informed manualized treatment for schizophrenia that focused on family collectivism and enhancing adaptive spiritual beliefs and practices → helped reduce psychiatric symptom severity and improved quality of life, especially for Latinx indviduals.
 - Multi-level and intergenerational approaches
 - ► Participatory methods to develop treatment that tackle racism in the community and prioritize underrepresented voices and perspectives

Recommendations (cont.)

- ► Funding and Public Health Priorities
 - ► Adjust health care policy: How do we approach early intervention for psychosis for minorities?
 - ► Example: Health care policies could be reimagined to provide psychological intervention and protection to circumvent the detrimental impact of racial discrimination and stress on Black mothers.
 - Reliable psychosis incidence estimates for minorities, account for misdiagnosis
 - Multi-level targets
 - Community-partnered participatory research

Take Homes

- ► A systemic racism frame better describes development of psychosis than traditional models
- ► Include other marginalized groups
- ► Enhance practice by building a critical consciousness about the ways behaviors and symptoms are connected to contexts
- ▶ Disproportionate number of marginalized people are represented among individuals with psychosis:
 - ► Trauma, discrimination, and neighborhood violence influence ability to receive treatment and avoid traumatic pathways to care
- Interplay of adversity and minority status in U.S. and the unique experience of marginalized groups
 - → influence psychotic experiences, illness development, access to care, ability to recover

References

- Anglin, D., Ereshefsky, S., Klaunig, M., Bridgwater, M., Niendam, T., ...& van der Ven, E. (2021). From womb to neighborhood: A racial analysis of social determinants of psychosis in the United States. American Journal of Psychiatry, 178(7), 599-610. doi:10.1176/appi.ajp.2020.20071091. PMID:33934608
- Berner, P. (2002). Conceptualization of vulnerability models for schizophrenia: Historical aspects. *American Journal of Medical Genetics (Neuropsychiatric Genetics)*, 114, 938-942.
- Bronfrenbrenner (1974). Bio-Ecological Model describing the context of human development.
- Hong, G., Campbell, K., Glenn, S., Lucenko, B, Hughes, R., & Felver, B. (2019). DSHS Integrated Client Database. Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, Research and Data Analysis Division, Report 3.5: First episode psychosis: Predicting the risks of psychosis using administrative data.
- Maynard, T., Sikich, L., Lieberman, J., & LaMantia, A.S. (2001). Neural development, cell-cell signaling, and the "Two-Hit" Hypothesis of Schizophrenia. Schizophrenia Bulletin, 27(3), 457-476.
- Stern, Barbarin, & Cassidy (2021). Bronfrenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model: Adapted to focus on Black youth development and attachment processes in context. @clinpsych_ind
- Walker, E., & Diforio, D. (1997). Schizophrenia: A neural diathesis-stress model. *Psychological Review*, 104(4), 667-685.
- Walker, E., Trotman, H., Goulding, S., Holtzman, C., Ryan, A., McDonald, A. ...& Brasfield, J. (2013). Developmental mechanisms in the prodrome to psychosis. *Development and Psychopathology*, 25, 1585-1600.
- https://ggwash.org/view/36837/a-city-can-be-diverse-but-its-neighborhoods-may-still-not-be-and-dc-scores-poorly-on-both-measures