

The Neuroscience of Related Trauma and Evidence-Based Intervention

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The Foundations of Prosperity and Sustainability Begin in Early Childhood

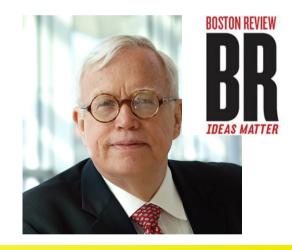
The healthy development of young children provides a strong foundation for healthy and competent adulthood, responsible citizenship, economic productivity, strong communities, and a just and fair society.



Rethinking social inequality A developmental perspective

Evidence from developmental psychology and neuroscience suggests that these measures are very crude proxies for the real determinants of child outcomes.

The conventional measures of family disadvantage are number of parents and family income.



The major determinant of child disadvantage is the quality of the nurturing environment rather than just the financial resources available or the presence or absence of parents



UNICEF ranking of economic, health and educational well-being of children

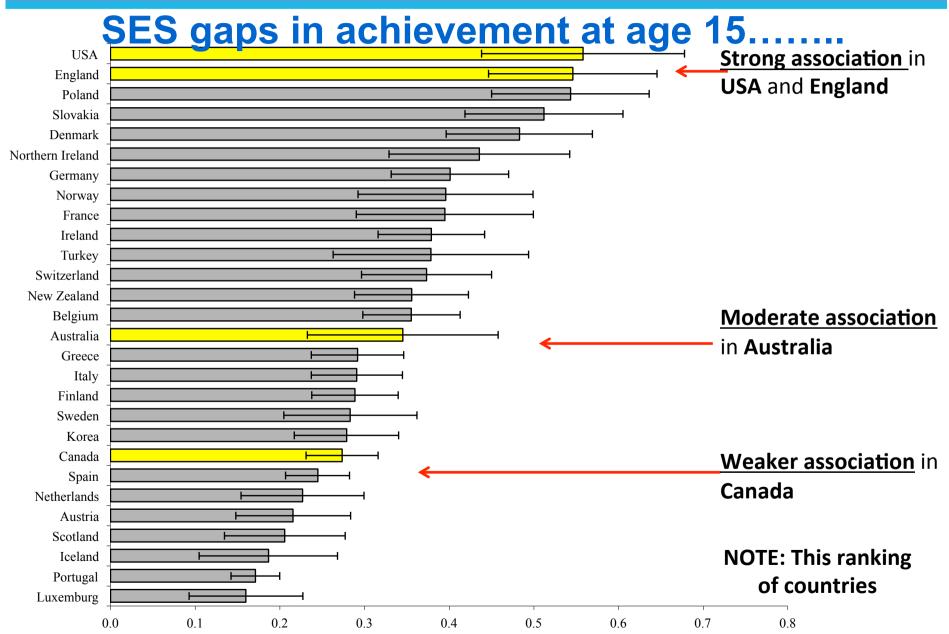
Average Rank

Top Third

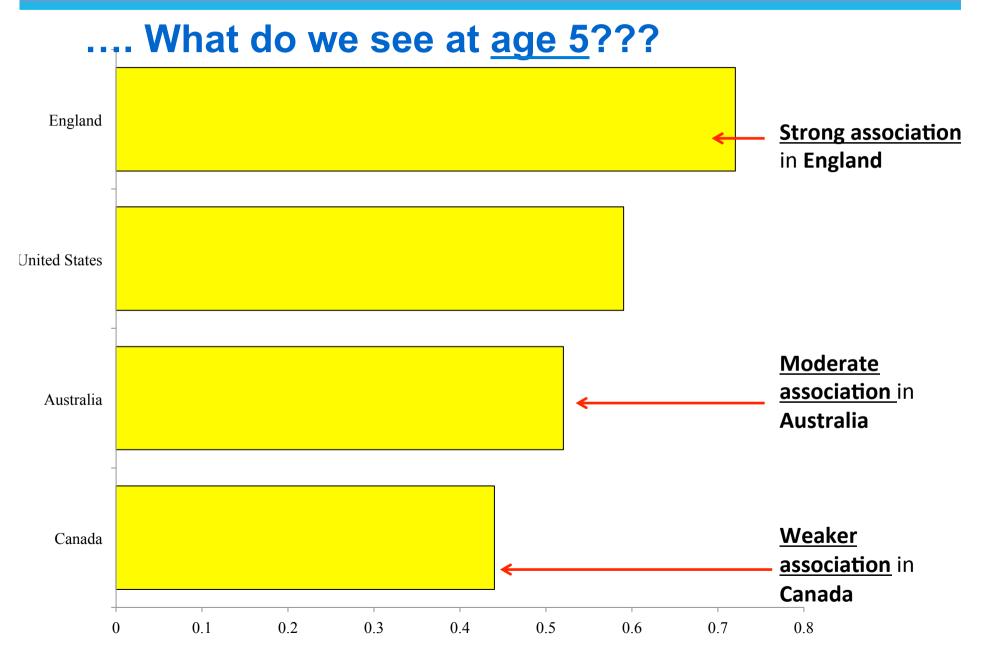
Bottom Third

		Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 3	Dimension 4	Dimension 5	Dimension 6
Dimensions of child well-being	Average ranking position (for all 6 dimensions)	Material well-being	Health and safety	Educational well-being	Family and peer relationships	Behaviours and risks	Subjective well-being
Netherlands	4.2	10	2	6	3	3	1
Sweden	5.0	1	1	5	15	1	7
Denmark	7.2	4	4	8	9	6	12
Finland	7.5	3	3	4	17	7	11
Spain	8.0	12	6	15	8	5	2
Switzerland	8.3	5	9	14	4	12	6
Norway	8.7	2	8	11	10	13	8
Italy	10.0	14	5	20	1	10	10
Ireland	10.2	19	19	7	7	4	5
Belgium	10.7	7	16	1	5	19	16
Germany	11.2	13	11	10	13	11	9
Canada	11.8	6	13	2	18	17	15
Greece	11.8	15	18	16	11	8	3
Poland	12.3	21	15	3	14	2	19
Czech Republic	12.5	11	10	9	19	9	17
France	13.0	9	7	18	12	14	18
Portugal	13.7	16	14	21	2	15	14
Austria	13.8	8	20	19	16	16	4
Hungary	14.5	20	17	13	6	18	13
United States	18.0	17	21	12	20	20	-
United Kingdom	8.2	18	12	17	21	21	20





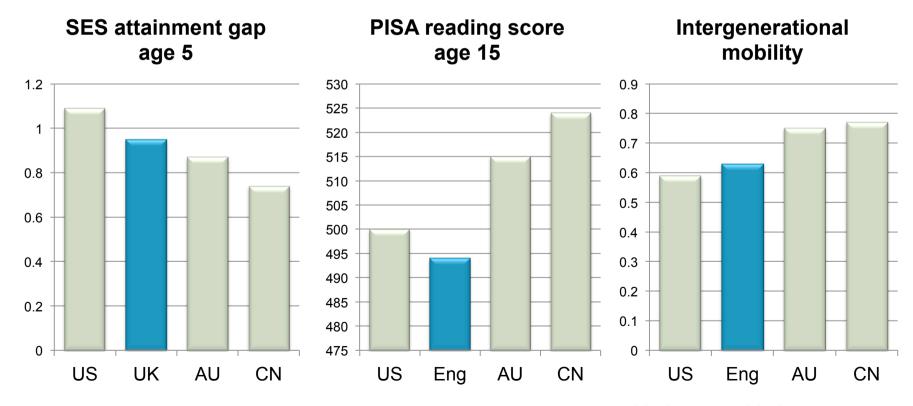






An international perspective

• Australia and Canada have lower inequality in early childhood outcomes than the UK or the US alongside higher academic achievement and greater social mobility into adulthood.



Source: Bradbury et al (2012); Jerrim (2012)



A Few Core Concepts of Brain Development



You will never amount to anything if you hold a ball like that!

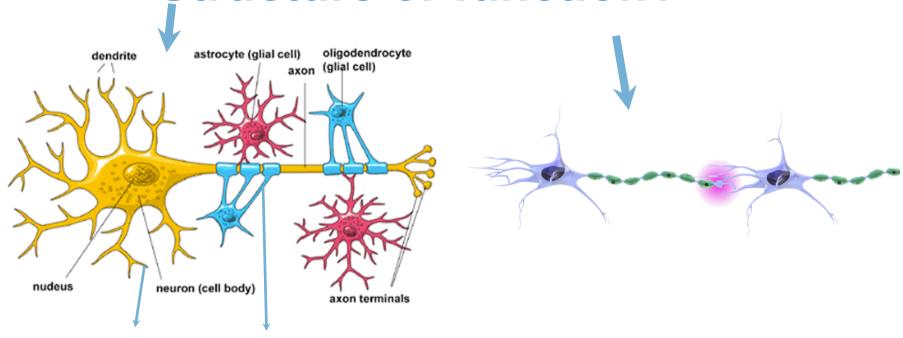
I want to write my PhD on the "Use of low signal-to-noise ratio stimuli for highlighting the functional differences between the two cerebral hemispheres".

Let the boy dream Ivan, He is a born dilettante!

You look smug now but you will lose your hair just like Dad



Structure or function?



Grey or white matter

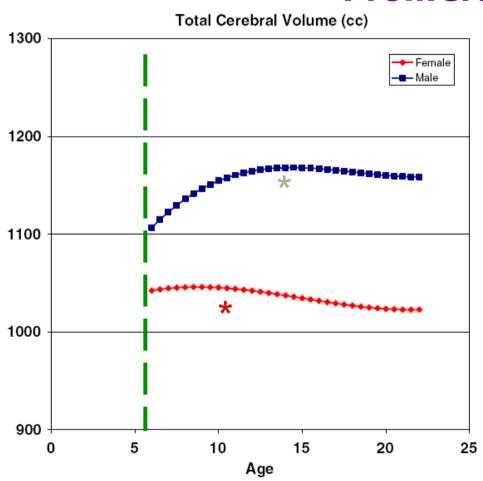


- Proliferation (rapid growth of brain matter and the formation of new connections within the brain)
- Pruning (cutting away of unused or unimportant connections)
- Myelination (insulating of brain pathways to make them faster and more stable)

(Sowell et al., 1999; Sowell et al., 2001)



Proliferation: Total brain volume



By **age 6**, the brain is about 95% of its maximum size.

It reaches its maximum size at **11.5 years** in **girls***, and at **14.5 years** in **boys***.

*Boys brains are larger (on average) than girls brains.

Lenroot & Giedd (2006)



The tissue of the brain can be divided into two types of matter, **grey** and **white**. These tissues **grow** and **mature** at **different rates**.

Grey matter looks grey to the naked eye. It is composed of neuron cell bodies, dendrites, and glial cells.

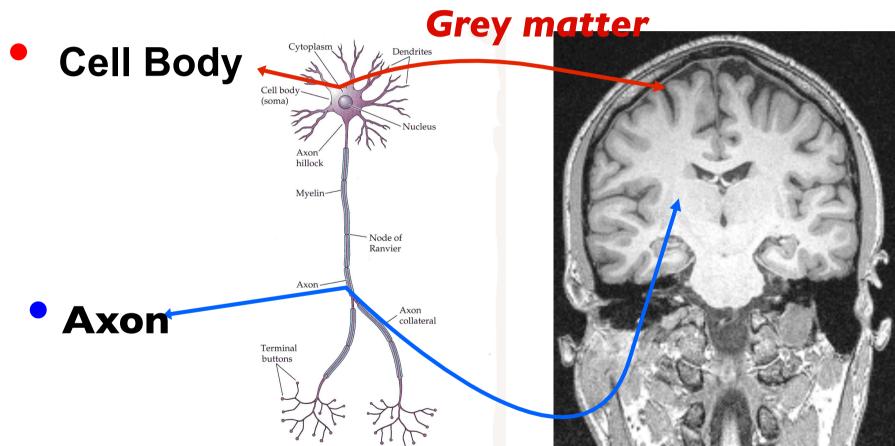
It constitutes the brain's **processing** centres.

White matter looks **white** to the naked eye, and is made up of **axons**.

It is responsible for **transporting information** from one part of the brain to another.



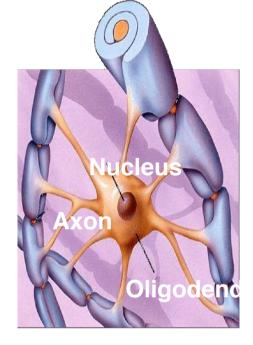
Brain Tissues



White matter



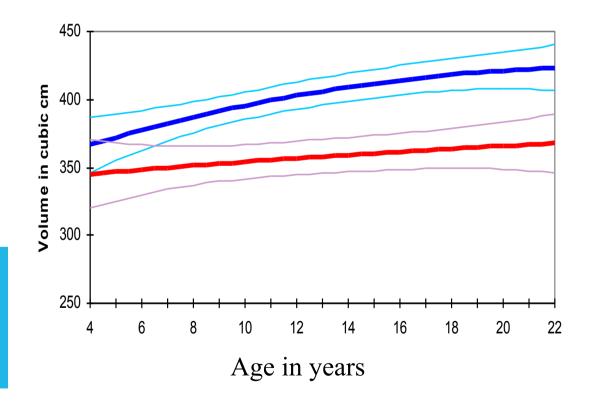
White Matter



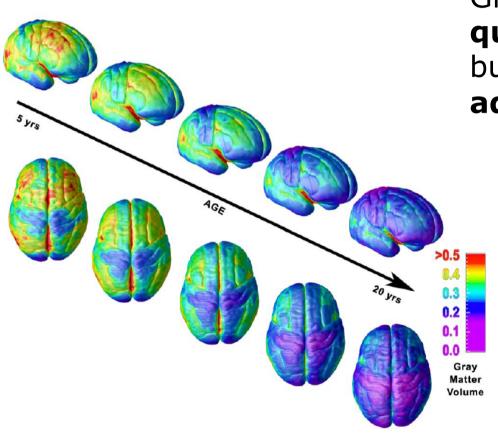
Male (152 scans from 90 subjects)
Female (91 scans from 55 subjects)

95% Confidence Intervals

White Matter





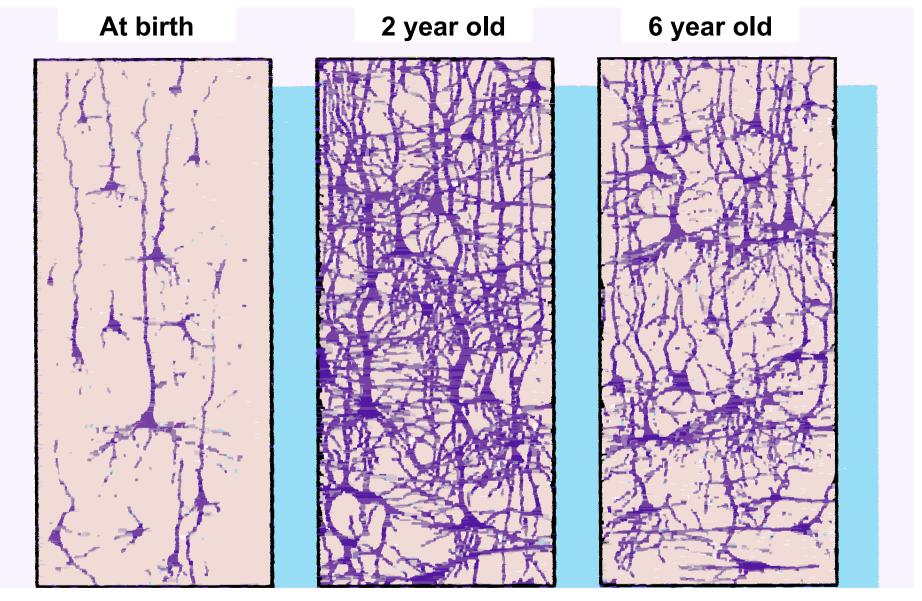


Grey matter develops quickly during childhood, but slows during adolescence.

Grey matter volume peaks at age 11 in girls and at age 13 in boys.

Then, the volume of grey matter **begins to decline**.

Lenroot & Giedd (2006)



Experience Shapes Brain Architecture by Over-Production Followed by Pruning (700 synapses formed per second in the early years)



Pruning: Grey Matter Maturation

 The maturation of grey matter is best described as a constant "push and pull". New pathways grow, while others are pruned back.

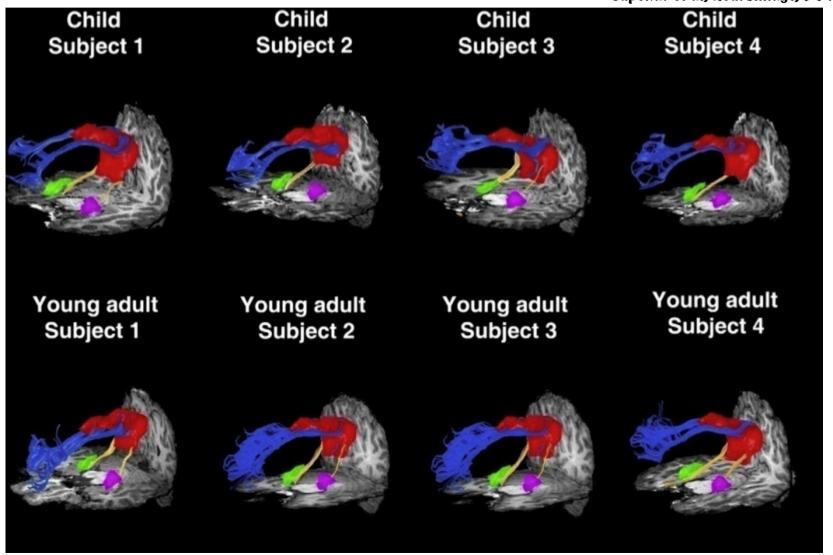
 Pruning is greatly influenced by experience, so it really is a case of "use it or lose it"!

 This makes the brain extremely versatile, and able to make changes depending on the demands of the environment.



Structural Connectivity

Supekar et al, Neuroimage, 2010





Functional Connectivity

Fair et al., Plos Computational Biology, 2009

From local to distributed Ex: Frontal Lobe

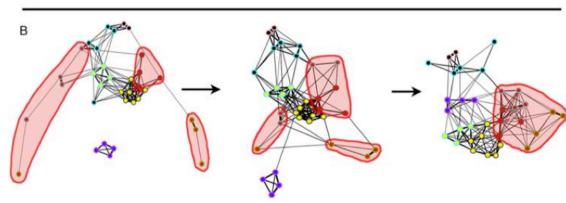
8.48 Years

13.21 years

25.48 years

A

Evolution of the "Default" network





Myelin Speeds Up Neurons 100x

- Newborns: few myelinated axons
 - -Different regions at different ages
- Wernicke (language comprehension)
 - 6 months earlier (terrible 2's)
- Broca (speech production) develop speech, grammar
 - Need to understand language before producing it

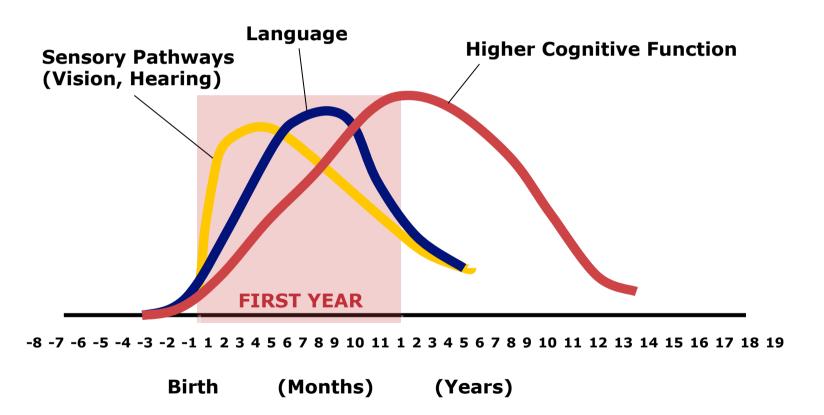


Structure and organization

- Higher/Complex areas control the more reactive primitive lower parts of the brain—less reactive, more thoughtful and less impulsive
- Lower-Excitatory
- Higher-Modulating
- "Inside-out" and "Bottom-up"



Neural Circuits are Wired in a Bottom-Up Sequence

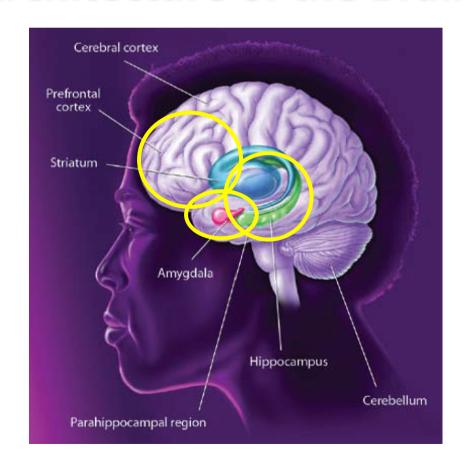


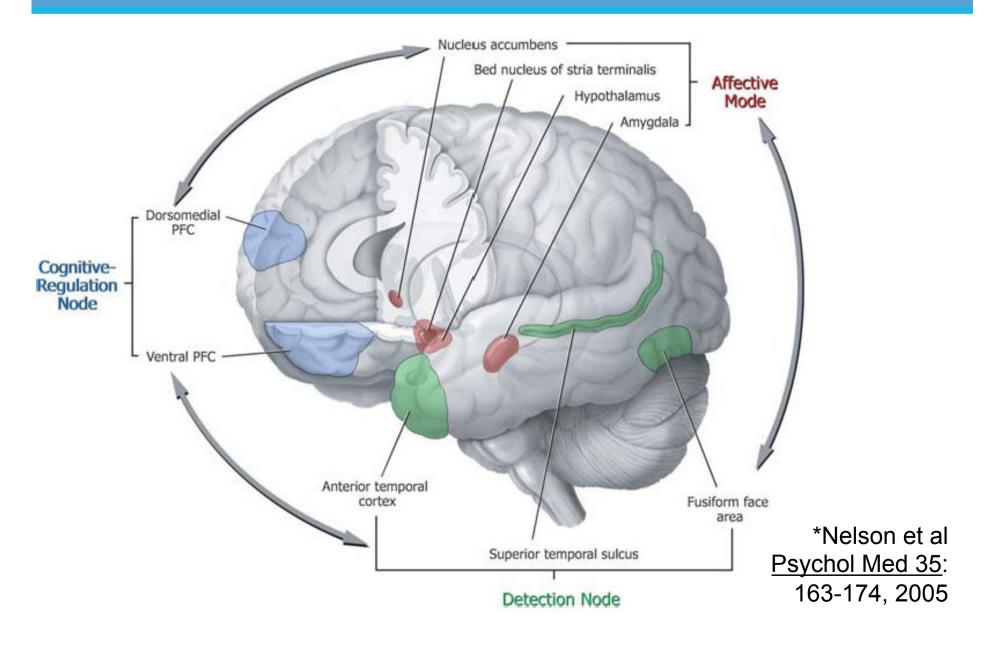
Source: C.A. Nelson (2000)

Developmental Science, 3, 115-136



Cognitive, Emotional, and Social Capacities Are Inextricably Intertwined Within the Architecture of the Brain











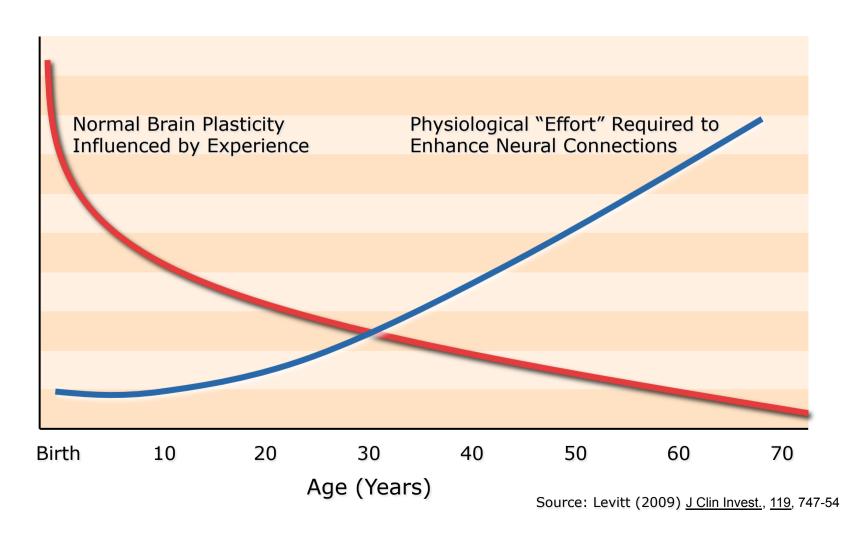
Understanding the environmental effect in brain development

There are **two ways** the environment affects the development of the brain:

- 1. <u>Experience-expectant development:</u> Involves processes which will only develop in the presence of a particular **experience** during a **critical period**.
 - The need for visual stimuli for the development of the visual cortex
 - If normative early stimuli like touching, talking and affection are absent, the synapses which process those stimuli are deemed useless and eliminated
- 2. <u>Experience-dependent development:</u> New synapses are produced by an **environmental demand**.
 - Exposing a child to a particular affective demand can generate asymmetries in prefrontal structures.



The Ability to Change Brains Decreases Over Time





Structural changes in the adolescent brain



- "It is moving parts that break"
- Windows of vulnerability = critical time during which brain hones particular skills or functions
- Different windows for different brain regions
- If the chance to practise a skill is missed during the window, a child may never learn it (or be impaired)

(Lupien et al., 2011; Teicher et al., 2008)



Linear increases in white matter during adolescence (myelination)

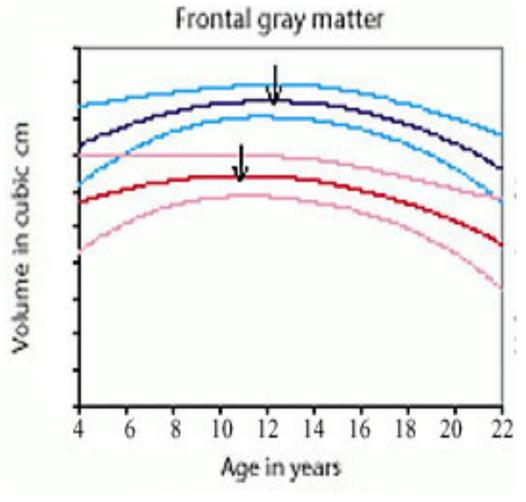
➤ Higher volume of white matter in the **frontal** cortex, **parietal** cortex, the pathways that connect anterior **speech** regions **to language** regions and corpus callosum

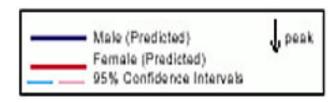
Non-linear increases in gray matter

- ➤ Inverted-U shaped curve
- ➤ Increases in preadolescence with peak around 12 in frontal parietal-lobe and 17 yrs for temporal lobes



Brain Development in Adolescence

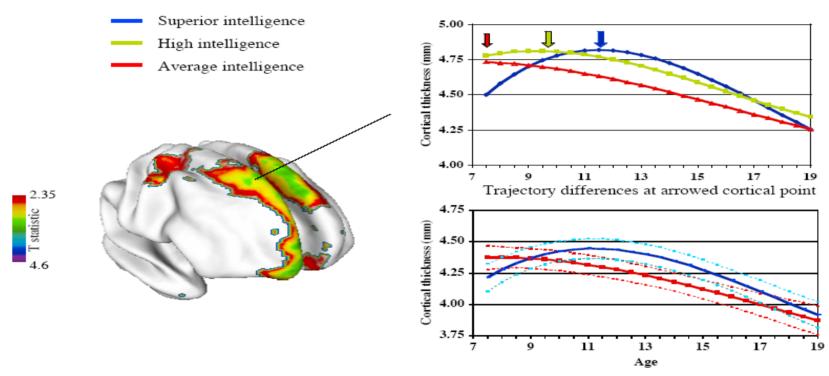




- There is probably an overproduction of synapses in preadolescence
- There is likely to be a trimming of synapses in adolescence
- Adolescence is a formative period from point of view of brain development



IQ and cortical thickness



Trajectory within entire right superior frontal gyrus

Figure 2: the brain template gives a right lateral view of regions where the superior and average intelligence groups differ significantly in the trajectories of cortical development (a t statistic map shows where there was a significant interaction between the IQ groups and the cubic age term, adjusted p<0.05). The top graph illustrates the significant difference in cortical trajectories at a representative cortical point within the right superior frontal gyrus (MNI coordinates x=10,y=44,z=48: shape difference for superior vs high intelligence P<0.001; superior vs average intelligence P=0.001). The age of peak cortical thickness is shown by arrows. The lower graph illustrates trajectory differences with 95% confidence intervals for the entire right superior frontal gyrus, comparing the superior and average intelligence groups (shape difference P<0.006). The average and high intelligence groups did not differ in shape either at the single cortical point in the top graph (P=0.56) or for all points within the right superior frontal gyrus (P=0.58).



nature

LETTERS

Intellectual ability and cortical development in children and adolescents

P. Shaw¹, D. Greenstein¹, J. Lerch², L. Clasen¹, R. Lenroot¹, N. Gogtay¹, A. Evans², J. Rapoport¹ & J. Giedd¹

Scans Show Different Growth for Intelligent Brains

By NICHOLAS WADE

Published: March 30, 2006

The brains of highly intelligent children develop in a different pattern from those with more average abilities, researchers have found after analyzing a series of imaging scans collected over 17 years.

The discovery, some experts expect, will he understand intelligence in terms of the genes childhood experiences that can promote it.

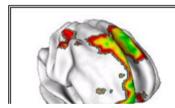
The New Hork Times

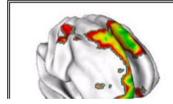


RESEARCH NEWS

Study Makes Case for Late Bloomers (Listen by Jon Hamilton







capitalistimperialistpig

IQ and Brain Growth

One of the most hyped stories of the past few days has been that of how high IQ children's brains grow differently that those of average children.

All Things Considered, March 29, 2006 · It usually makes parents proud when their children reach a developmental milestone ahead of other kids. But when it comes to intelligence, researchers say, the smartest children appear to have brains that develop later.

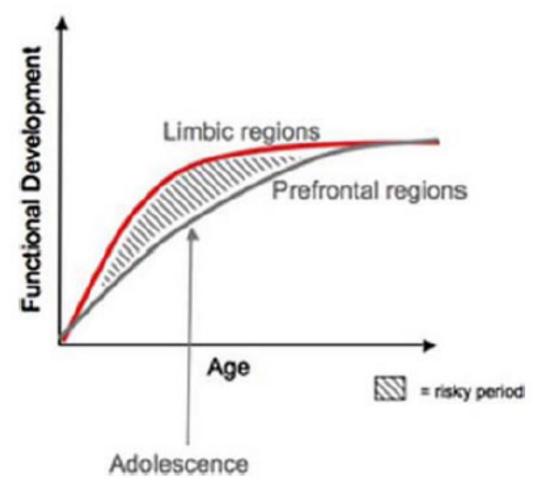


Summary development during the second decade of life

- PFC undergoes a pronounced course of structural development
 - -grey matter (indicative of synaptic connections being made) increases in the PFC up to the onset of puberty but thereafter shows a rapid decrease in density that continues throughout adolescence into early adulthood
- Superior temporal cortex, including the superior temporal sulcus (STS), is most protracted
 - -does not follow the pattern in the PFC of a sharp inverted U-curve, but rather grey matter **steadily declines** during adolescence and well into adulthood, reaching **maturity relatively late**.
- At the same time, improved connectivity between nerve cells is indicated by an increase in cortical white matter density from puberty, throughout adolescence and into adulthood



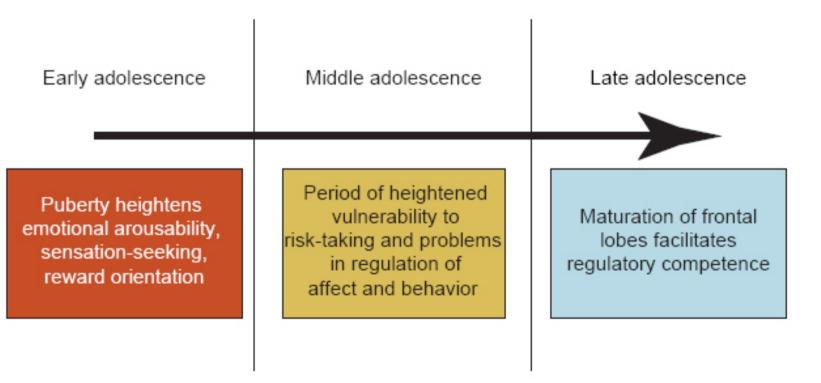
Developmental trajectories of limbic and prefronta regions (Casey, Jones & Hare 2008)



Adolescents are biased more by functionally mature limbic regions during adolescence (imbalance of limbic relative to prefrontal control), compared to children, in whom these systems are both still developing, and adults, in whom they fully mature



Vulnerability to problems in regulation of affect and behaviour in adolescence



"The developments of early adolescence may well create a situation where one is starting an engine without yet having a skilled driver at the wheel"

(Stainbarr, Tranda Corn Sai 2005)

(Steinberg, <u>Trends Cogn Sci</u> 2005)

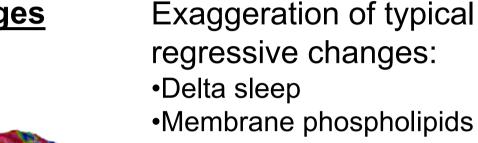


Risks for psychopathology during adolescence

Typical behaviour changes

- 个 Risk taking
- ↑ Novelty seeking

↑ Social priorities



- Synaptophysin expressionSynaptic spine density
- •Neuropil
- Prefrontal metabolism
- Frontal gray matter

Schizophrenia

Substance Abuse

↓Sensitivity to hangover,
 sedation, and
 motor impairment
 ↑ Hippocampal vulnerability

Depression

Hormonally mediated limbic effects preceding maturation of cognitive-regulatory system



Mismatch of affective and cognitive regulatory nodes

- Individuals with powerful emotional responses to social stimuli cannot
 - Regulate
 - Contextualise
 - Plan
 - Inhibit

Newly emergent behaviour

Emotional and behavioural problems

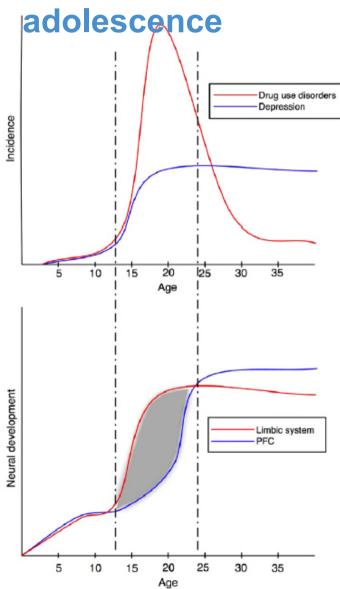


Explanations for vulnerability to mental disorder in adolescence (Davey et al 2008)

- Delay in maturation of prefrontal cortex compared to earlier-maturing limbic areas has most often been emphasised
- This may help to explain increased rates of dysregulated behaviour, especially drug use and risk taking in adolescence
- Does not explain the increased rates of depression that start in adolescence and persist in adulthood after the regulatory mechanisms have matured
- Development of the prefrontal cortex may itself be central in explaining the rise in vulnerability to depression
- As the PFC comes to be able to represent increasingly complex and distant social goals, vulnerability to depression increases when goals are frustrated



Explanations for vulnerability to mental disorder in



Incidence of ages of onset for depression (blue) and drug use disorders (red) across first four decades of life

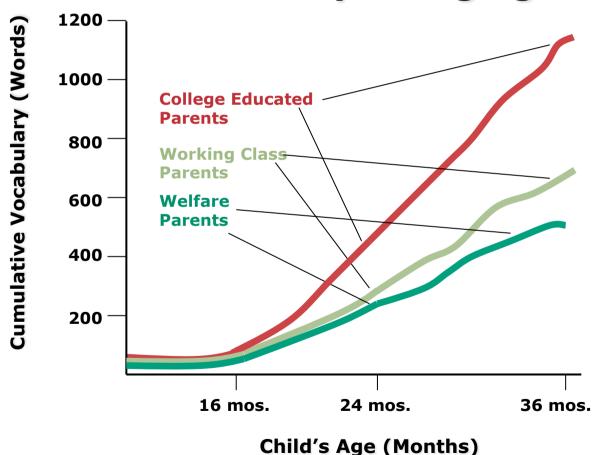
Development of limbic system (red) and PFC (blue) across first four decades of life



Early Life Experiences Are Built Into Our Bodies (For Better or For Worse)



Barriers to Educational Achievement Emerge at a Very Young Age

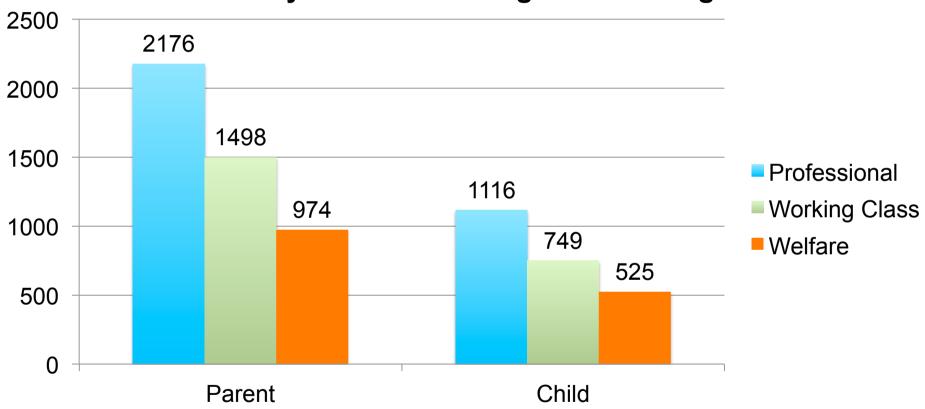


Source: Hart & Risley (1995) Meaningful differences in the everyday experience of young American children.



Family income is mediated by quality of interaction

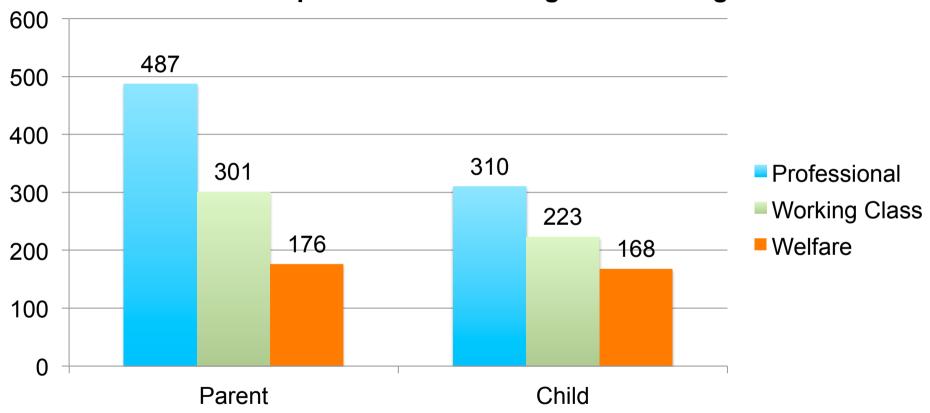
Vocabulary size at child's age 3 according to income





Family income is mediated by quality of interaction

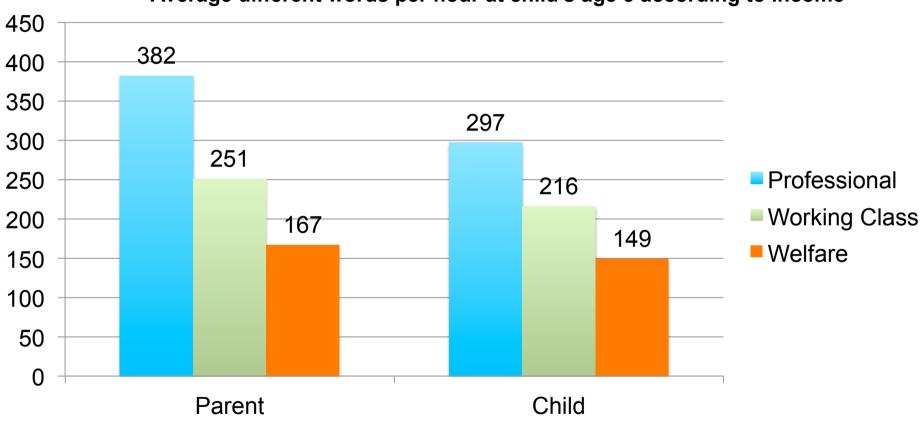
Utterances per hour at child's age 3 according to income





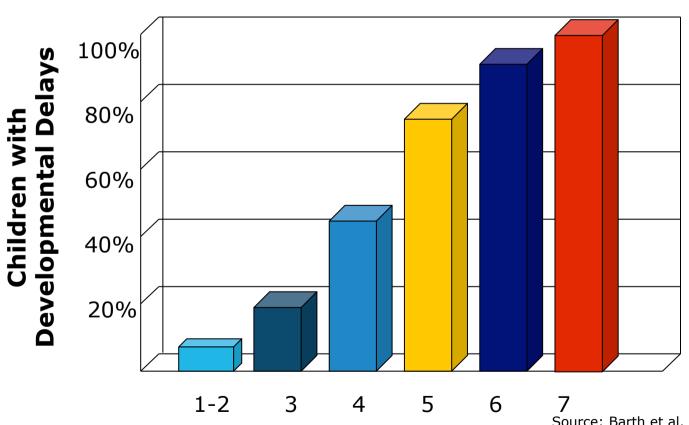
Family income is mediated by quality of interaction

Average different words per hour at child's age 3 according to income





Significant Adversity Impairs Development in the First Three Years



Number of Risk Factors

Source: Barth et al. (2008) <u>Developmental</u>
Status and Early Intervention Service Needs of
Maltreated Children. Final Report, US Dept of
Health and Human Services



The Biology of Stress

Increases in heart rate, blood pressure, serum glucose, stress hormones, and inflammatory cytokines fuel the "fight or flight response" to deal with acute threat...

...but excessive or **prolonged activation** of stress response systems can lead to long-term **disruptions in brain architecture**, immune status, metabolic systems, and cardiovascular function.



Three Levels of Stress

Positive

Brief increases in heart rate, mild elevations in stress hormone levels.

Tolerable

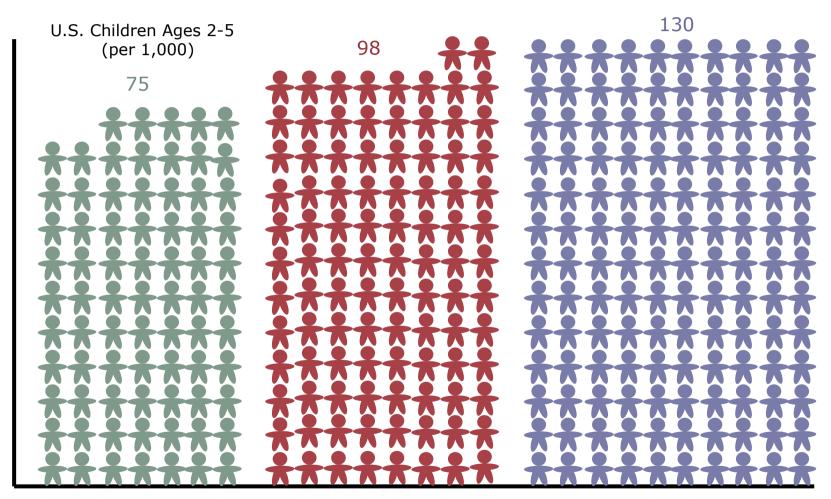
Serious, temporary stress responses, buffered by supportive relationships.

Toxic

Prolonged activation of stress response systems in the absence of protective relationships.



Sources of Toxic Stress in Young Children



Maltreatment

Source: Finkelhor et al. (2005) Child Maltreatment, 10, 5-25 Parental Substance Abuse Source: SAMHSA (2002) Meth: What's Cooking in Your Neighborhood? (Video & Booklet) Postpartum Depression Source: O'Hara & Swain (1996) International Review of Psychiatry



Toxic Stress Changes Brain Architecture

Typical neuron— Normal many connections **Toxic** Damaged neuron fewer connections stress

Prefrontal Cortex and Hippocampus

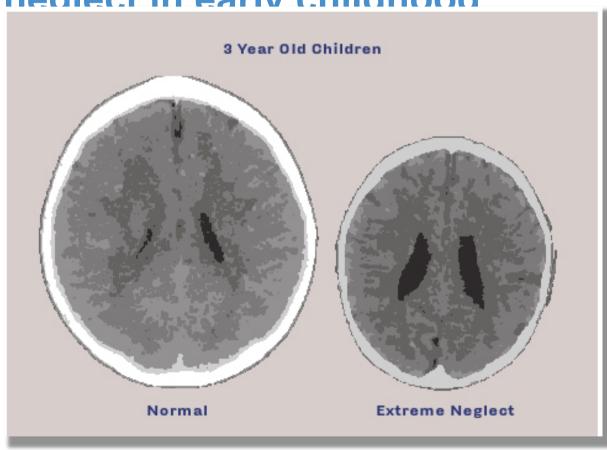
Sources: Radley et al. (2004) Neuroscience, 130, 805

Bock et al. (2005) <u>Cerebral</u>

Cortex, 15, 802-8



Abnormal brain development following sensory neglect in early childhood



Significant size reduction:

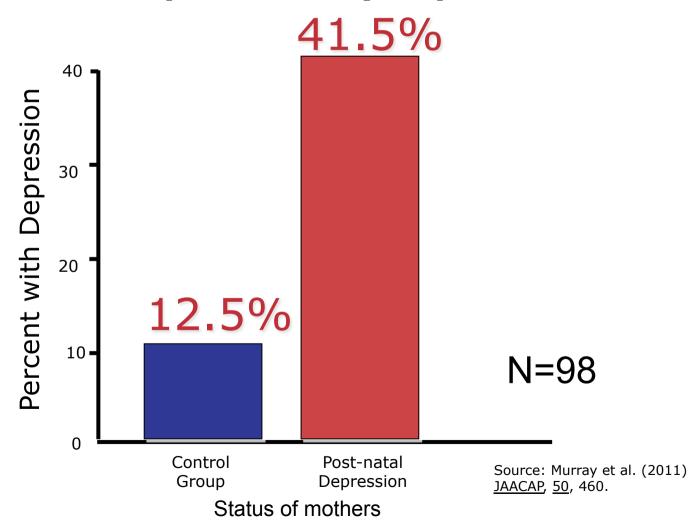
50th vs. 3rd percentile

Enlarged ventricles

Cortical atrophy



Prevalence of depression at age 18 in children of post-natally depressed mothers





Child Neglect and Abuse

In the United States, almost 3 million allegations of child abuse and neglect are received each year (1 million confirmed)

Mortality: 2,000 deaths per year Morbidity: 18,000 permanently

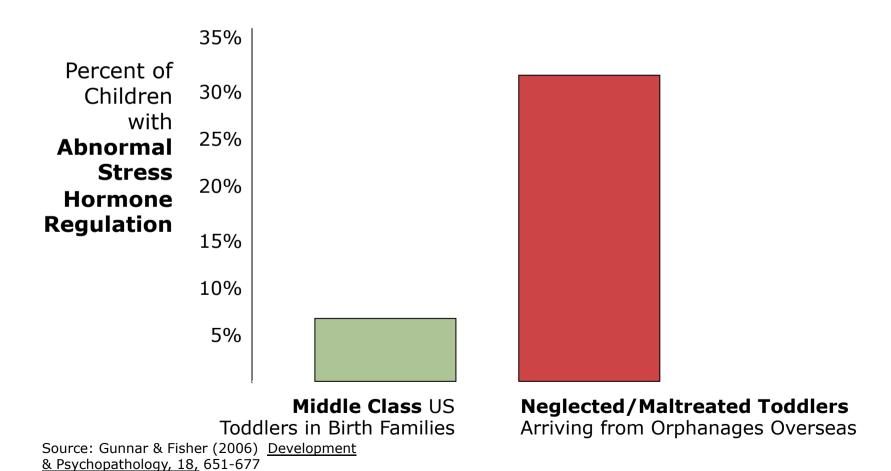
disabled children per year





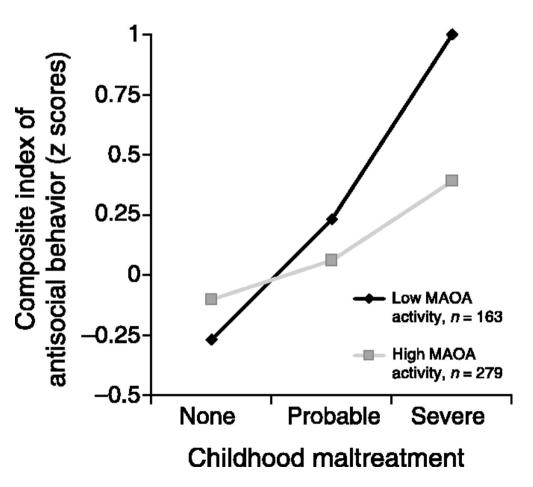


Institutionalization and Neglect of Young Children Disrupts Body Chemistry





Childhood maltreatment triggers gene expression



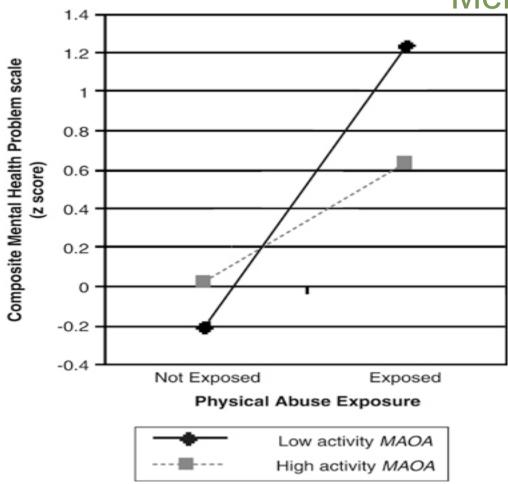
Antisocial behaviour as a function of monoamine oxidase A and childhood history of maltreatment

Caspi et al., 2002



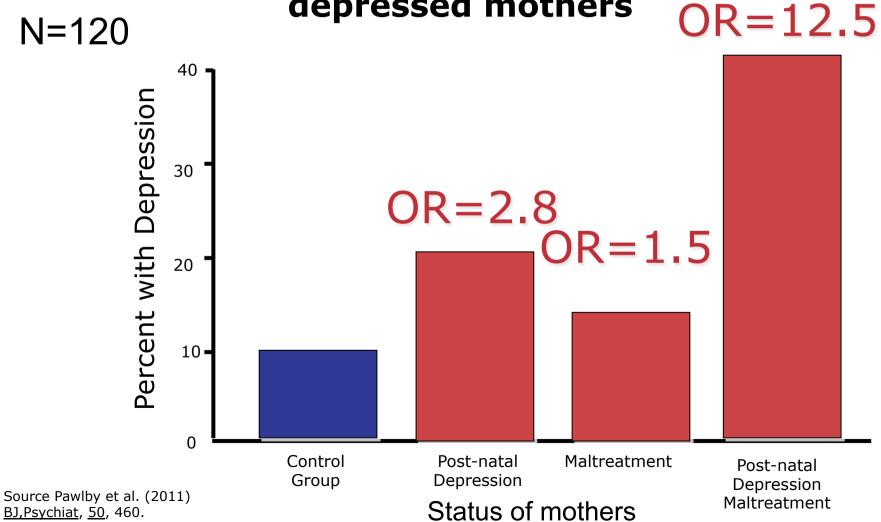
Physical abuse triggers monoamine-oxidase A The antisocial gene Mental health problems





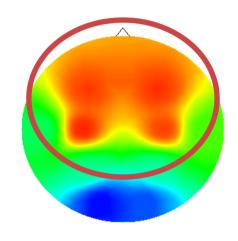


Prevalence of depression and/or conduct problems at age 11/16 in maltreated children of post-natally depressed mothers

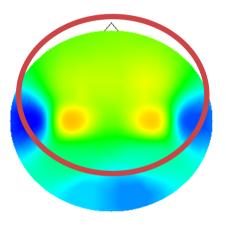




Extreme Neglect Reduces Brain Power



Positive Relationships

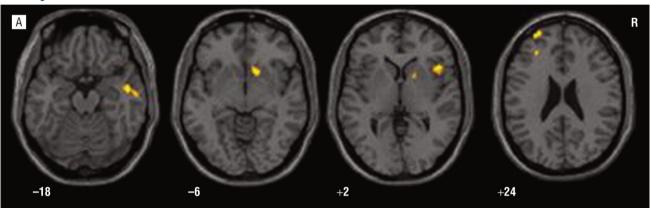


Extreme Neglect



Adolescents (12-17) who suffered childhood trauma

Physical Abuse



Left dorsolateral prefrontal cortex

Left lateral rostral prefrontal cortex

Right orbitofrontal cortex

Right ventral striatum, right insula and right temporal association cortex

These regions are associated to:

- Interoceptive body and emotional monitoring
- Face perception
- Empathic perception of others' emotions
- Body ownership

Risk for:

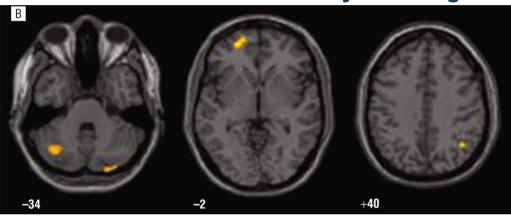
- Dissociative symptoms
- •BPD
- •PTSD

Edmiston et al., 2011



Adolescents (12-17) who suffered childhood trauma

Physical Neglect



Left lateral rostral prefrontal cortex

Right parietal association cortex

Bilateral cerebellum

These regions are associated to:

- •Traumatic PTSD-like reminders
- Emotional autobiographic memory
- Fear conditioning

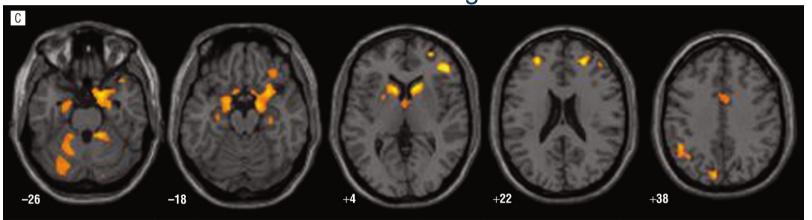
Risk for:

- Affective and anxious symptoms
- •PTSD



Adolescents (12-17) who suffered childhood trauma

Emotional Neglect



Bilateral dorsolateral prefrontal cortex, bilateral rostral prefrontal cortex, right superior frontal gyrus, right orbitofrontal cortex, bilateral sub-genual prefrontal cortex, bilateral striatum, bilateral amygdala and hippocampus, left parietal association cortex, left occipital association cortex, bilateral cerebellum, and regions of hypothalamus and midbrain

These regions are also associated to emotional regulation

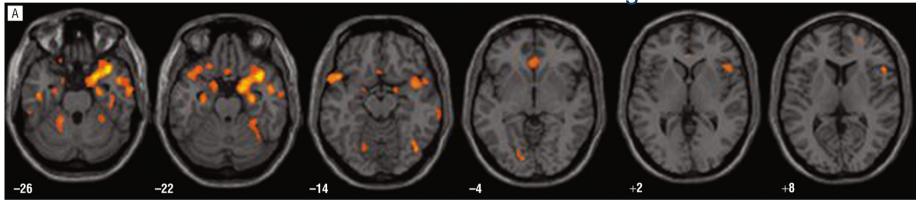
Risk for:

Mood disorders



Adolescents (12-17) who suffered childhood trauma

Childhood trauma in girls



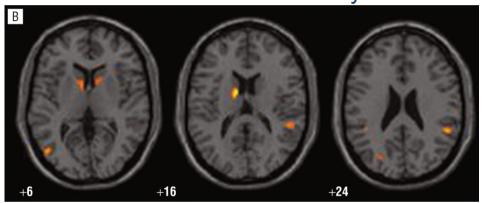
Right rostral prefrontal cortex, Bilateral orbital prefrontal cortex, Bilateral sub-genual PFC, Bilateral amygdala and hippocampus, right insula, bilateral fusiform gyrus, right temporo-occipital association cortex, left occipital association cortex and bilateral cerebellum.

Besides the mentioned risks, and considering the gender-differentiated development of the brain, childhood trauma puts girls in higher risk for mood disorders



Adolescents (12-17) who suffered childhood trauma

Childhood trauma in boys

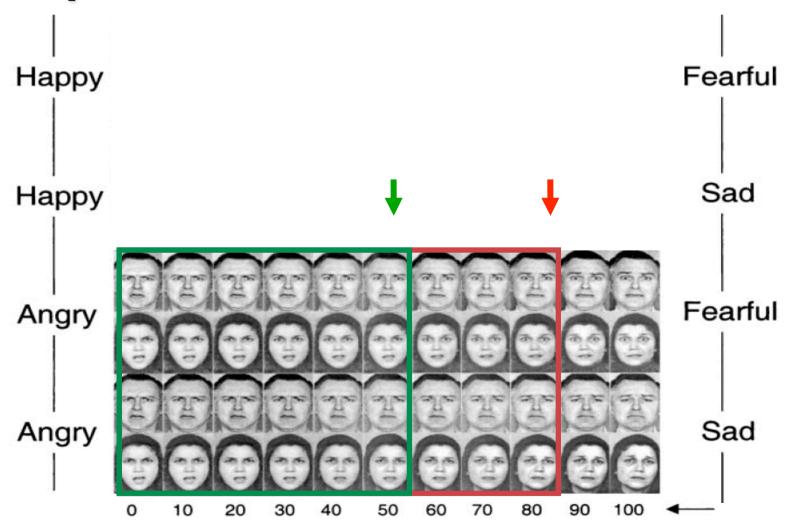


Bilateral caudate, bilateral temporoparietal cortex and left temporo-occipital association cortex.

...while boys who suffered childhood trauma are more at risk for impulse control disorders



Early Maltreatment Affects Later Behavior



Source: Pollak & Kistler (2002) PNAS, 99, 9072

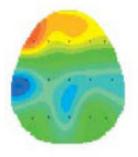


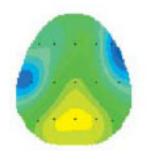
EEG study of the responses of maltreated and non-maltreated children to viewing an angry face

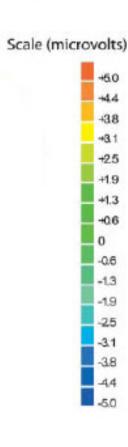
Maltreated group



Comparison group



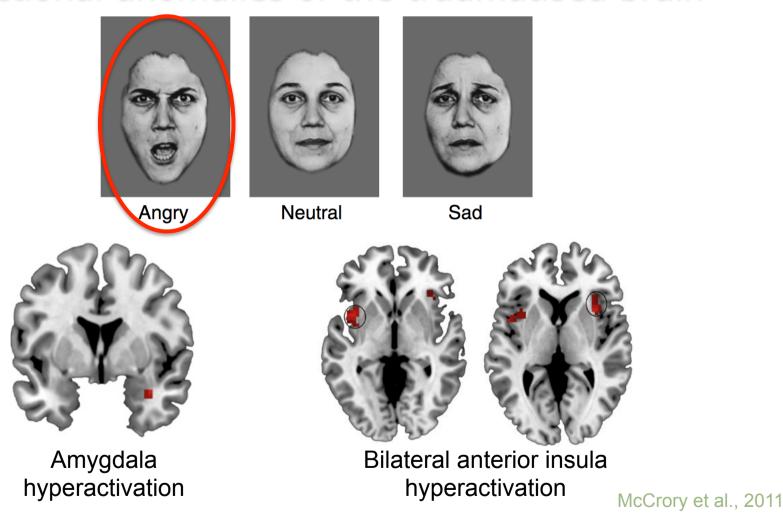




310 ms

(Source: Cicchetti & Curtis, 2005, Dev. & Psychopath.)





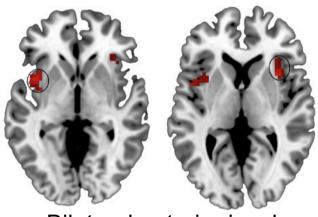
Children exposed to family violence



- Face recognition independent of level of threat or emotionality
 - Detect threatAnticipate pain
- Integrates emotional, sensory and bodily information
 - Guides social processing and decision making



Amygdala Hyperactivation



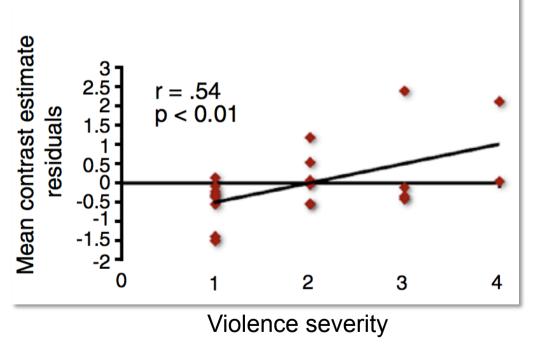
Bilateral anterior insula hyperactivation

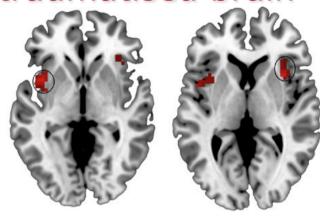
McCrory et al., 2011

Children exposed to family violence



The anterior insula activates more when violence has been more severe





McCrory et al., 2011

Children exposed to family violence



These anomalies could confer a short-term advantage:

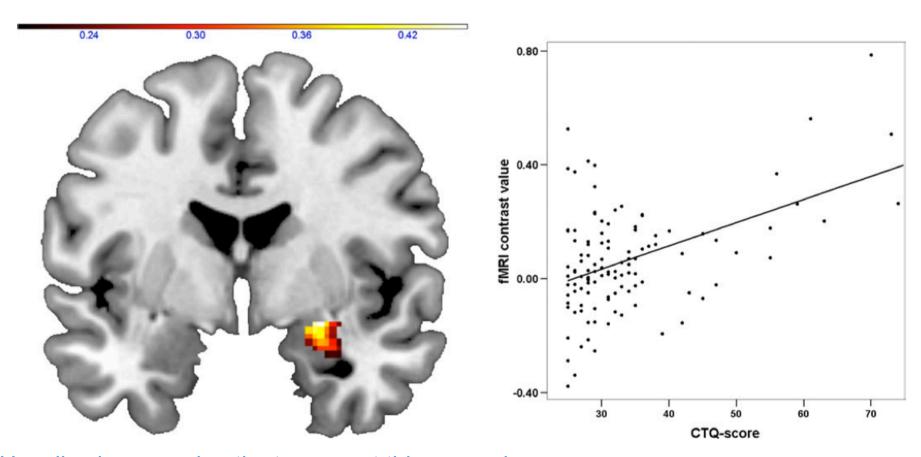
- Vigilance to threat
- It is found in healthy soldiers exposed to combat

But they constitute a latent neural risk that predisposes to an increased likelihood of maladaptation in safe contexts (e.g. school) and of adult psychopathology



Functional consequences of childhood trauma

Increased amygdala response to negative stimuli in healthy adults



Usually, depressed patients present this anomaly

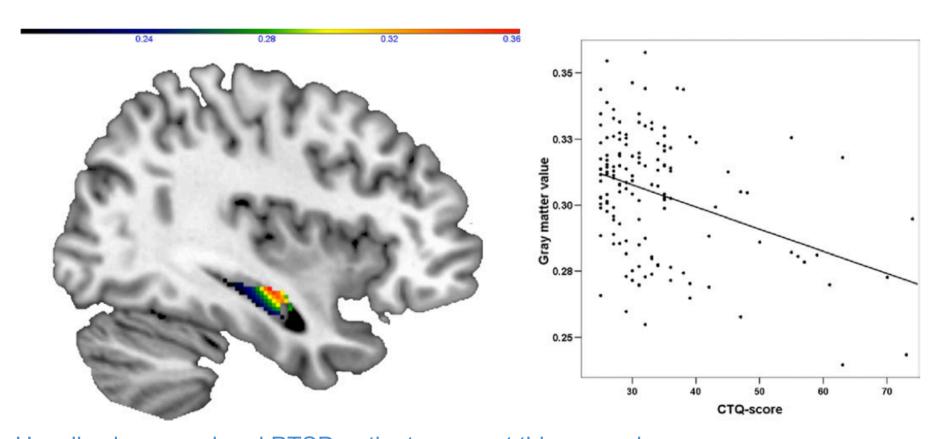
This study shows functional anomalies related to childhood trauma in healthy adults

Dannlowski et al., 2012



Anatomical consequences of childhood trauma

Underdevelopment of hippocampal gray matter in healthy adults

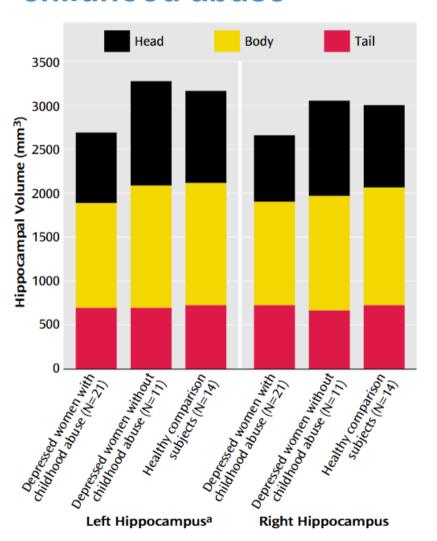


Usually, depressed and PTSD patients present this anomaly
This study shows structural anomalies related to childhood trauma in healthy adults

Dannlowski et al., 2012



Reduced hippocampal volume as consequence of childhood abuse



Depressed women with history of childhood physical and/or sexual abuse present reduced hippocampal volumes

These structural abnormalities are present in patients with treatment-resistant depression

It is suggested that a history of childhood abuse could predict poor response to antidepressants in adult depression



In sum, the areas of the brain most vulnerable to early stress:

- Hippocampus
- Amygdala
- Neocortex
- Cerebellum
- Corpus callosum

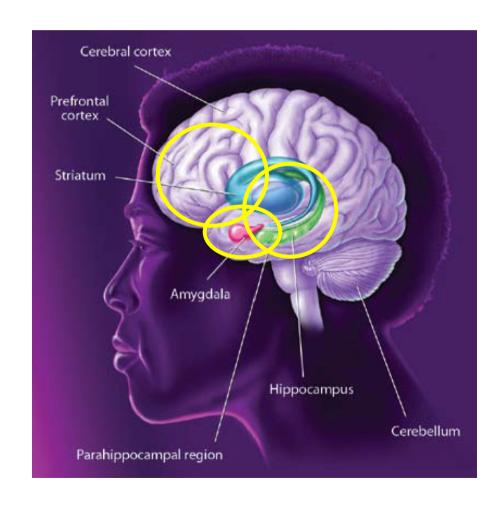
These areas have in common:

- Important later postnatal development (experience expectant)
- High density of glucocorticoid receptors
- And even, some degree of postnatal neurogenesis

Grassi-Oliveira, Ashy & Stein, 2008

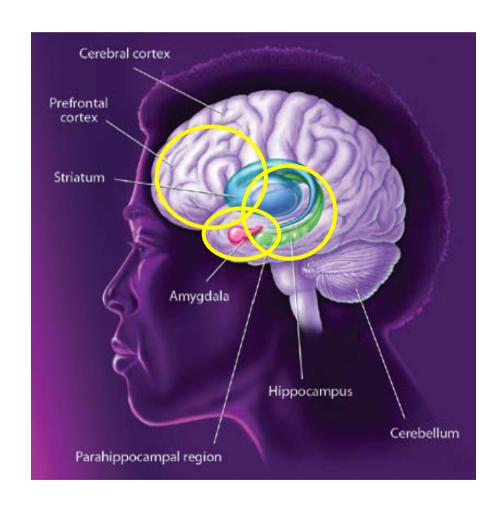


The Brain Architecture of Anxiety and Fear





The Brain Architecture of Memory and Learning





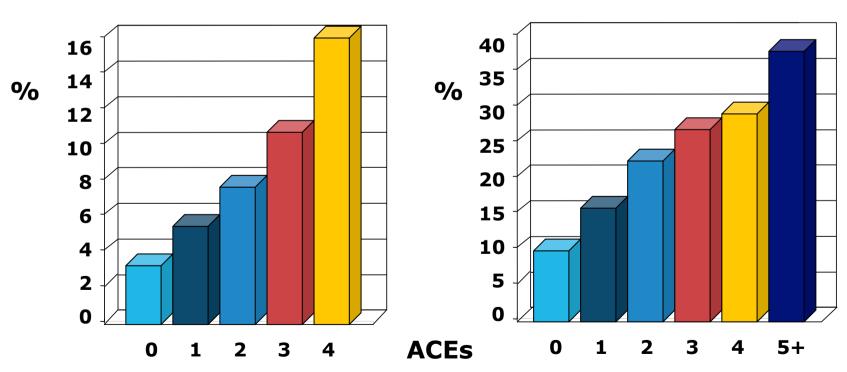
Early Life Experiences Have Combined Life-Long Cumulative Impact on Physical Health



Risk Factors for Adult Substance Abuse are Embedded in Adverse Childhood Experiences

Self-Report: Alcoholism

Self-Report: Illicit Drugs

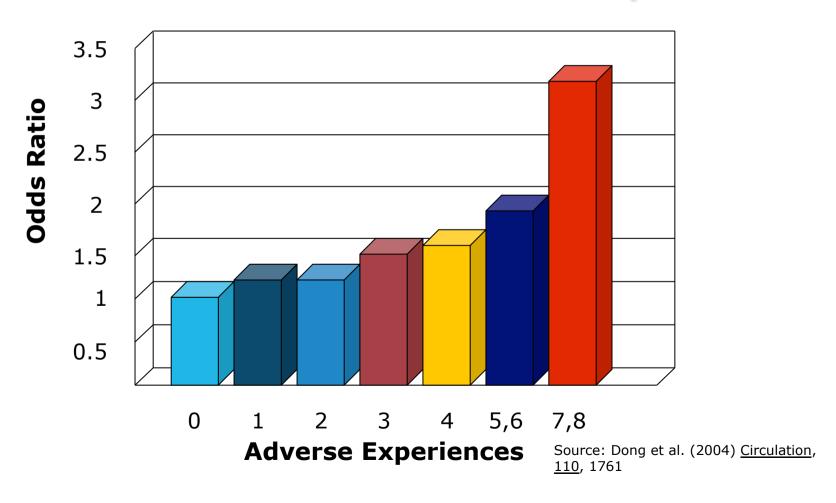


Source: Dube et al, 2002 Addictive Behaviors, 27, 713

Source: Dube et al, 2005 American J Preven Med, 28, 430

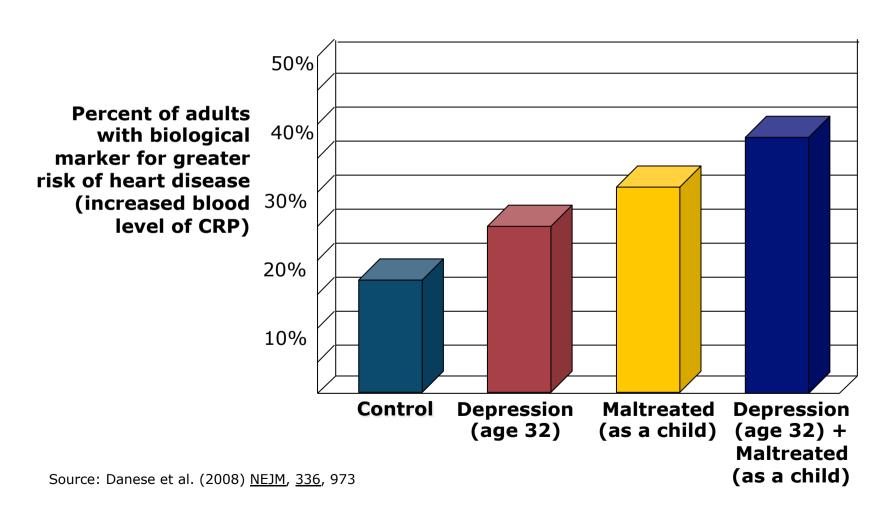


Risk Factors for Adult Heart Disease are Embedded in Adverse Childhood Experiences





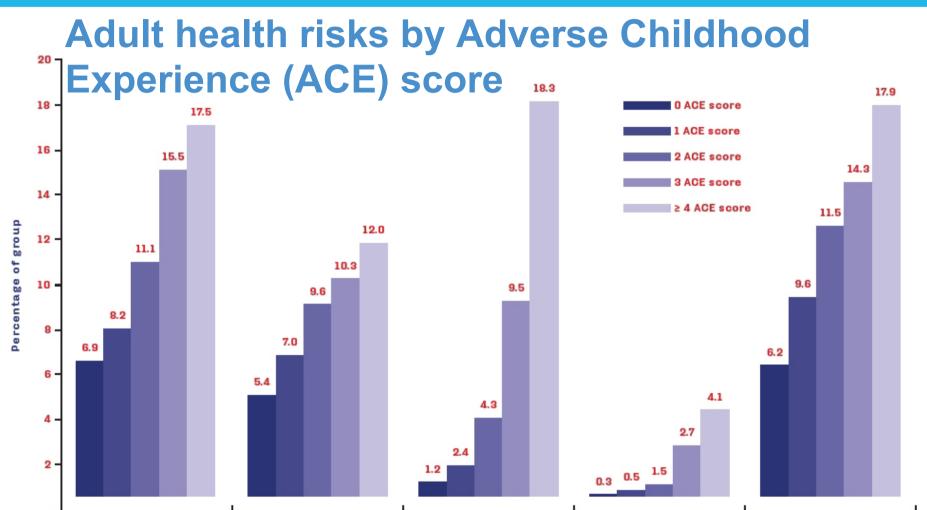
Biological Evidence Links Maltreatment in Childhood to Greater Risk of Adult Heart Disease





Currently smokes

Obesity



Attempted suicide

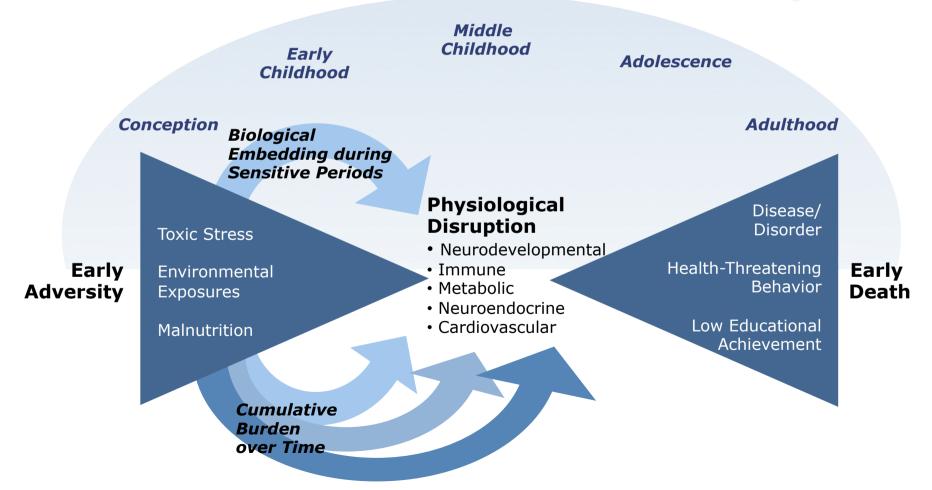
Ever injected drugs

Ever had an STD

Anda, 2006

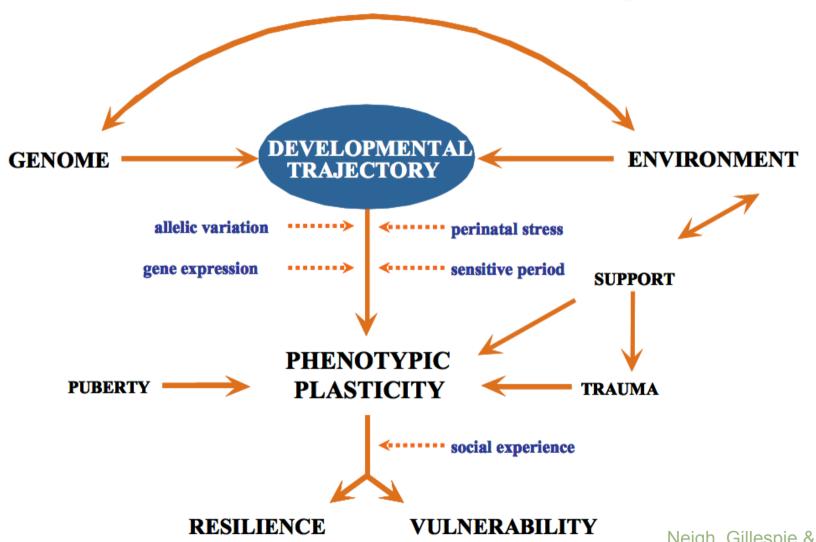


The Childhood Roots of Health Disparities: How Adversity is Built Into the Body





A model for brain development

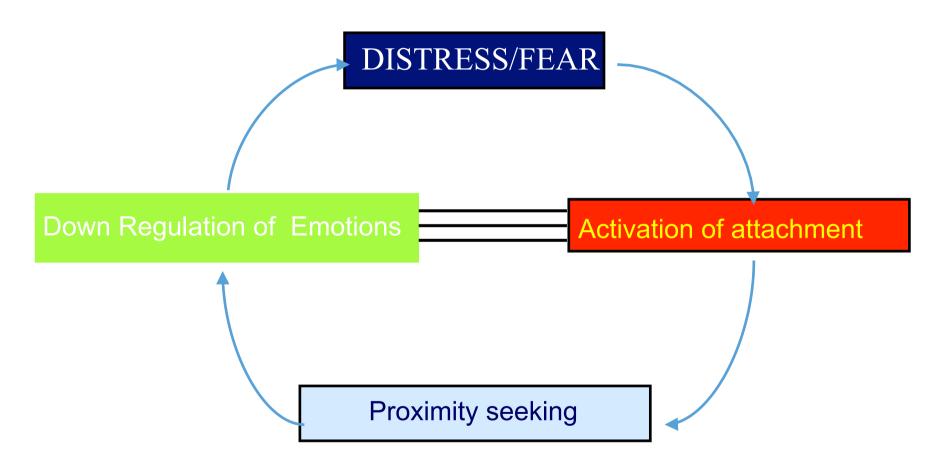




Attachment Research Says that Remediation and Prevention ARE Possible



How Does Attachment Work?



The forming of an attachment bond



Functions of attachment

- Physical survival
 - > Protection of life, then of brain development
- Emotional survival
 - >Feeling loveable, interesting -> turn to world
 - >Stress regulation, being able to tolerate self and others
- Cognitive survival
 - Capacities attention/focus, social skills and trust, curiosity: exploration and engagement with learning





Disorganised Attachment Classification

Disorganised-disoriented infants

> freezing, hand clapping, wish to escape

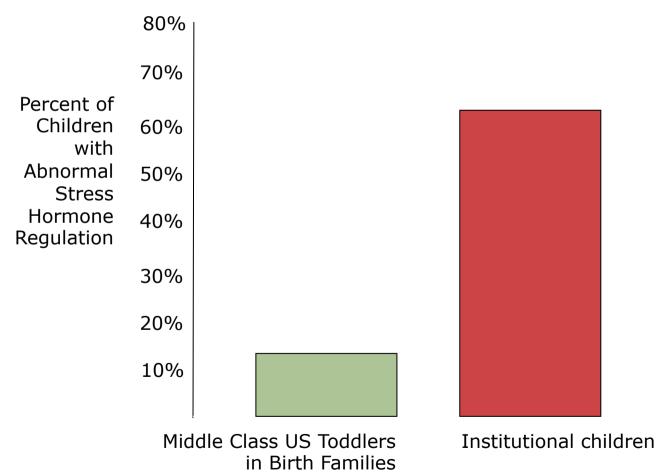
Arousal of attachment system → attachment figure is both the haven of safety and the source of great stress

Associated with

- > severe neglect
- > physical abuse
- > sexual abuse



Disorganized Attachment and Institutionalization

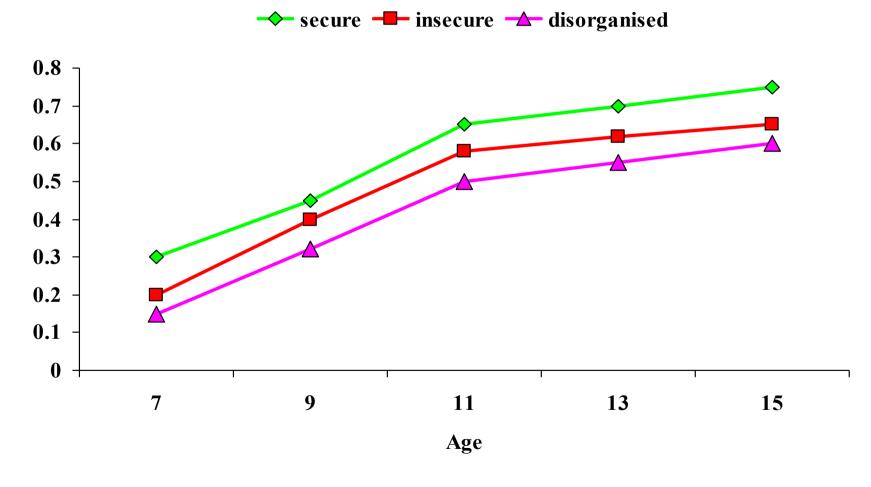


Source: Gunnar & Fisher (2006) <u>Development</u>

& Psychopathology, 18, 651-677



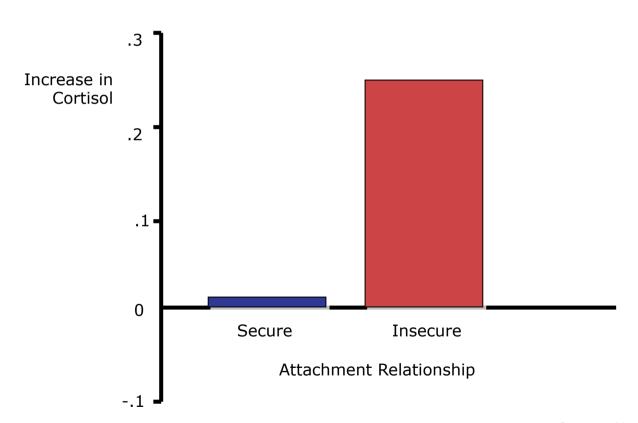
Attachment and cognitive functioning: the development of competence in logical reasoning



Source: Jacobson et al



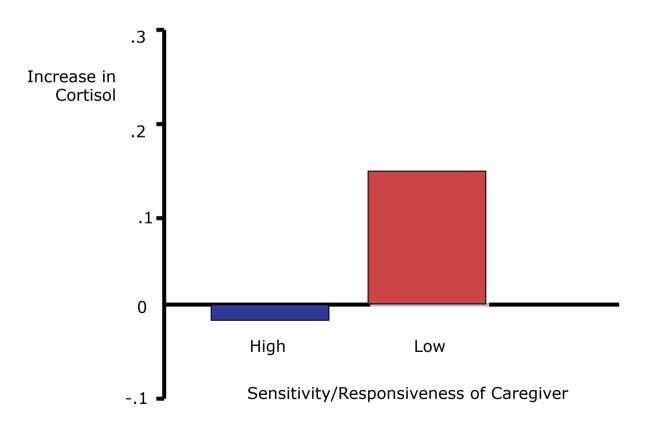
Secure Relationships Calm Children's Stress Hormone Response



Source: Nachmias et al. (1996) Child Development, 67, 508



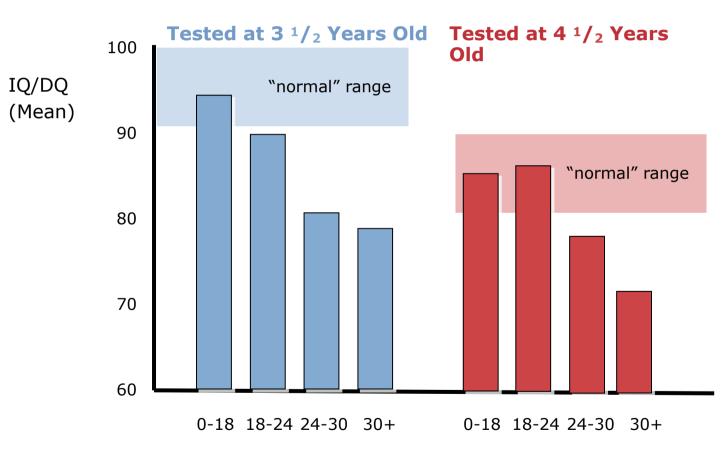
Sensitive Care Calms Children's Stress Hormone Response in Parent's Absence



Source: Nachmias et al. (1996) Child Development, 67, 508



Delayed Intervention Harms Development Bucharest Early Intervention Program

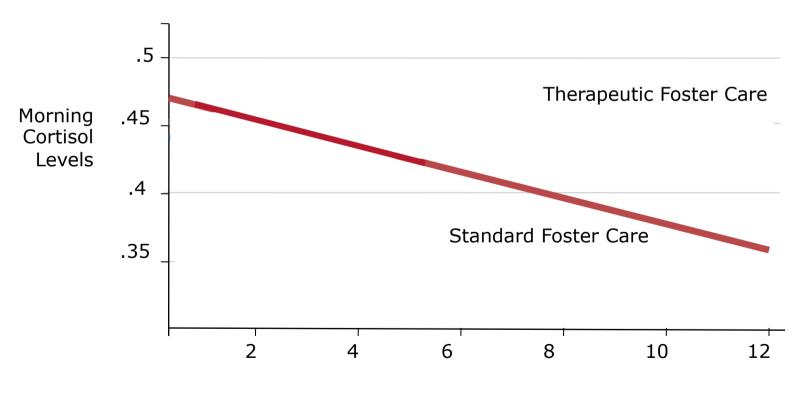


Age of placement in foster care (months)

Source: Nelson et al. (2007) Science, 318, 1937



Instability Disrupts the Stress Response System — But Relationships Reverse the Effect



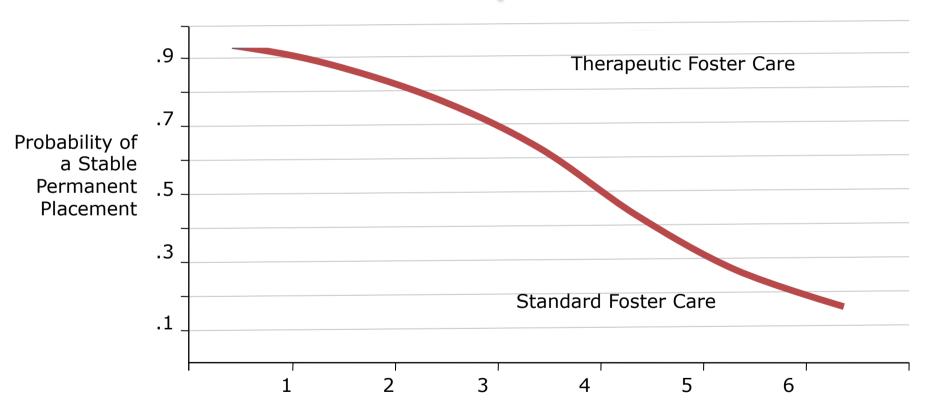
Months in Foster Care

Source: Fisher, Stoolmiller & Gunnar (2007)

Psychoneuroendocrinology, 32, 892



Placement Instability Breeds More Instability— But Brain Plasticity Means Interventions Can Help



Foster Care Placements Prior to Study

Source: Fisher, Burraston & Pears (2005) Child Maltreatment, 10, 61



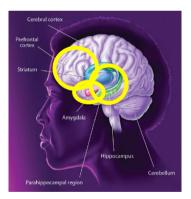
How Should We Act On the Science?



Keys to Healthy Brain Development

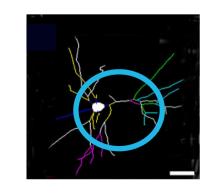
Supportive relationships and positive learning experiences that begin in the home but can be strengthened by outside assistance when families need help.





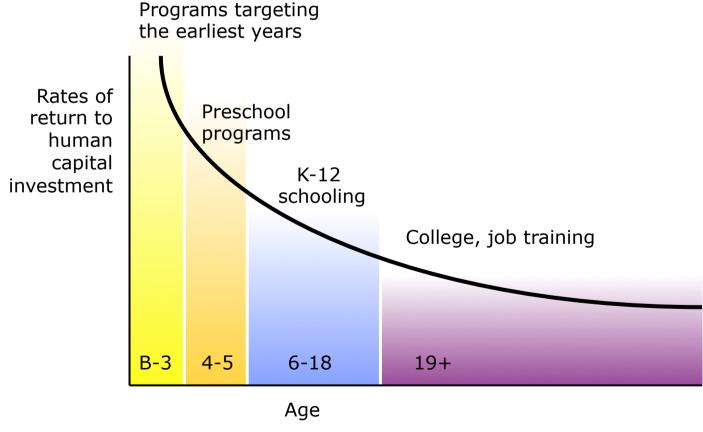
A balanced approach to emotional, social, cognitive, and language development.

Highly specialized interventions as early as possible for children and families experiencing significant adversity.





Preventive Intervention is More Efficient and Produces More Favorable Outcomes Than Later Remediation





Building a New Science-Based Approach to Promoting Health and Preventing Disease

A healthier population begins with **reducing toxic stress** in early childhood, not just trying to change adult behavior.

Early childhood intervention programs can be a vehicle for enhancing lifelong health, not just preparing children to succeed in school.

A redesigned child **welfare system** could improve health outcomes by promoting positive relationships and **adaptive development**, not simply focusing on physical safety and custody.



Maximizing Return on Investment

The basic principles of neuroscience indicate that later remediation will be more costly than **preventive intervention** in the first years of life.

Brains: more physiological energy needed to compensate for poorly formed neural circuits.

Society: higher cost of remedial education, clinical treatment, crime.



Think Broadly About Children's Environment of Relationships

Plan from pregnancy to kindergarten, and look beyond education and health care.

Invest in the development and retention of a skilled early childhood workforce.

Make sure vulnerable children have access to stable, supportive relationships with adults—as early and as consistently as possible.



Parenting

- Parenting behaviours and the home environment are the biggest influences on early development (Waldfogel and Washbrook 2010, 2011; other refs)
- Rigorous RCTs have shown parenting interventions can be effective (NFP, PALS, PEEP, Incredible Years)
- A number of effective programmes have been shown to increase parents' involvement in, and encouragement for, children's learning and development (Cummings et al 2011)
 - Long-term benefits for parental support and attitudes?



Parenting

BUT

- Not all programmes are effective
- The RCT approach has drawbacks
 - Most have only been evaluated on a very small scale
 - >The **components** of the "optimal" programme are far from clear
- Effects are much consistent for socioemotional and physical health outcomes but not for cognitive/educational ones





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