

Childhood Abuse: A Neurobiological Perspective



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National Health Collaborative on Violence and Abuse

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DBRP - Current and Former Members



Support - Maltreatment and Trauma Studies

NIMH **ROI MH53636 (1997-2001)**
ROI MH66222 (2003-2008)
ROI MH91391 (2010-2015)

NIDA **ROI DA16934 (2003-2007)**
ROI DA17846 (2004-2009)

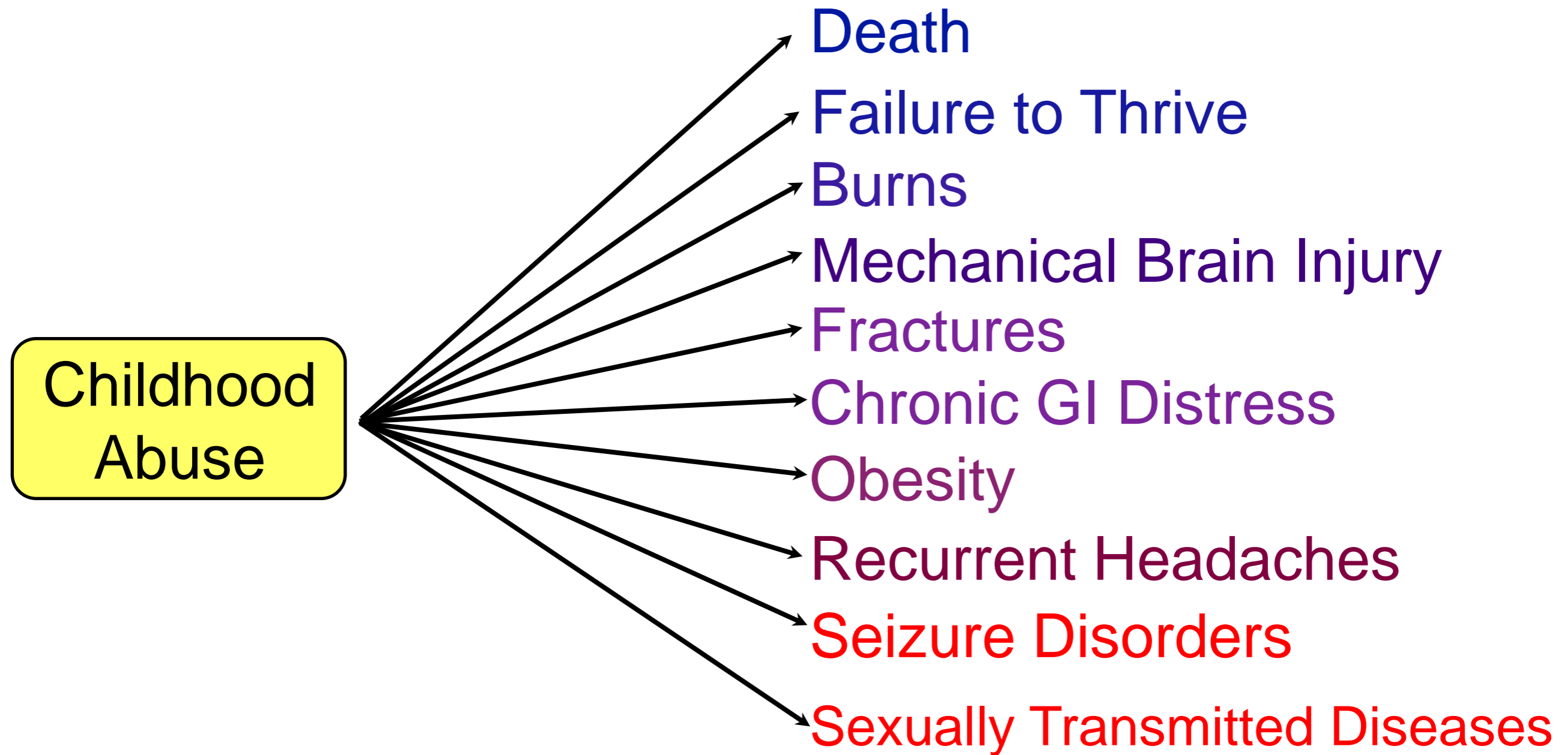
NARSAD (2005-2007)

Simches Family

Introduction

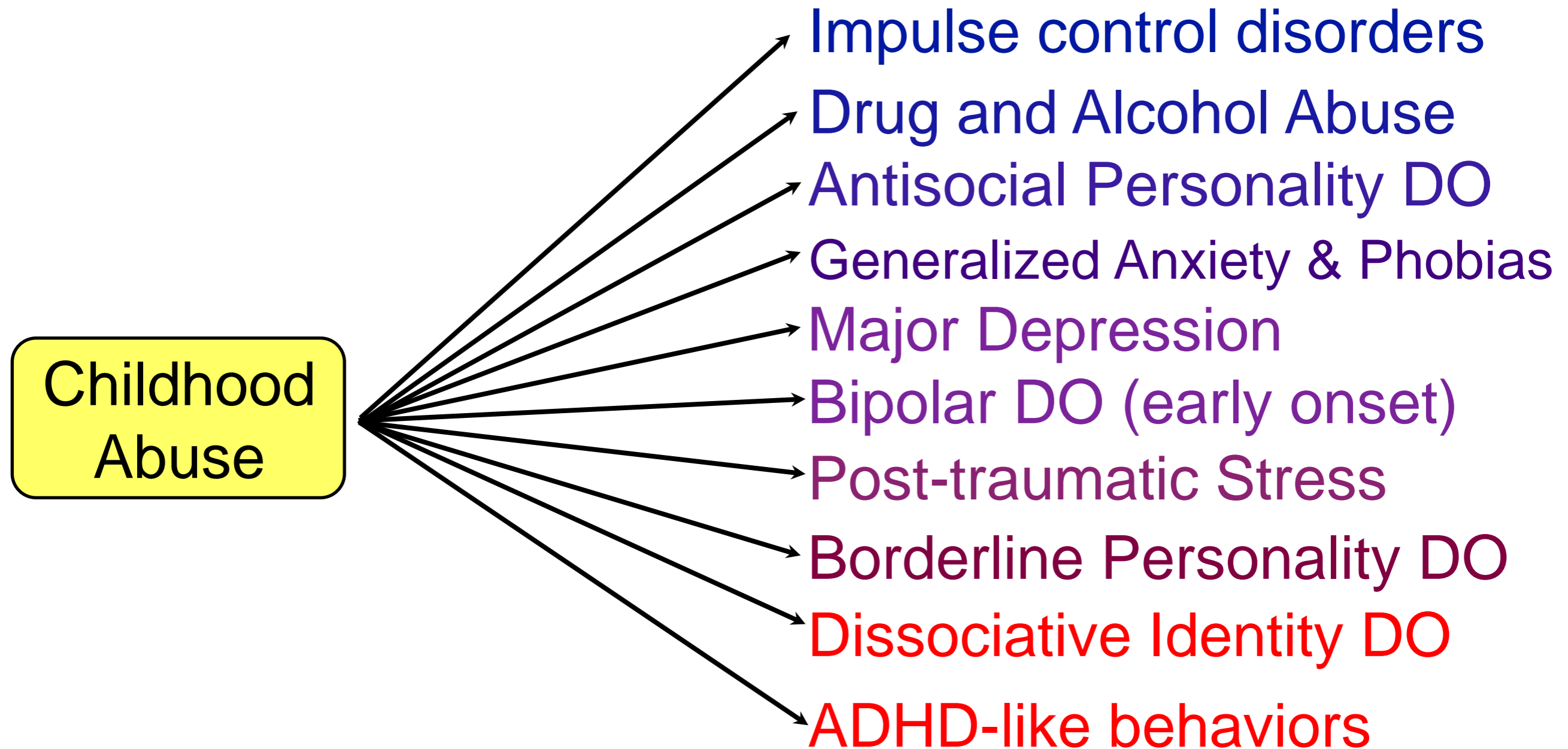
Physical, sexual, and psychological trauma in childhood may lead to medical and psychiatric difficulties that show up in childhood, adolescence, or adulthood.

Introduction



medical

Introduction



psychiatric

Question?

- What factor, or combination of factors, shape outcome?

Resilience



Fixed

Vulnerability



Malleable

Possibilities

- Genes
- Timing (developmental stage when abuse occurs)
- Type of abusive experience
- Protective factors

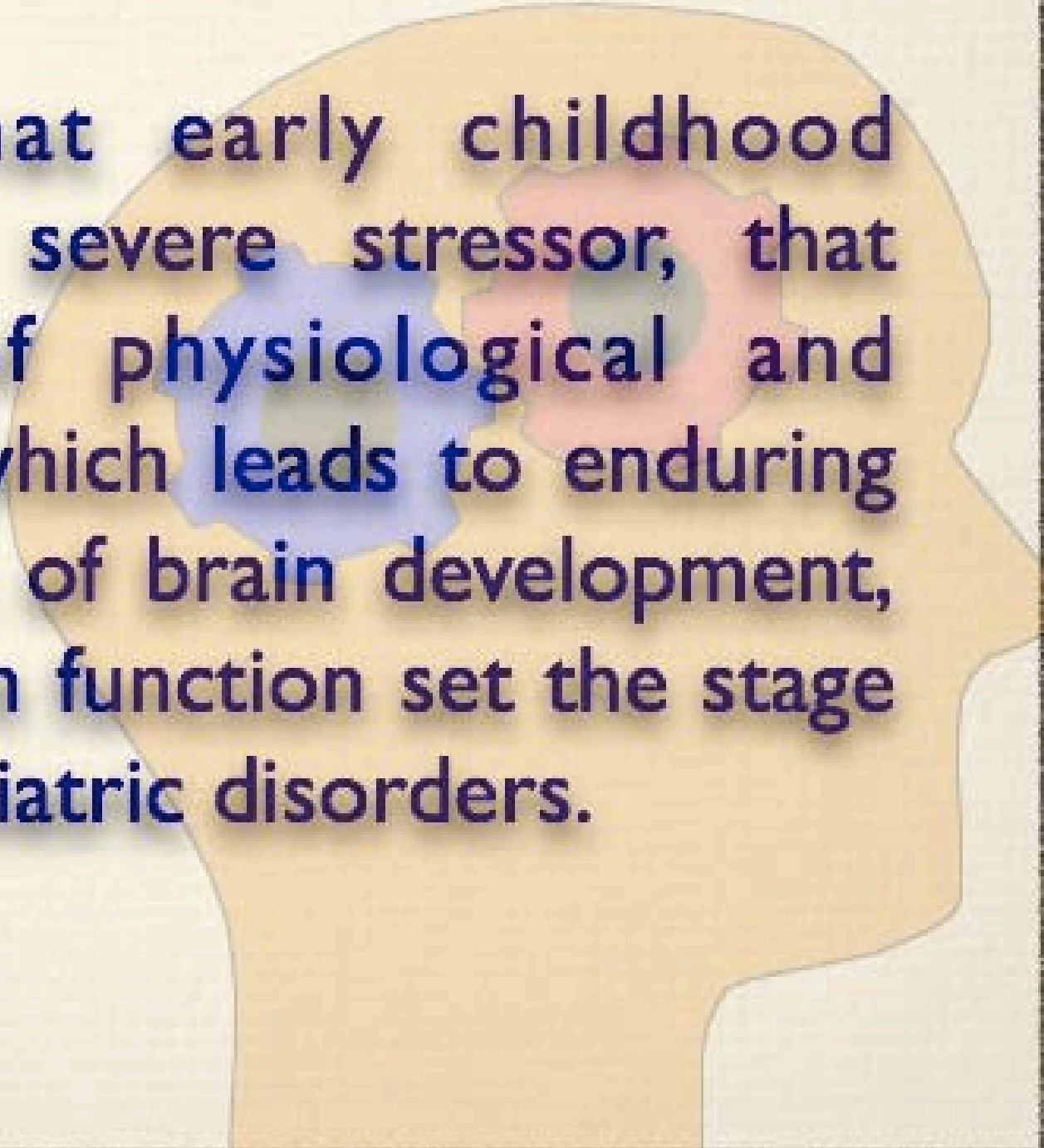
Possibilities

- Genes
- Timing (developmental stage when abuse occurs)
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- Protective factors

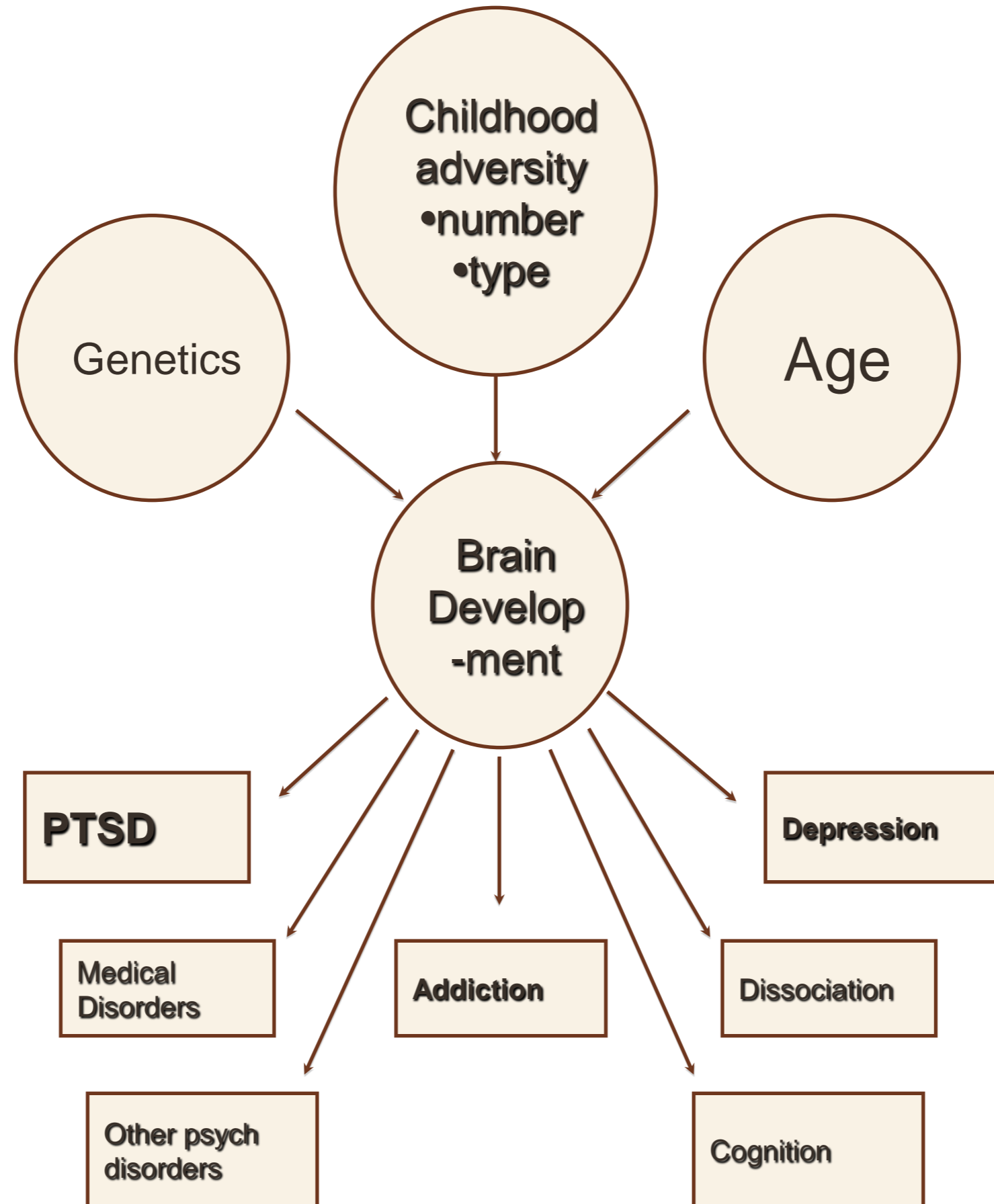
Hypothesis



We have proposed that early childhood maltreatment acts as a severe stressor, that produces a cascade of physiological and neurohumoral responses which leads to enduring alterations in the patterns of brain development, and that alterations in brain function set the stage for the emergence of psychiatric disorders.



Introduction



How can stressful experience influence the developing brain?



How stressful early experience influences the developing brain.

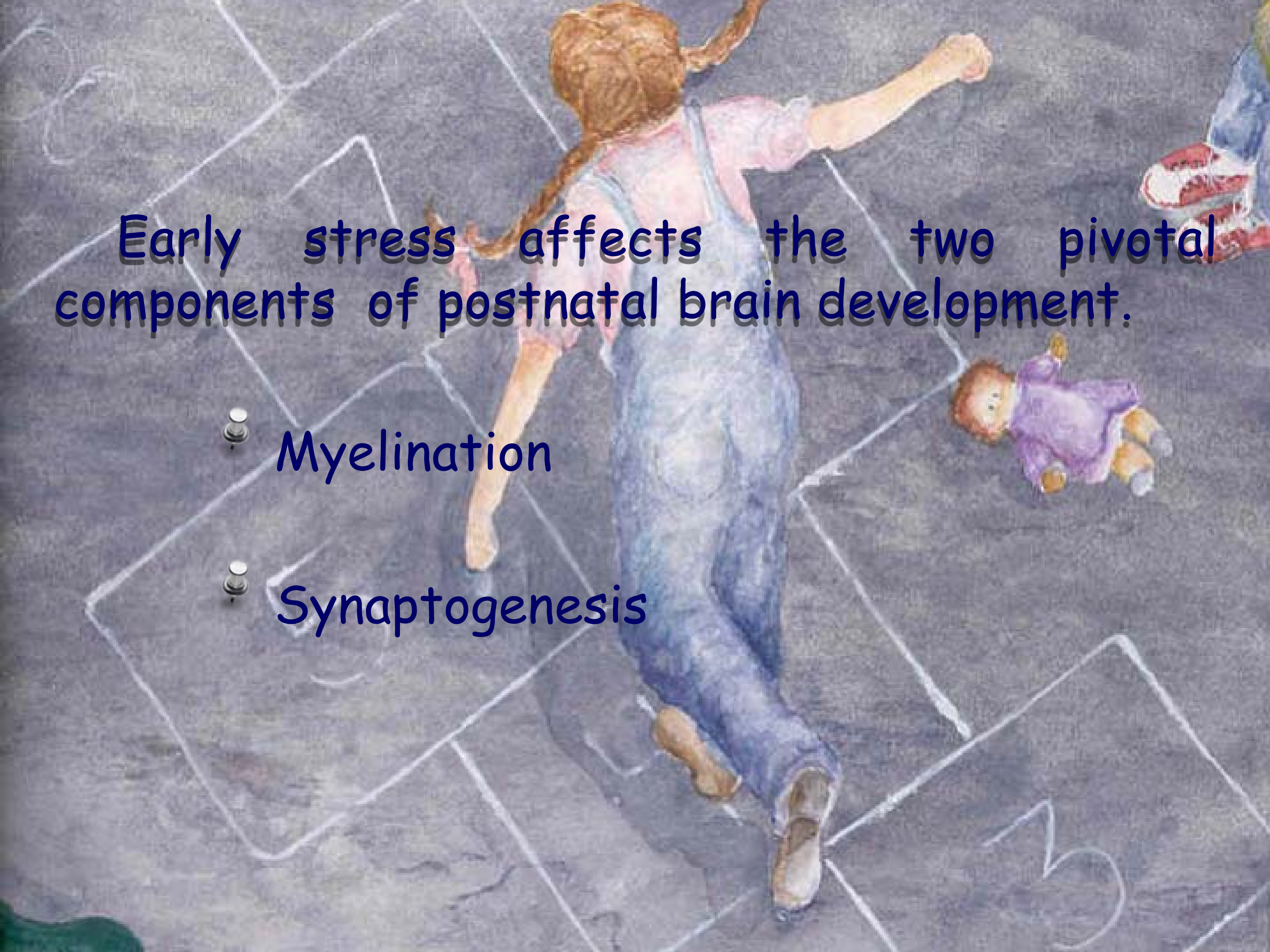
Step 1

Early stress programs our stress hormone systems to have a more exaggerated and prolonged response to subsequent stressors.

How stressful early experience influences the developing brain.

Step 2

Exposure of the developing brain to stress hormones exerts consequences by affecting gene expression, myelination, neural morphology, neurogenesis and synaptogenesis.

A young girl with two braids, wearing a pink shirt and blue overalls, is jumping rope on a sidewalk. A small doll in a purple dress lies on the ground nearby. The scene is captured from an overhead perspective. The text is overlaid on the image in a blue, bold font.

Early stress affects the two pivotal components of postnatal brain development.

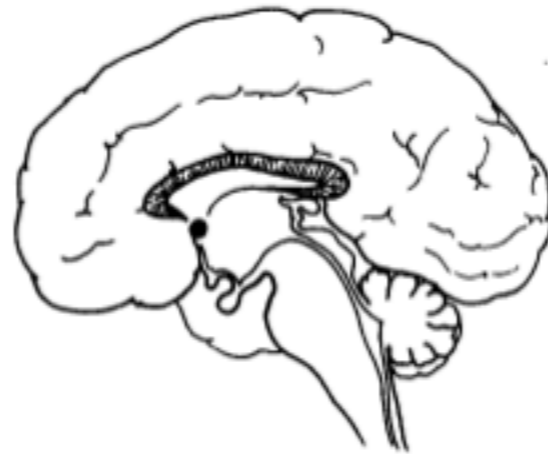
• Myelination

• Synaptogenesis

Human Brain Development



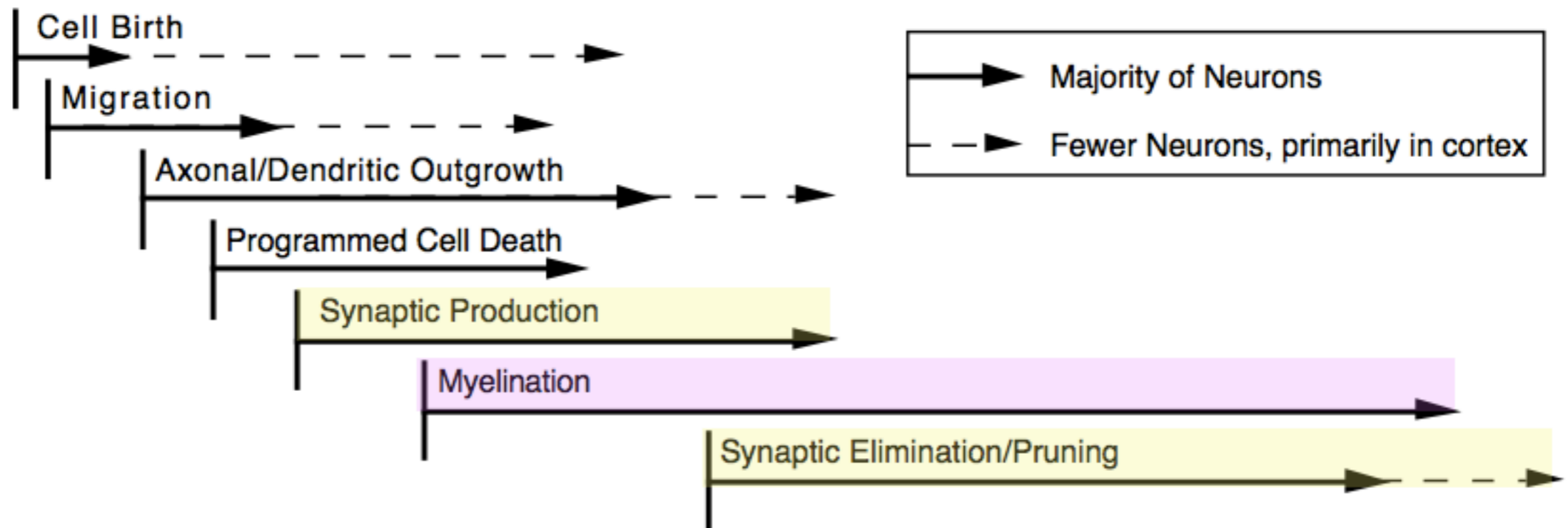
Enlarged 4x



10 cm



Embryonic							Postnatal													
Week: 0	6	12	18	24	30	36	Month: 0	6	12	18	24	30	36	Year: 4	8	12	16	20	24	

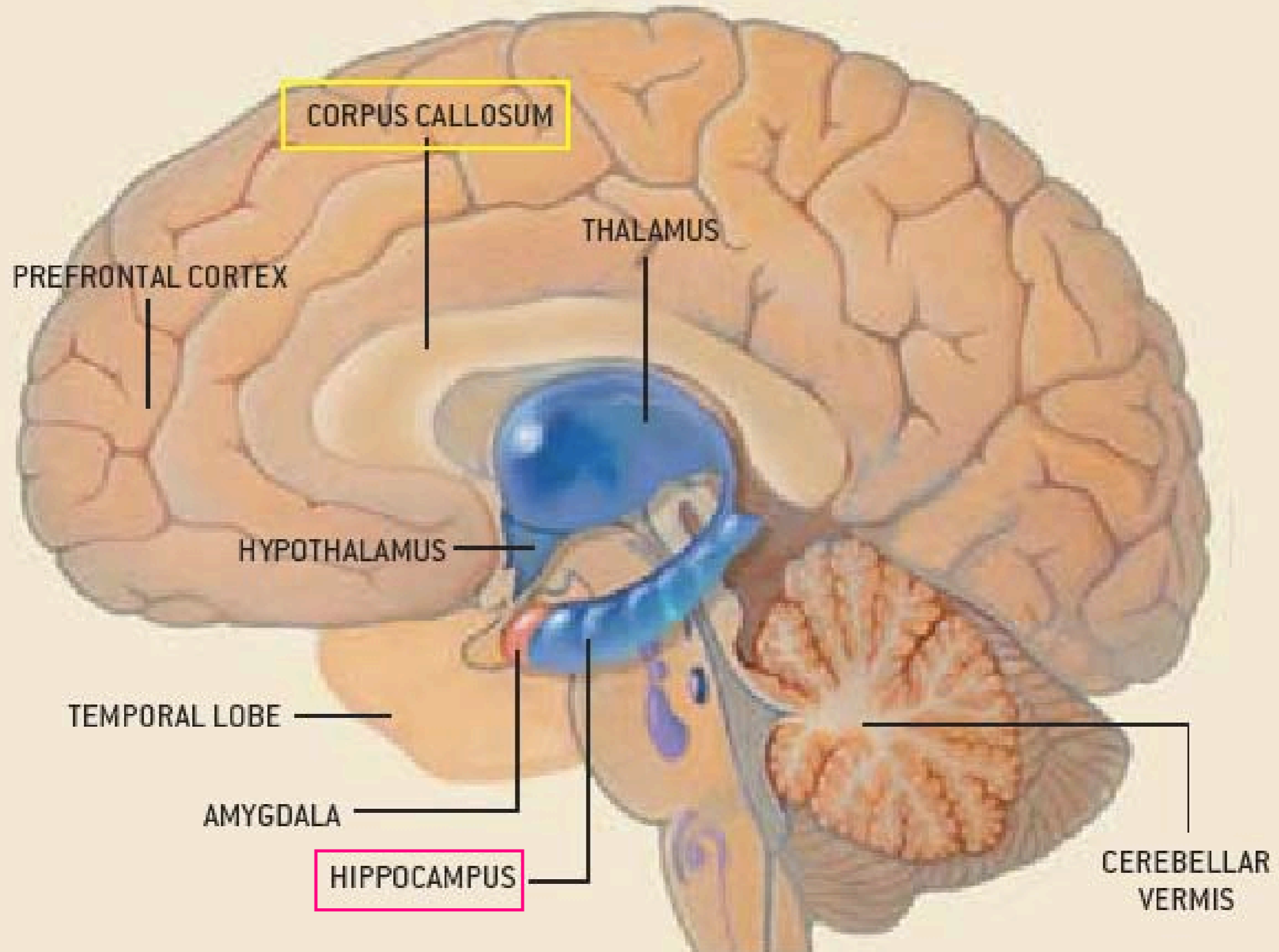


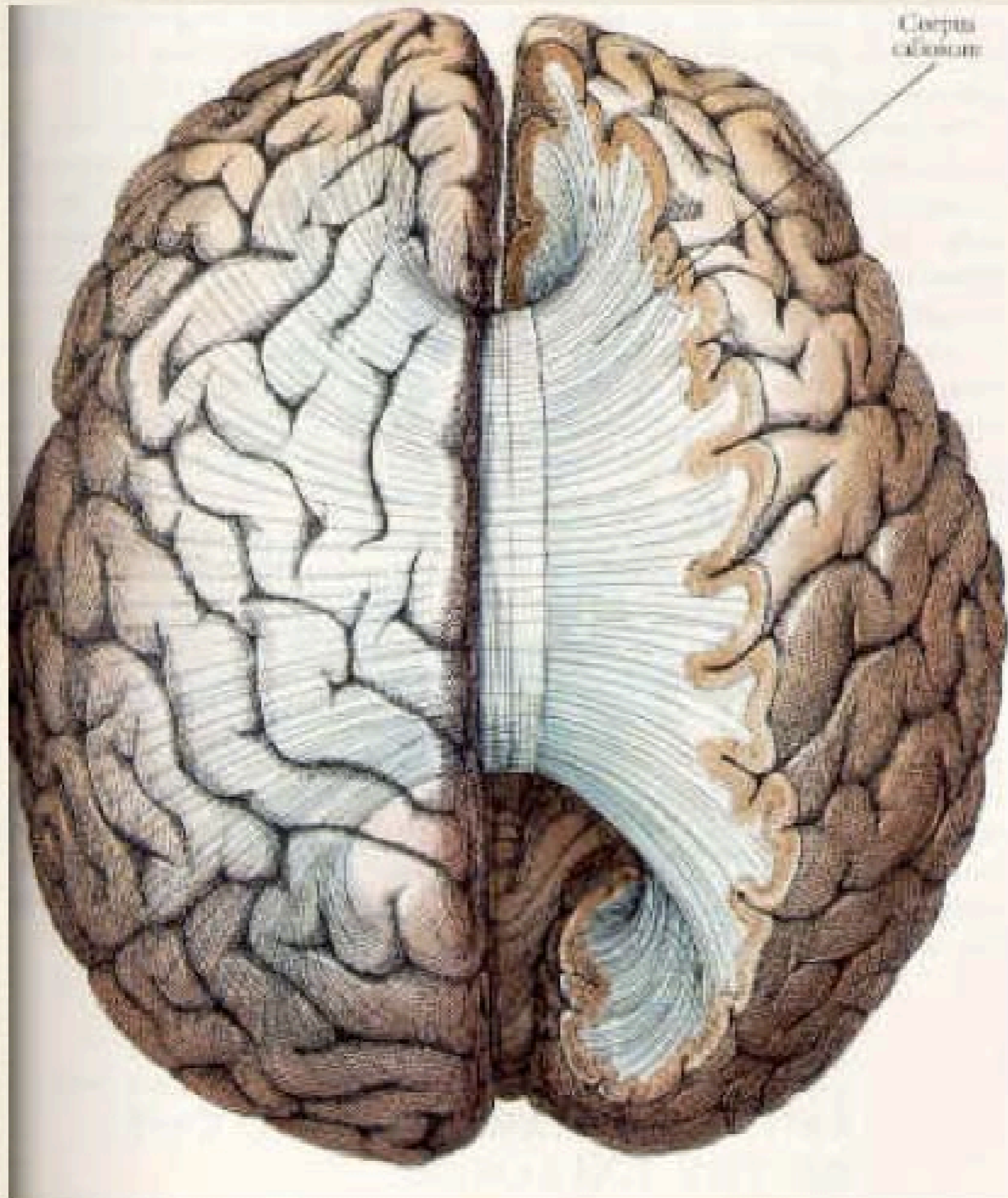
How stressful early experience influences the developing brain.

Step 3

Impact of early stress on the developing brain depends on timing, vulnerability of specific brain regions, and genetic factors.

First Neuroimaging Findings



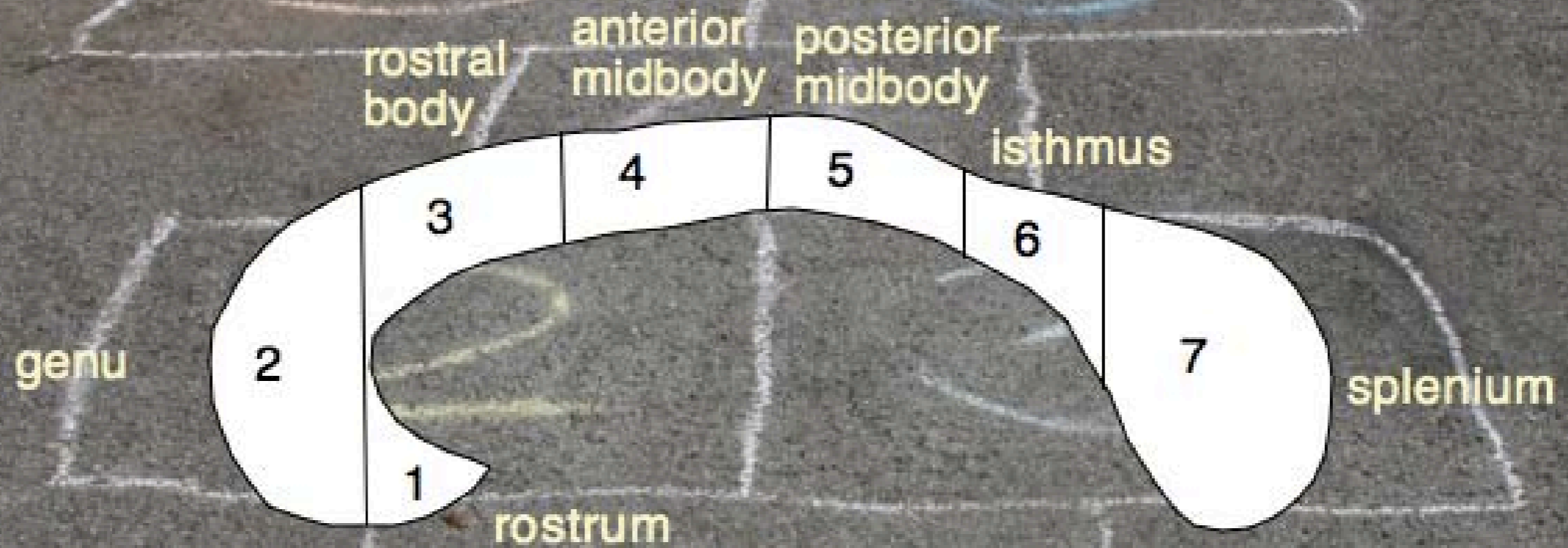


Childhood Abuse and the Regional Anatomy of the Corpus Callosum

Myelinated regions, such as the corpus callosum (CC) are potentially vulnerable to the impacts of early exposure to excessive levels of stress hormones, which suppress glial cell division critical for myelination.



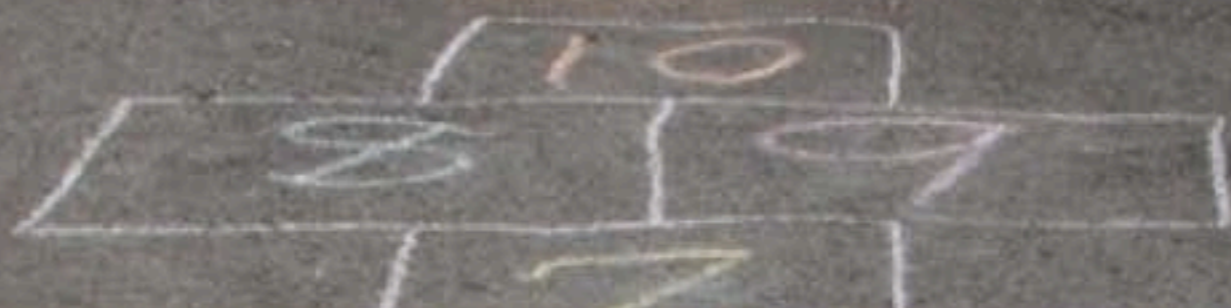
SUBDIVISIONS OF THE CORPUS CALLOSUM



Comparison between abused/neglected boys, non-abused psychiatric control boys (contrast group), and healthy boys.

Region	Abused/neglected	Contrast	Healthy	Group diff.
1 (rostrum)	0.306	0.109	0.128	0.1000
2 (genu)	0.761	0.900	0.864	0.1300
3 (rostral body)	0.463	0.615	0.606	0.0020
4 (ant. midbody)	0.361	0.486	0.523	0.0001
5 (post. midbody)	0.331	0.416	0.429	0.0055
6 (isthmus)	0.889	1.100	1.152	0.0043
7 (splenium)	0.403	0.466	0.496	0.5450
(n)	13	13	61	

Overall differences between groups, MANCOVA, $p < 0.0001$



Association of Early Experience and Age on Regional Anatomy of Corpus Callosum in Boys, Based on Step-wise Regression.

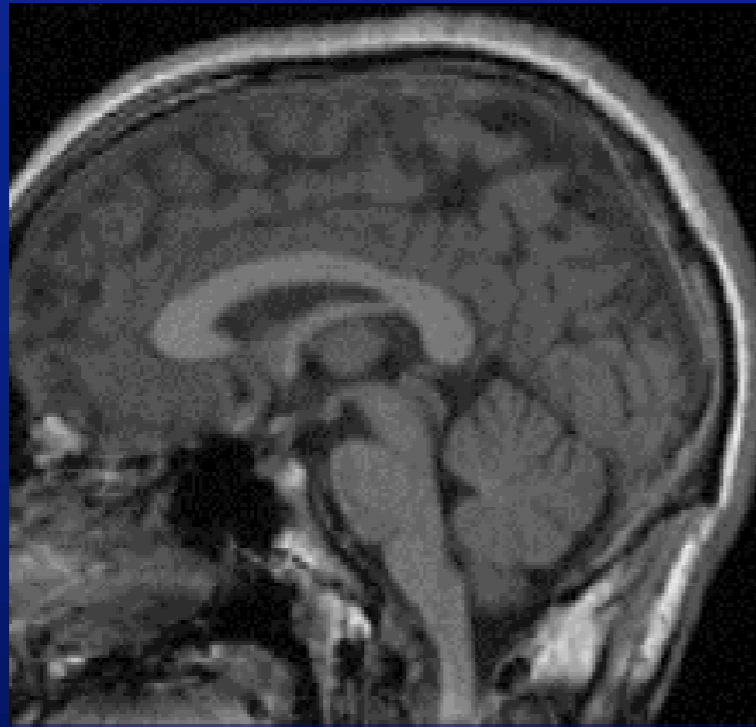
Region	Physical Abuse	Sexual Abuse*	Neglect*	Age**	PTSD*
1 (rostrum)	--	--	-41.7%†	7.4%ζ	--
2 (genu)	--	--	-29.2%¥	--	--
3 (rostral body)	--	--	-33.2%¥	--	--
4 (ant. midbody)	-9.6%†	--	-30.7%¥	--	--
5 (post. midbody)	--	--	-40.2%¥	1.5%†	--
6 (isthmus)	--	--	-45.7%¥	--	--
7 (splenium)	--	-18.3%†	-24.2%ξ	--	--

†p < 0.10, ζp < .05, ξp < .01, ¥p < .001

*Values are expressed as % change in volume associated with positive history

**Values are expressed as % change in volume per year of age.

Childhood abuse affects corpus callosum



Control



Neglect

The morphology of the corpus callosum is significantly affected by early neglect (as well as physical abuse and sexual abuse).

Teicher et al. (2004) Biological Psychiatry 56, 80-85

Association of Early Experience and Age on Regional Anatomy of the Corpus Callosum in Girls, Based on Step-wise Regression.

Region	Physical Abuse	Sexual Abuse*	Neglect*	Age**	PTSD
1 (rostrum)	--	--	--	--	--
2 (genu)	--	--	--	--	--
3 (rostral body)	--	-20.8% ζ	--	--	--
4 (ant. midbody)	--	-29.7% \yen	--	--	--
5 (post. midbody)	--	-17.7% ζ	--	--	--
6 (isthmus)	--	-23.7% ζ	+37.6% ξ	--	--
7 (splenium)	--	--	-43.9% \dagger	+5.2% ζ	--

$\dagger p < 0.10$, $\zeta p < .05$, $\xi p < .01$, $\yen p < .001$

*Values are expressed as % change in volume associated with positive history

**Values are expressed as % change in volume per year of age.

De Bellis MD et al., Developmental traumatology. Part II: Brain development. Biol Psychiatry 1999, 45: 1271-84.

44 maltreated children and adolescents with PTSD and 61 matched controls underwent comprehensive assessments and MRI.

Most significant finding was reduced midsagittal area of corpus callosum in PTSD subjects.

There was a greater corpus callosum area reduction in maltreated males than maltreated females with PTSD.

Sánchez et al. (1998). “Differential rearing affects corpus callosum size and cognitive function of rhesus monkeys.” Brain Research 812(1–2): 38–49.

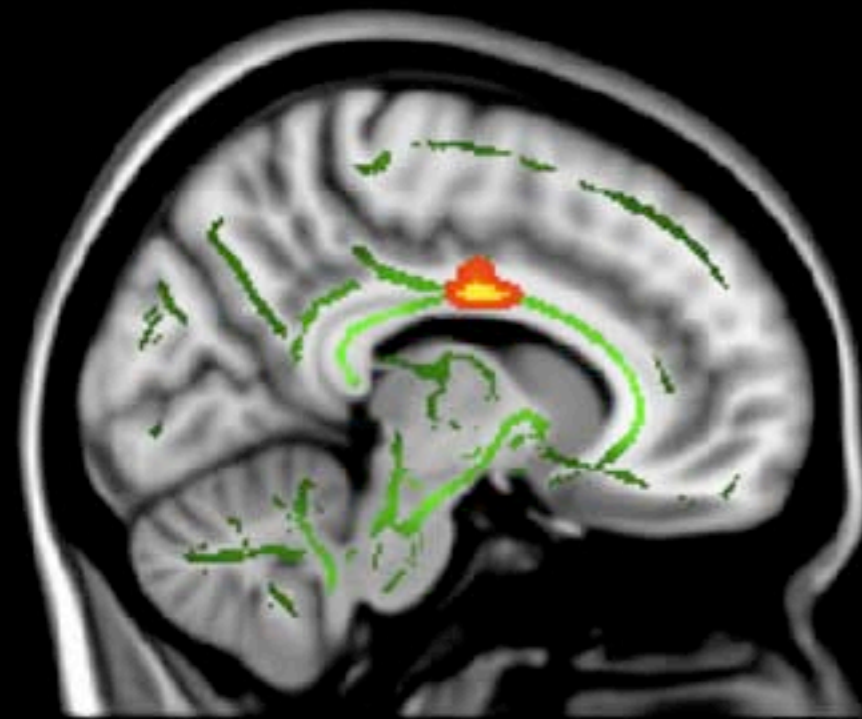
Infant male monkeys raised individually in a nursery from 2 to 12 months were compared to age-matched infants raised in a semi-naturalistic social environment. Although overall brain volumes did not differ, the corpus callosum was significantly decreased in the nursery group.

Degree of cognitive impairment correlated with alterations in corpus callosum size.

Corpus Callosum

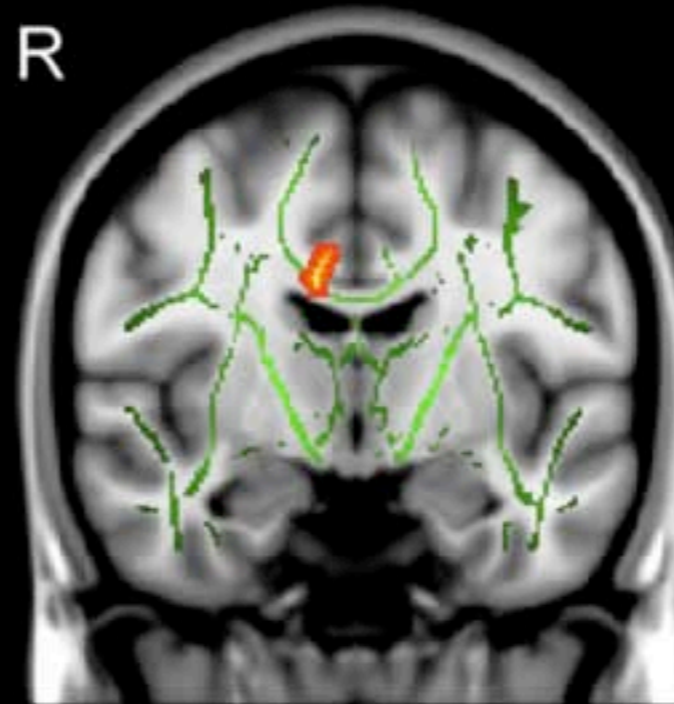
Reduced area or integrity of the corpus callosum is the most consistent neurobiological finding in children and adults with histories of exposure to childhood abuse.

The Body of Corpus Callosum



X = 11 mm

R



Y = -3 mm



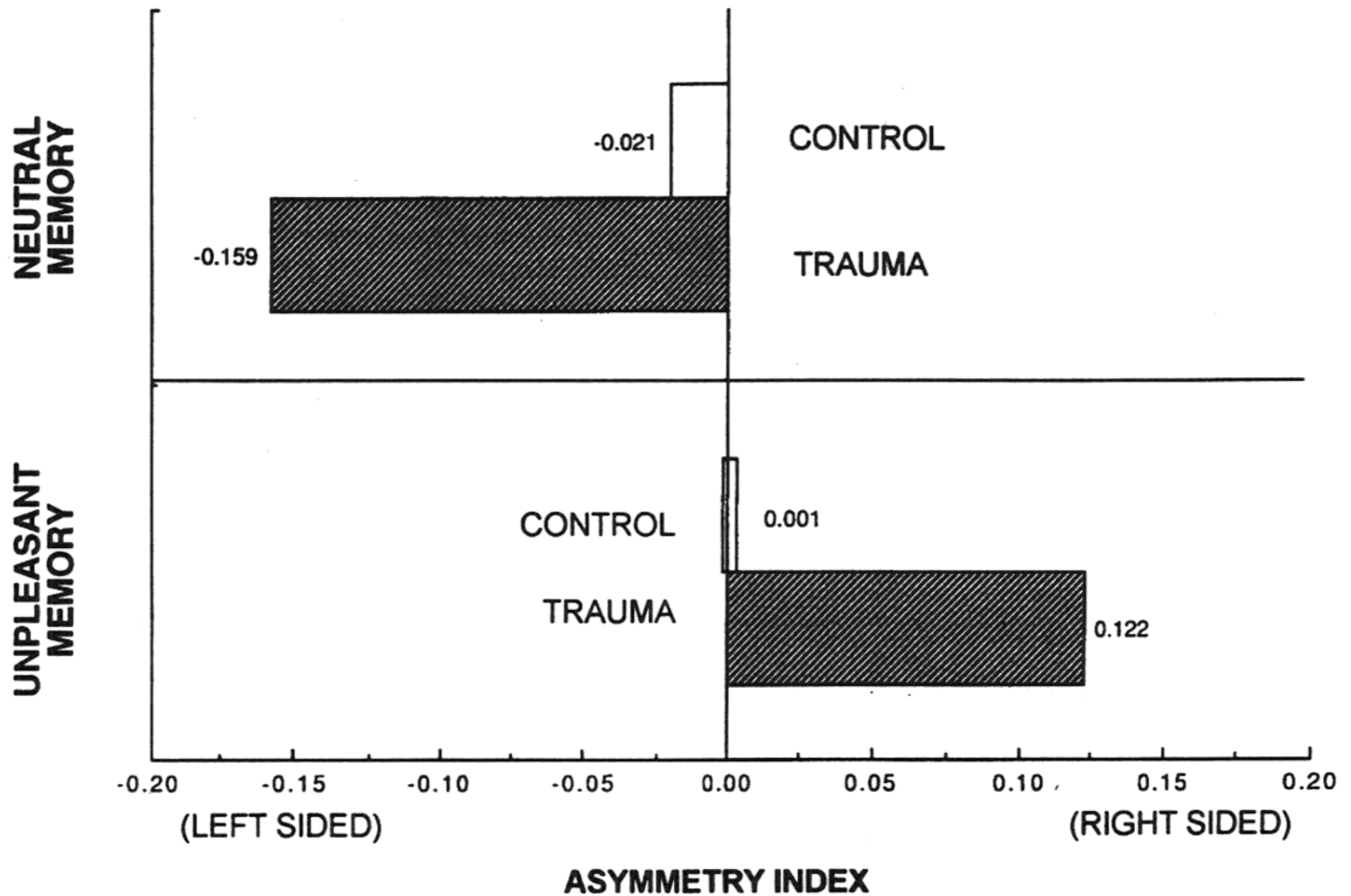
Z = 30 mm

Using Diffusion Tensor Imaging we found that the integrity of the middle portion of the corpus callosum correlated inversely with degree of exposure (ACE score) to childhood abuse in young adults (n = 191).

Corpus Callosum and Hemispheric Laterality

- Hemispheric brain activity was measured in adult subjects under two conditions: first, during recall of a neutral memory, and then during recall of an unpleasant affectively-laden early experience.

Right-Left Evoked Response Asymmetry



Schiffer F, Teicher MH, Papanicolaou AC: Evoked potential evidence for right brain activity during the recall of traumatic memories. J Neuropsychiatry Clin Neurosci 1995; 7(2):169-75

Deficient Hemispheric Integration

Our discoveries that abused patients have diminished right-left hemisphere integration and a smaller corpus callosum suggest an intriguing model for the emergence of borderline splitting. With less integrated hemispheres, they may shift between logical and rational state to highly emotional state. Lack of integration between the hemispheres may also be a factor in the genesis of dissociation and multiple distinct identities.

Sensitive Periods



Sensitive Periods

The brain is molded by experiences, such as stress, that occur throughout the lifespan. However, there are particular stages of development when experience exerts either a maximal (sensitive period) or essential (critical period) effect.

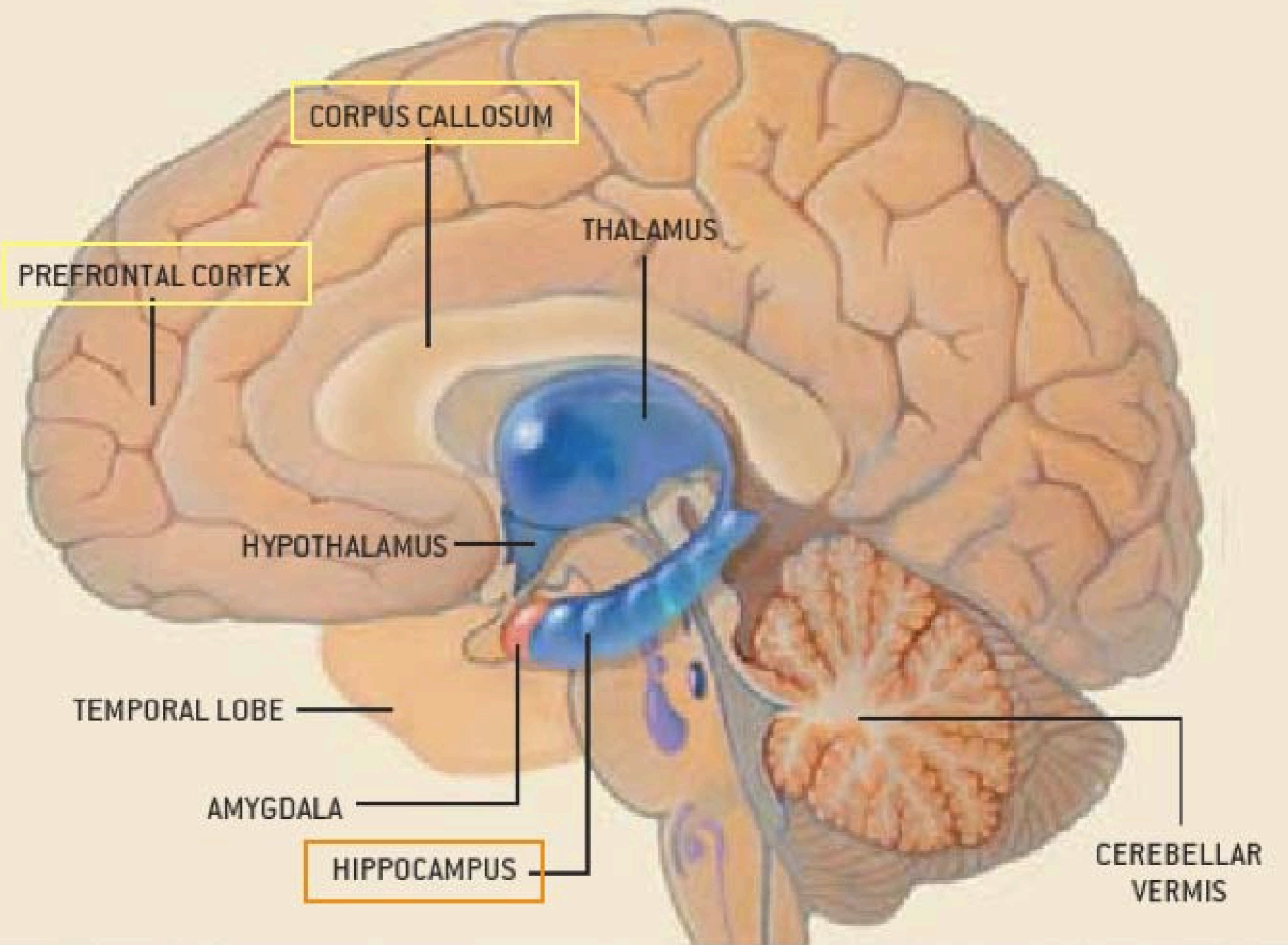
Hubel and Wiesel won the Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology (1981) for this discovery.

Sensitive Periods



Time





CORPUS CALLOSUM

THALAMUS

PREFRONTAL CORTEX

HYPOTHALAMUS

TEMPORAL LOBE

AMYGDALA

HIPPOCAMPUS

CEREBELLAR VERMIS

Sensitive Periods

Study I

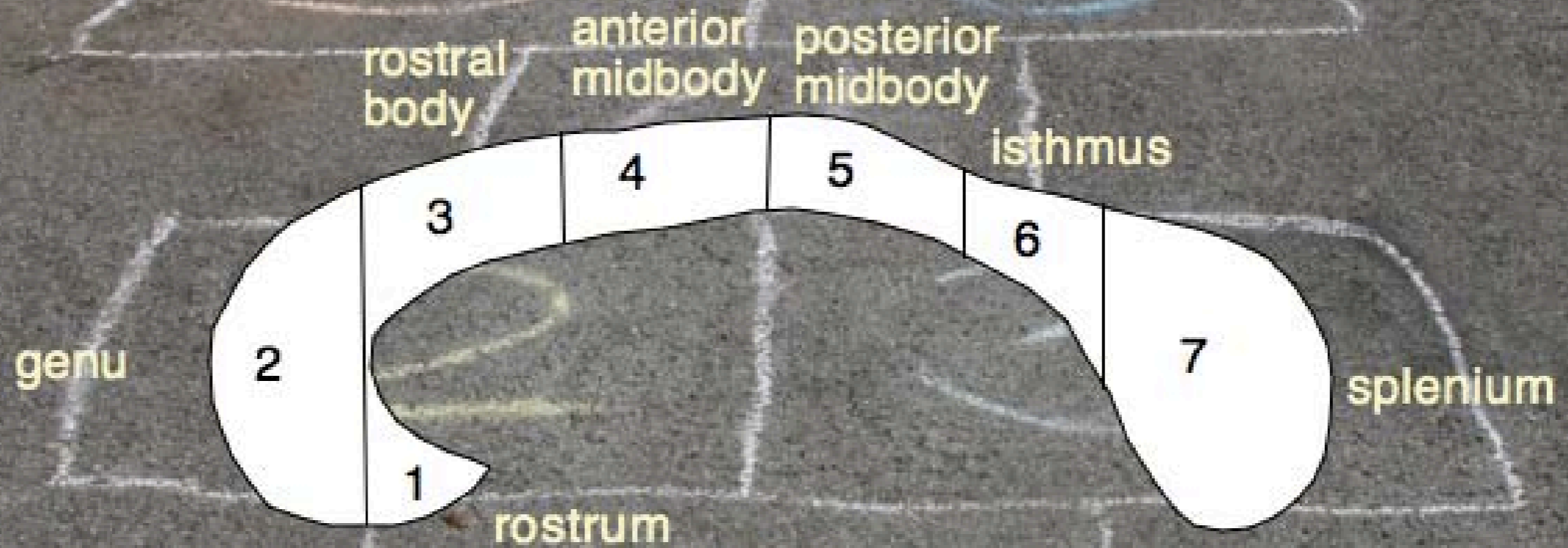
Subjects: 18-22 year olds with history of 3 or more episodes of forced sexual contact, by individuals outside the immediate family, accompanied by fear or terror and threats of harm to self or others (n=30).

Sensitive Periods

Subjects: Recruited from the community and were selected based on childhood history with no prerequisite for any degree or type of psychiatric difficulty.

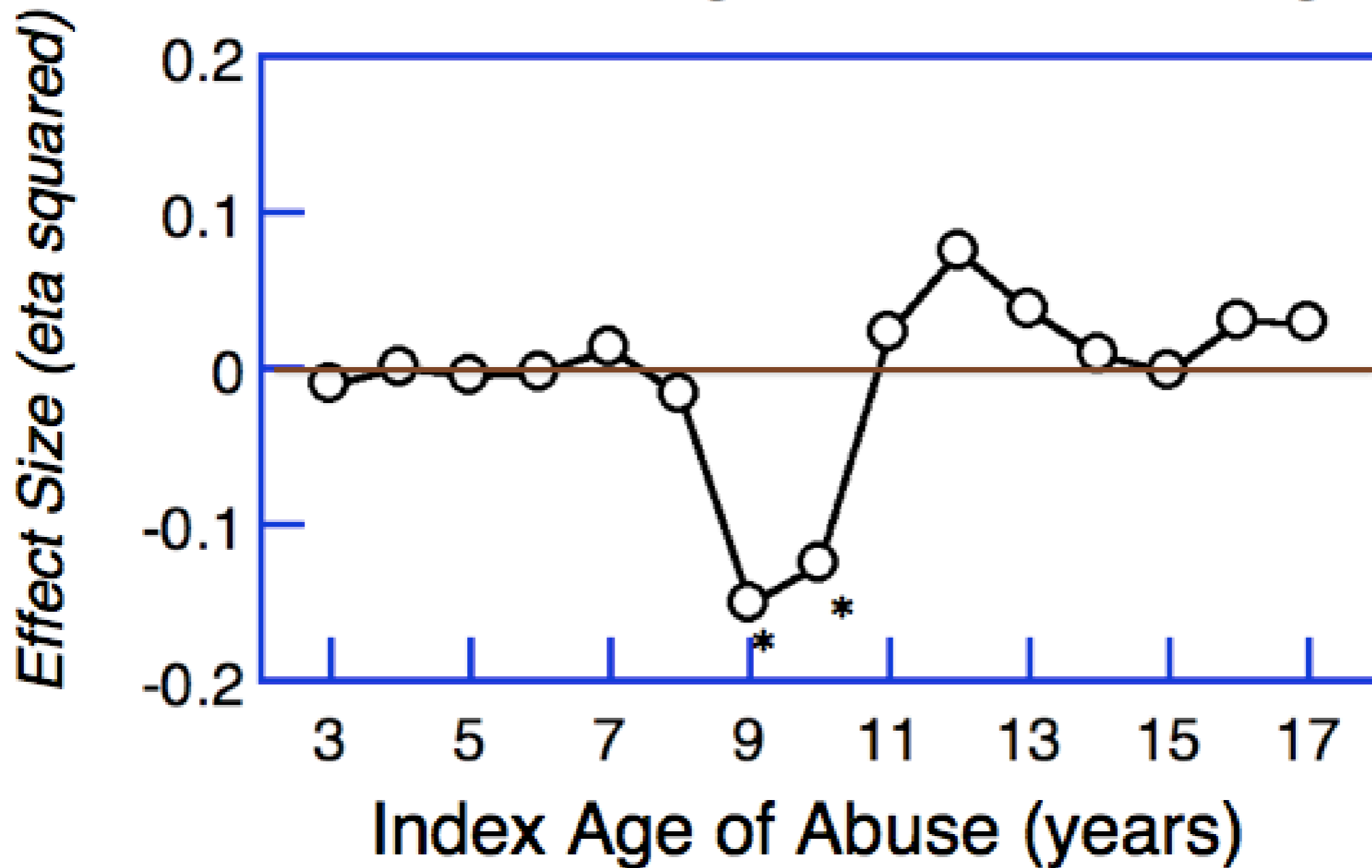
564 screened / 30 abused, 30 controls

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE CORPUS CALLOSUM



Corpus Callosum - Rostral Body

Abused at index age vs abused at other ages



CC area reduced 22.4% in subjects who experienced abuse at age 10 (n=5).

Rostral Body
Corpus Callosum

Density Abuse
3-5 years

Density Abuse
14-16 years

Density Abuse
6-8 years

Density Abuse
11-13 years

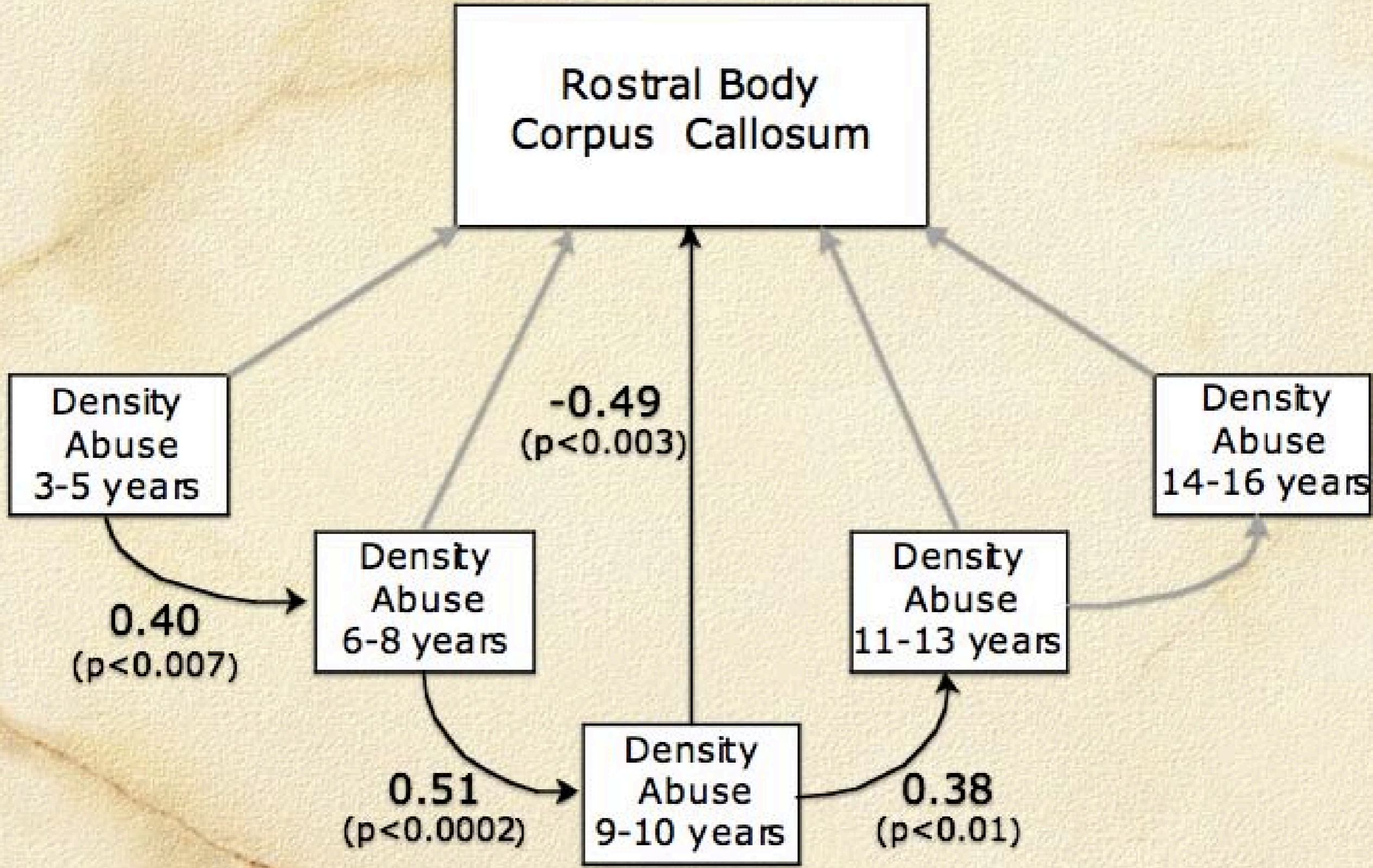
Density Abuse
9-10 years

0.40
($p < 0.007$)

0.51
($p < 0.0002$)

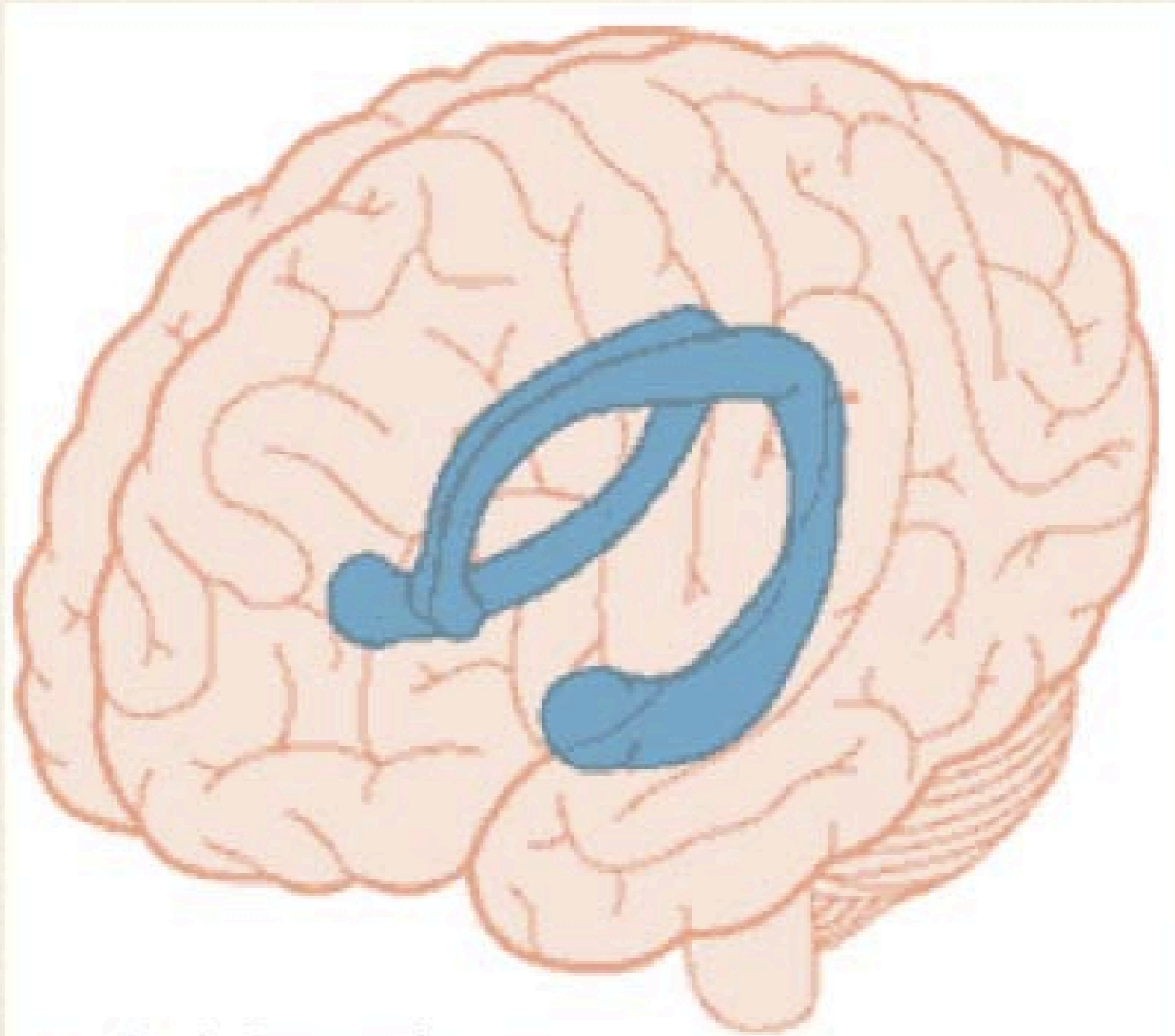
0.38
($p < 0.01$)

-0.49
($p < 0.003$)





Hippocampus



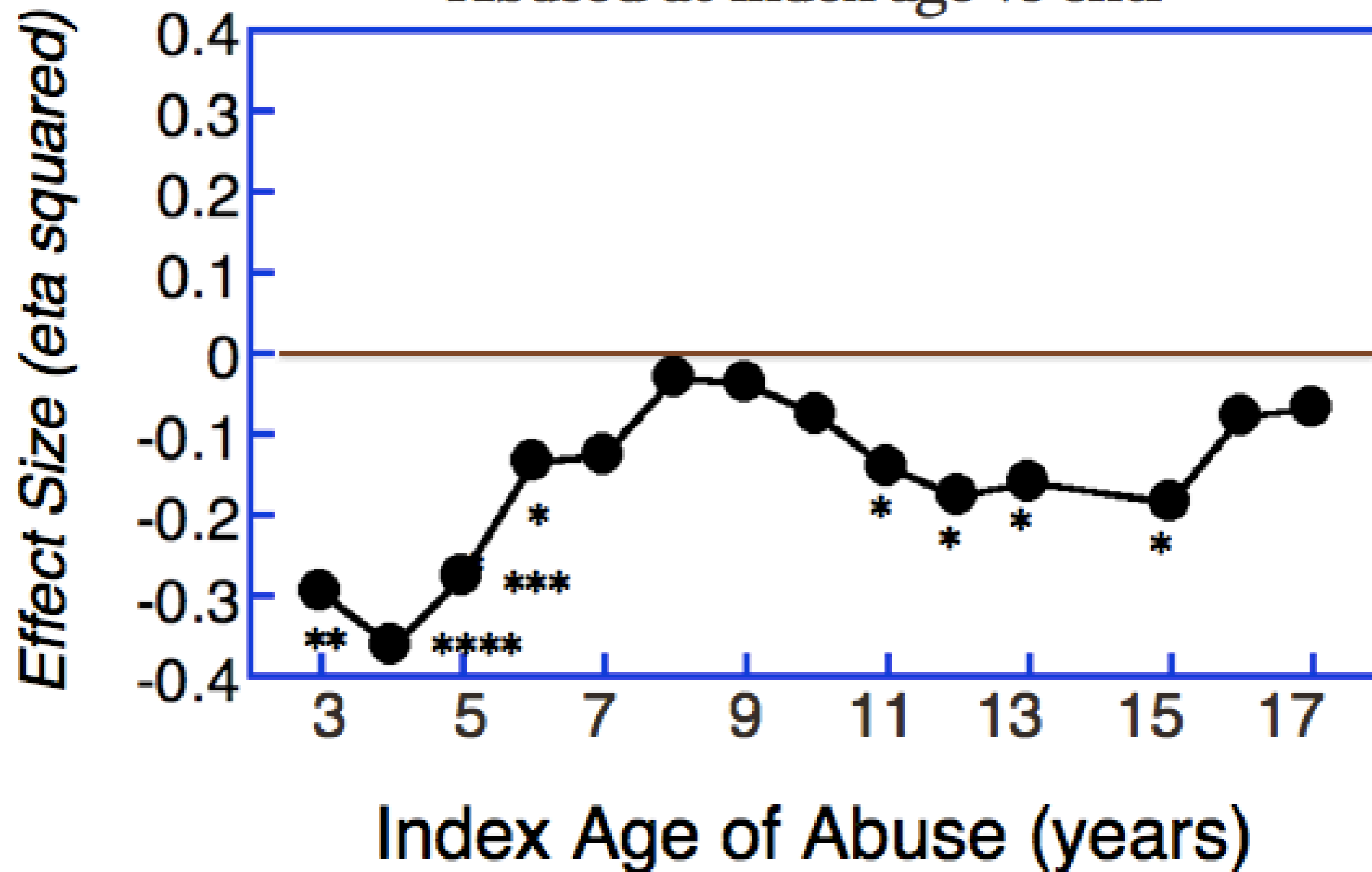
www.BrainConnection.com
© 1999 Scientific Learning Corporation

Hippocampus

Preclinical studies have demonstrated the marked vulnerability of the hippocampus to ravages of stress. This region has a protracted ontogeny, persistent postnatal neurogenesis, and a high density of stress hormone receptors. Exposure to stress can effect the development of synapses, the birth of new neurons, the dendritic branching of neurons and the survival of neurons in the hippocampus.

Hippocampus

Abused at index age vs cntl



Hippocampal volume reduced 13.2% in subjects who experienced abuse at age 4 (n=7).



Hippocampus

- Hippocampus plays a critical role in memory consolidation and retrieval.
- Hippocampus may also play a critical role in the development of depression. It appears that medications and interventions that treat depression restore or enhance hippocampal neurogenesis.

Frontal Lobes



Frontal Lobes





The frontal lobes are important for attention, executive function, working memory, motivation, and behavioral inhibition



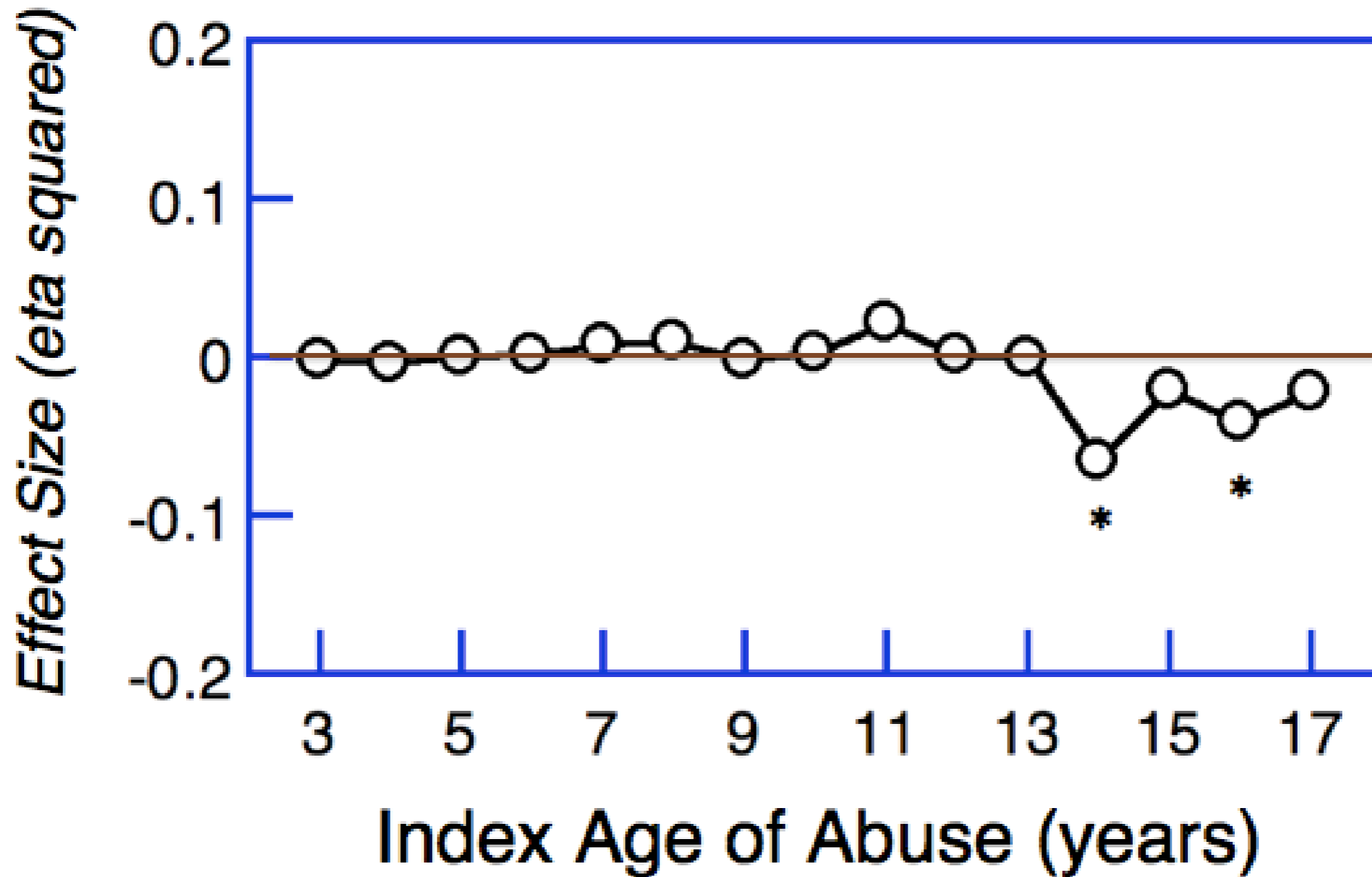
Executive functions are cognitive abilities necessary for complex goal-directed behavior and adaptation to a range of environmental changes and demands.

Frontal Lobes

-  The frontal lobes are important in our ability to plan and anticipate outcomes (cognitive flexibility) and to direct attentional resources to meet the demands of non-routine events.
-  The frontal lobes are important in self-monitoring and self-awareness - necessary for appropriateness of behavior and behavioral flexibility

Prefrontal Cortex

Abused at index age vs abused at other ages



PFC GMV reduced 5.8% in subjects who experienced abuse at age 14 (n=4).



CORPUS CALLOSUM

THALAMUS

PREFRONTAL CORTEX

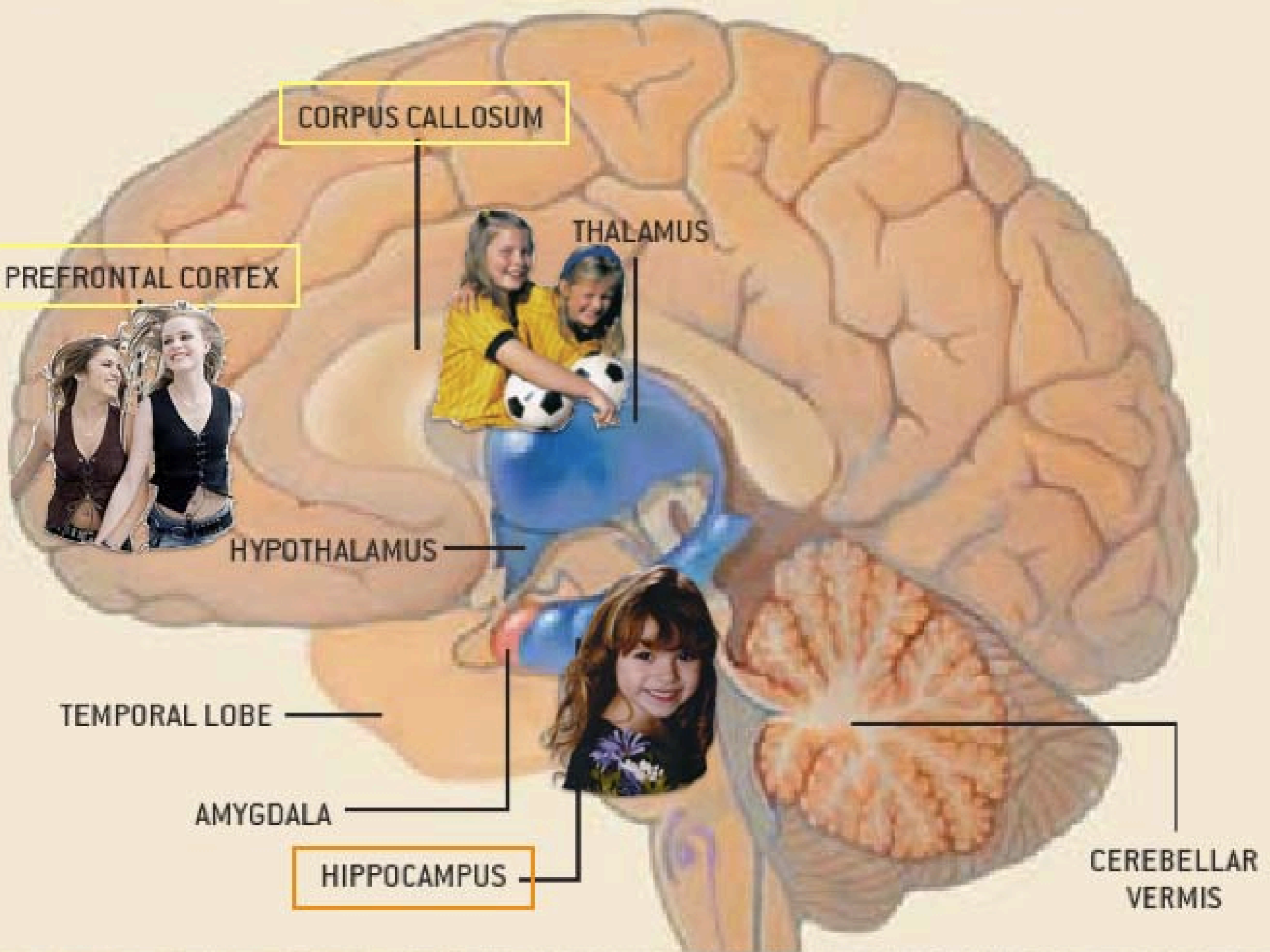
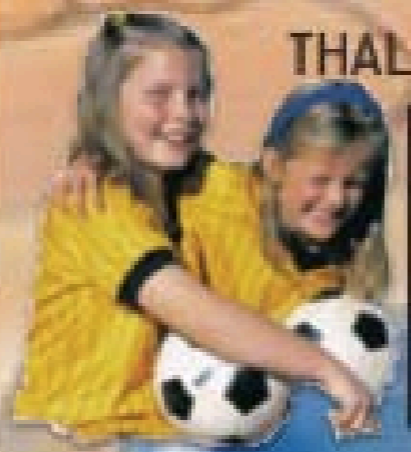
HYPOTHALAMUS

TEMPORAL LOBE

AMYGDALA

HIPPOCAMPUS

CEREBELLAR
VERMIS



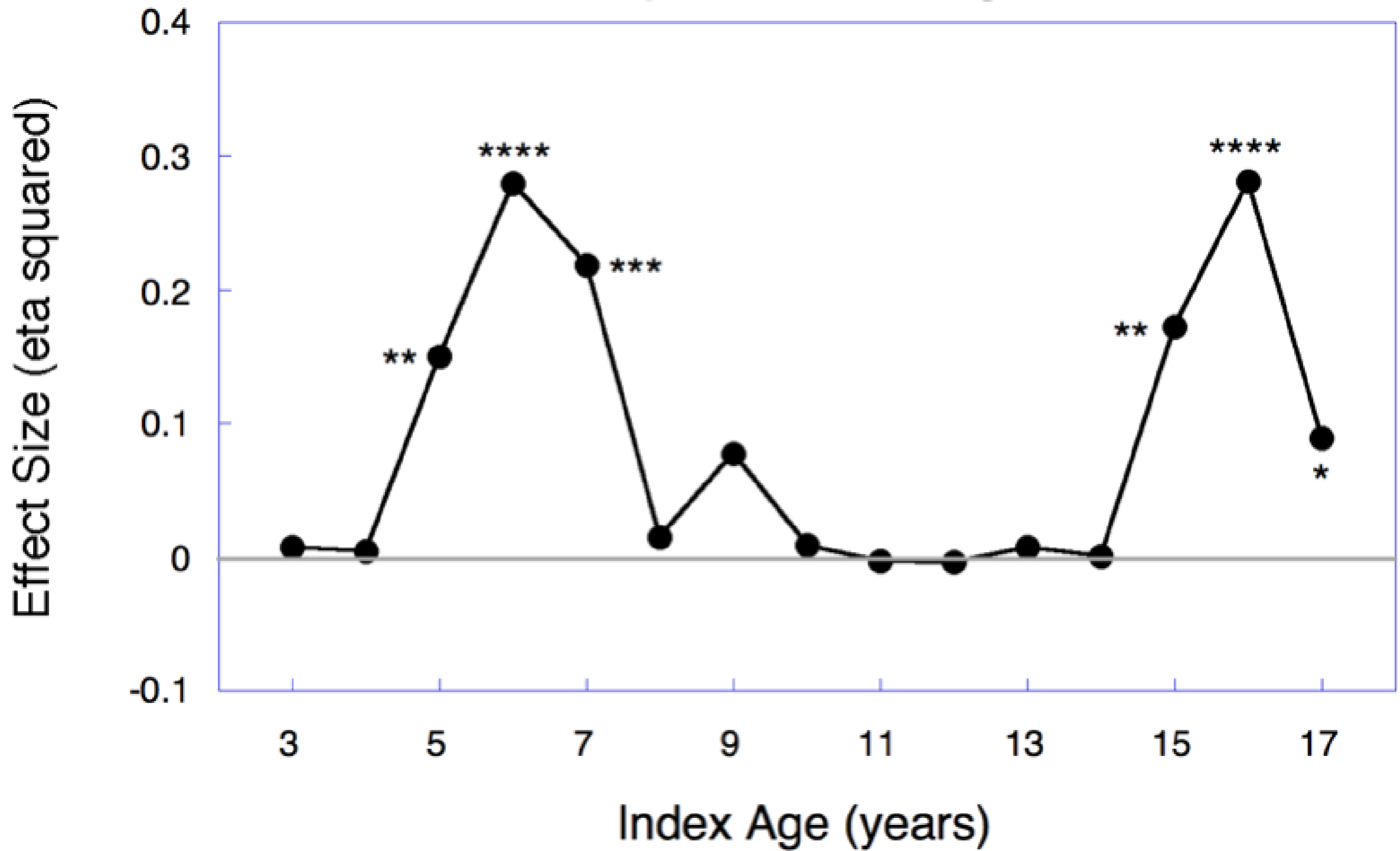
Depression
Associated
with
Trauma/Loss



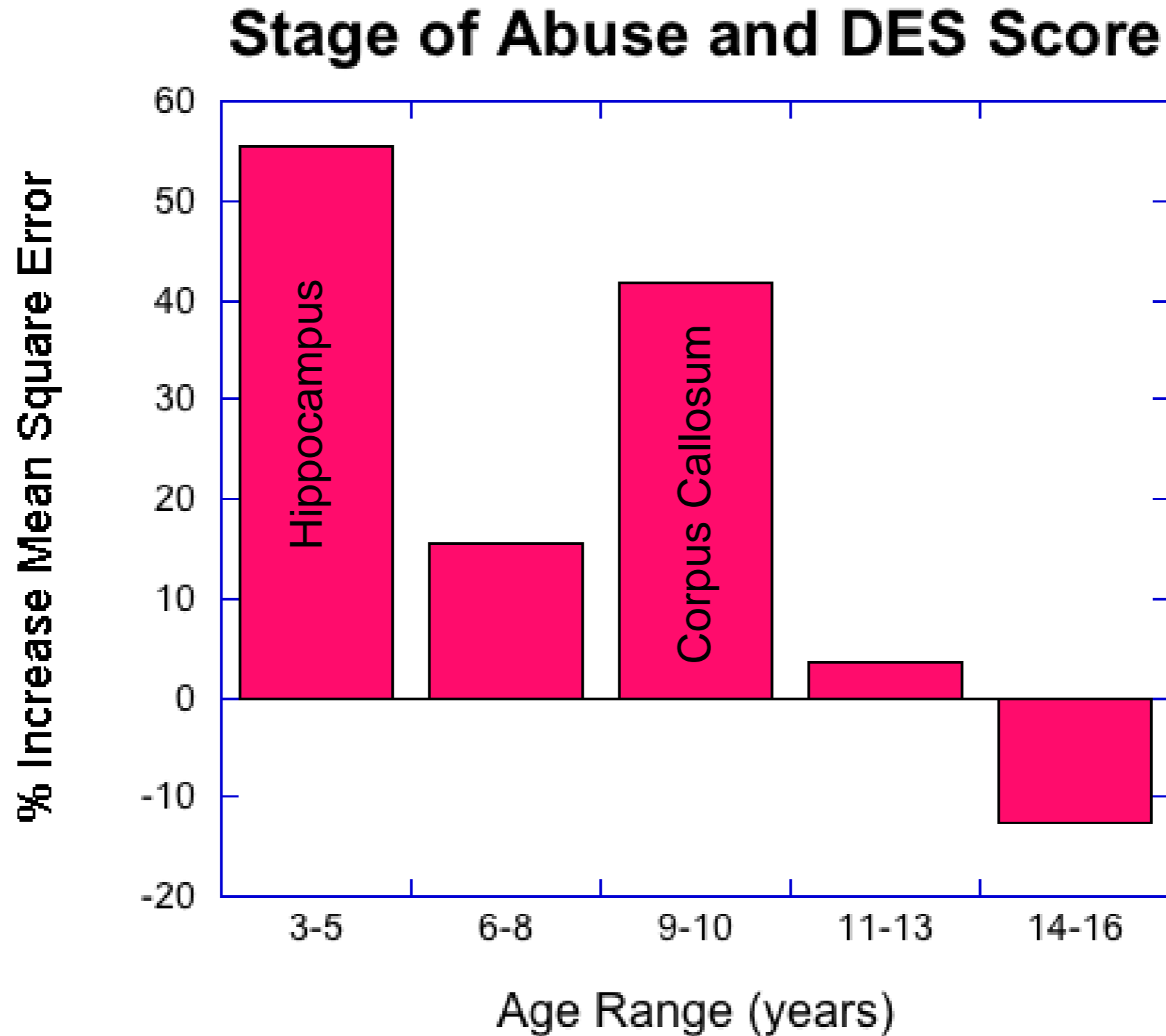
Depression

- Reduction in both prefrontal cortex and hippocampal volume have been reported in subjects with depression.
- Depression is the most common adult psychiatric consequence of exposure to childhood sexual abuse.
- Do young adults with exposure to CSA during hippocampal or prefrontal cortex sensitive periods have higher ratings of depression?

Depression Ratings



Dissociation and Sexual Abuse



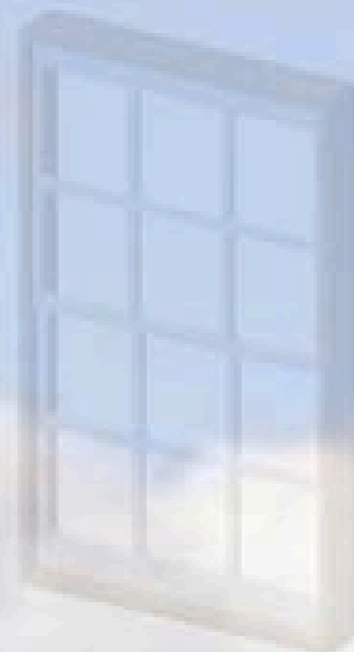
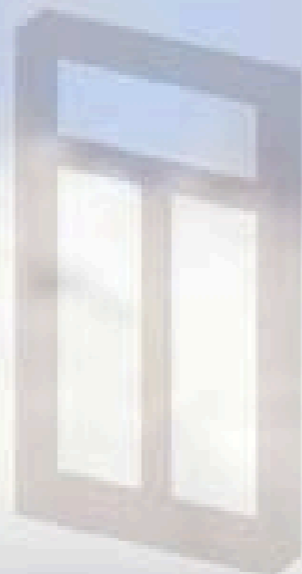
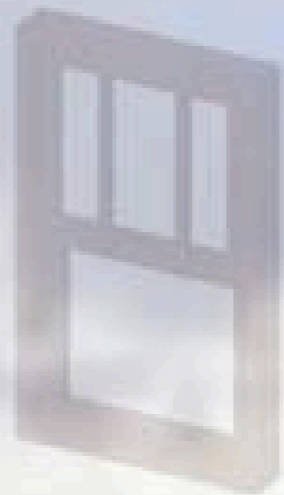
Sensitive Periods

A young girl with long brown hair and a small white flower in it is lying on her back in a field of green grass. She is wearing a white t-shirt. Her eyes are closed, and she appears to be resting or sleeping. Two hands, belonging to an adult, are gently holding her head and neck. The background is a soft-focus green field.

Childhood abuse has been associated with vulnerability to a host of psychiatric disorders and behavioral problems. Based on the present findings, there may be different abuse-related syndromes associated with particular ages of abuse and specific regional brain changes.

Windows of Opportunity

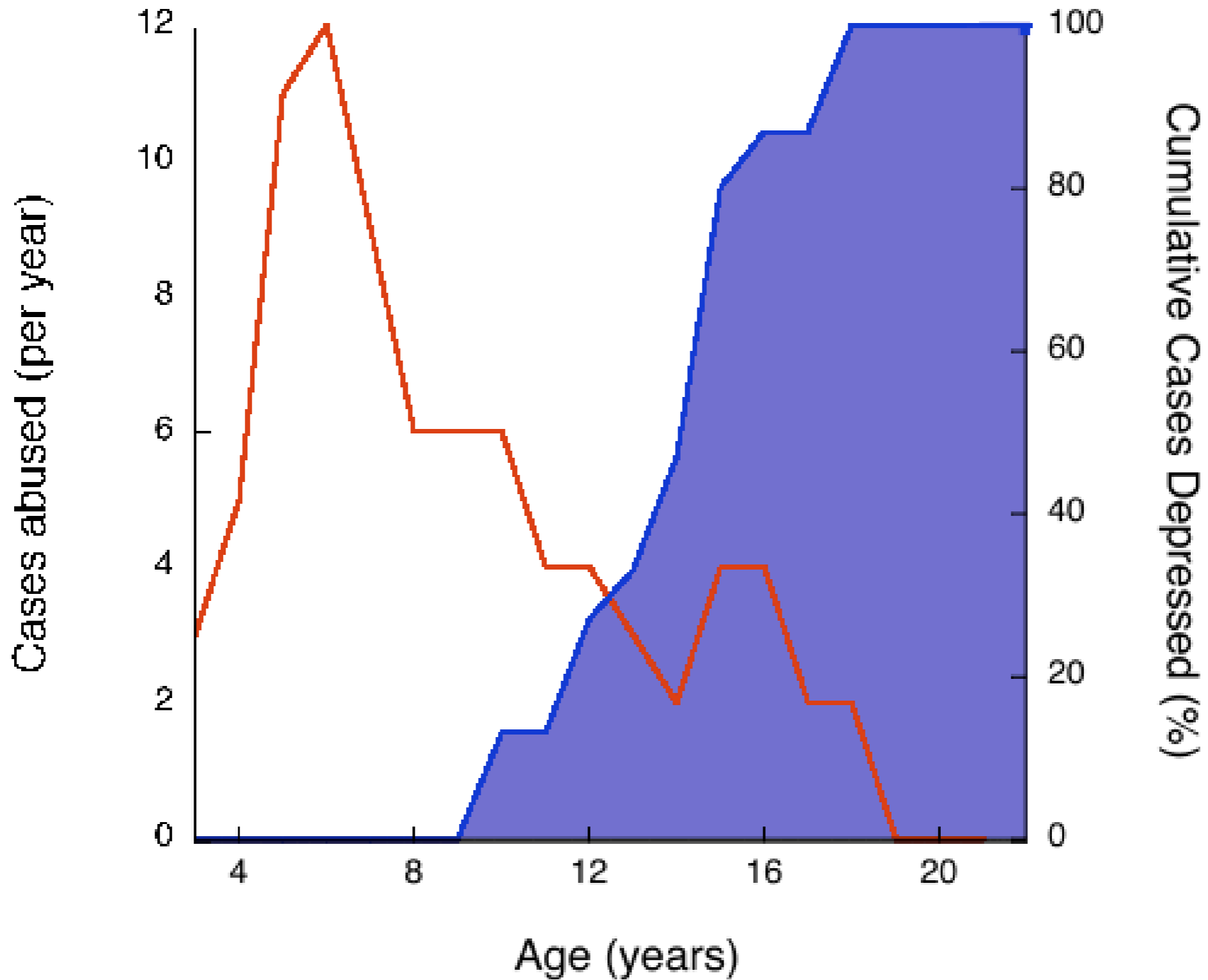
Identifying sensitive periods may also provide insight into key ages at which stimulation or environmental enrichment may optimally benefit development of specific brain regions.



Delayed Effects of Early Abuse



Subjects with History of Depression



Teicher, M.H., Samson, J.A., Polcari, A., and Andersen, S.L. (2009) Length of time between onset of childhood sexual abuse and emergence of depression in a young adult sample: a retrospective clinical report. *J Clin Psychiatry* 70, 684-691

Delayed Effects of Early Stress

Overall, these findings are most compatible with the hypothesis that childhood exposure to sexual abuse sensitizes the individual to later emergence of depression during adolescence, and that it shifts the peak period of risk from mid-adolescence to early adolescence.

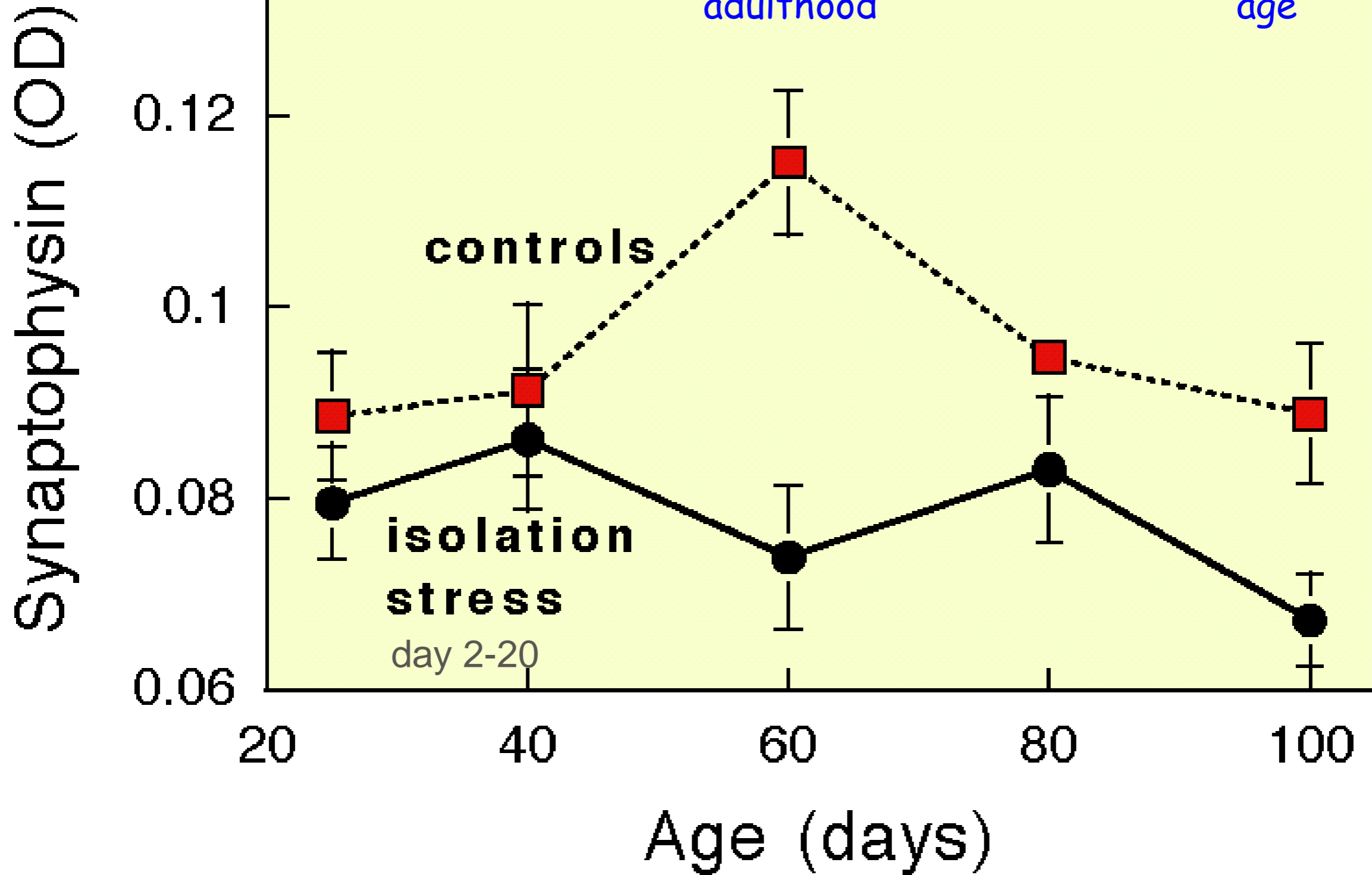
Childhood abuse leading to PTSD, Dissociative Identity Disorder, Borderline Personality Disorder, or Major Depression has been associated with reduced hippocampal size in adulthood.

Study	Groups (n)	Reduction / Side
Bremner et al 1997	PTSD (17), NL (17)	-12% L
Stein 1997	PTSD/DID (21) NL (21)	-5% L
Dreissen et al 2000	Borderline (21), NL(21)	-16% L,R
Vythilingam et al, 2002	Depressed (21), NL (14)	-15% L
Vermetten et al, 2006	DID (15), NL (23)	19.2% L,R
Andersen et al, 2008	Abused (26), NL (17)	6.8% L,R

Childhood abuse leading to PTSD has not been associated with reduced hippocampal size in childhood.

Study	Groups (n)	Result
De Bellis et al 1999	PTSD (44), NL (61)	NS
Carrion et al 2001	PTSD Sx (24), Hx NL (24)	NS
De Bellis et al 2002	PTSD (28), NL (66)	NS

Hippocampus:CA3



Andersen, S.L., and Teicher, M.H. (2004) Delayed effects of early stress on hippocampal development. *Neuropsychopharmacology* 29, 1988-1993



**Does the nature of the maltreatment
matter?**

June 2006

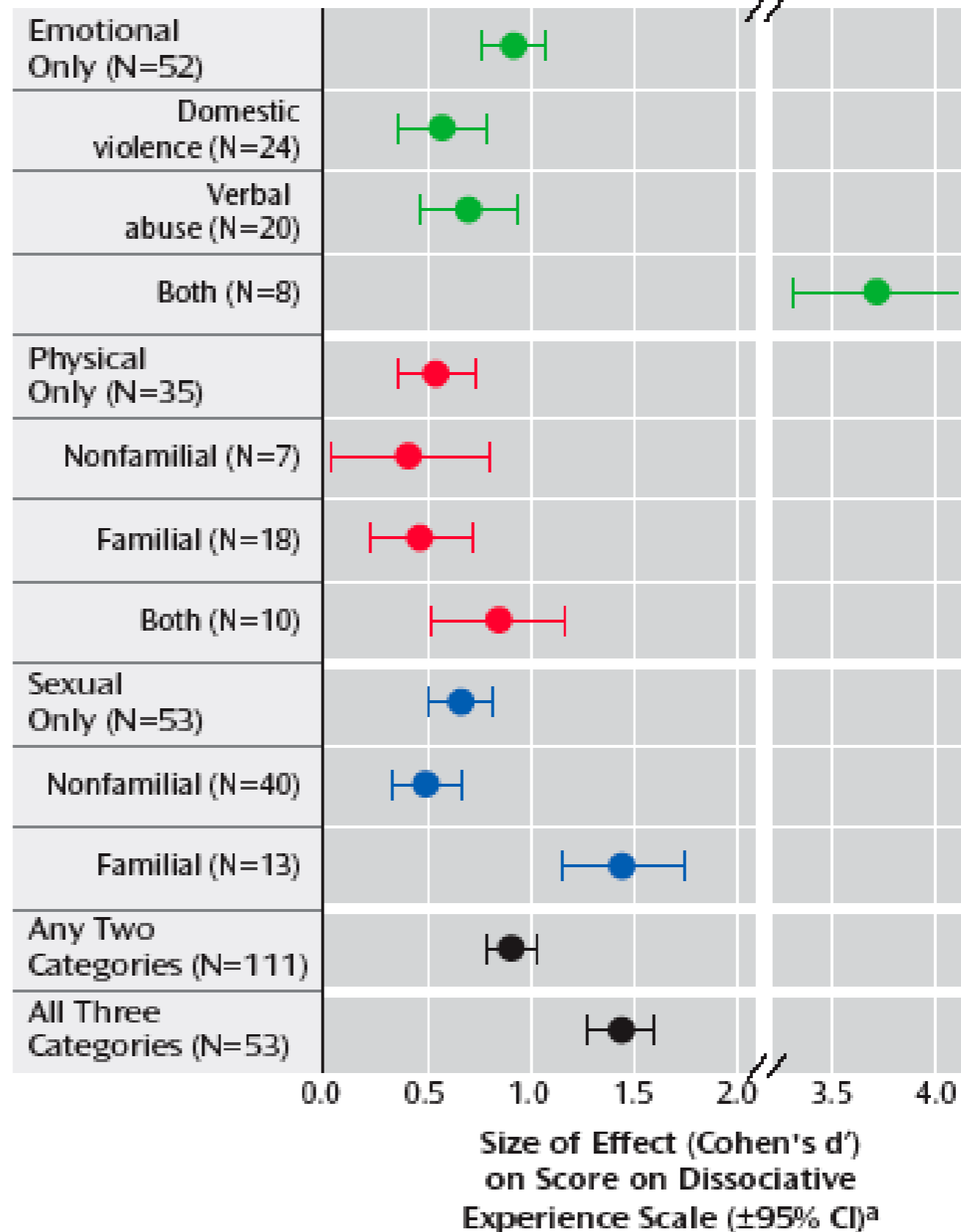
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Type of Childhood
Maltreatment

DES Score



Hypothesis

Sexual
Abuse

Physical
Abuse

Witness
Domestic
Violence

Verbal
Abuse

Common consequences relating to the effects of stress, fear, anxiety, humiliation, etc. on the developing brain



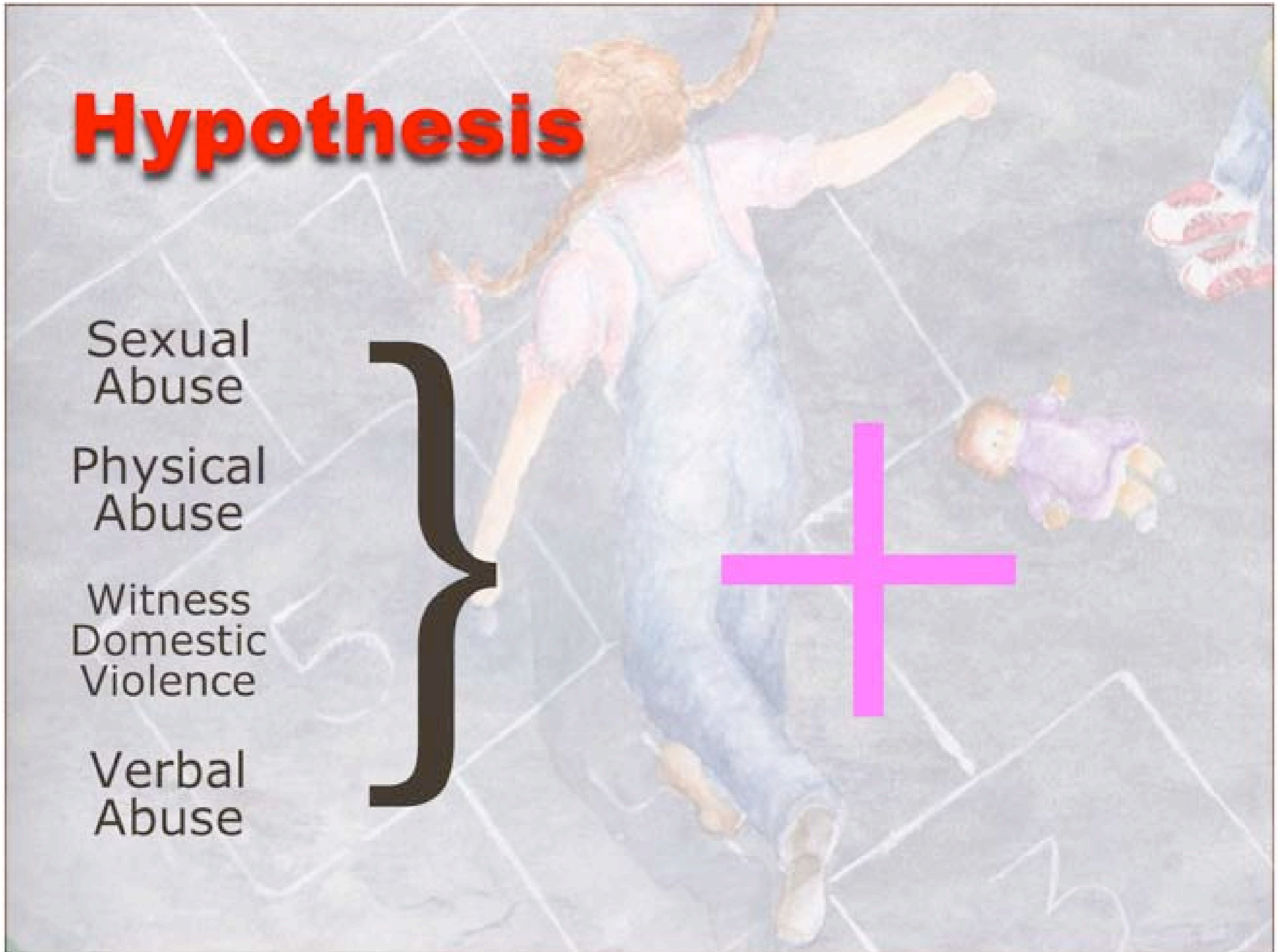
Hypothesis

Sexual
Abuse

Physical
Abuse

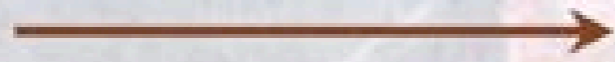
Witness
Domestic
Violence

Verbal
Abuse

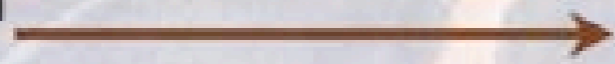


Hypothesis

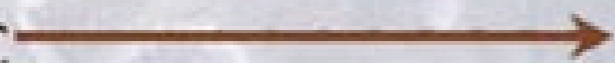
Sexual
Abuse



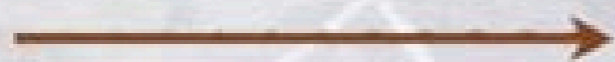
Physical
Abuse



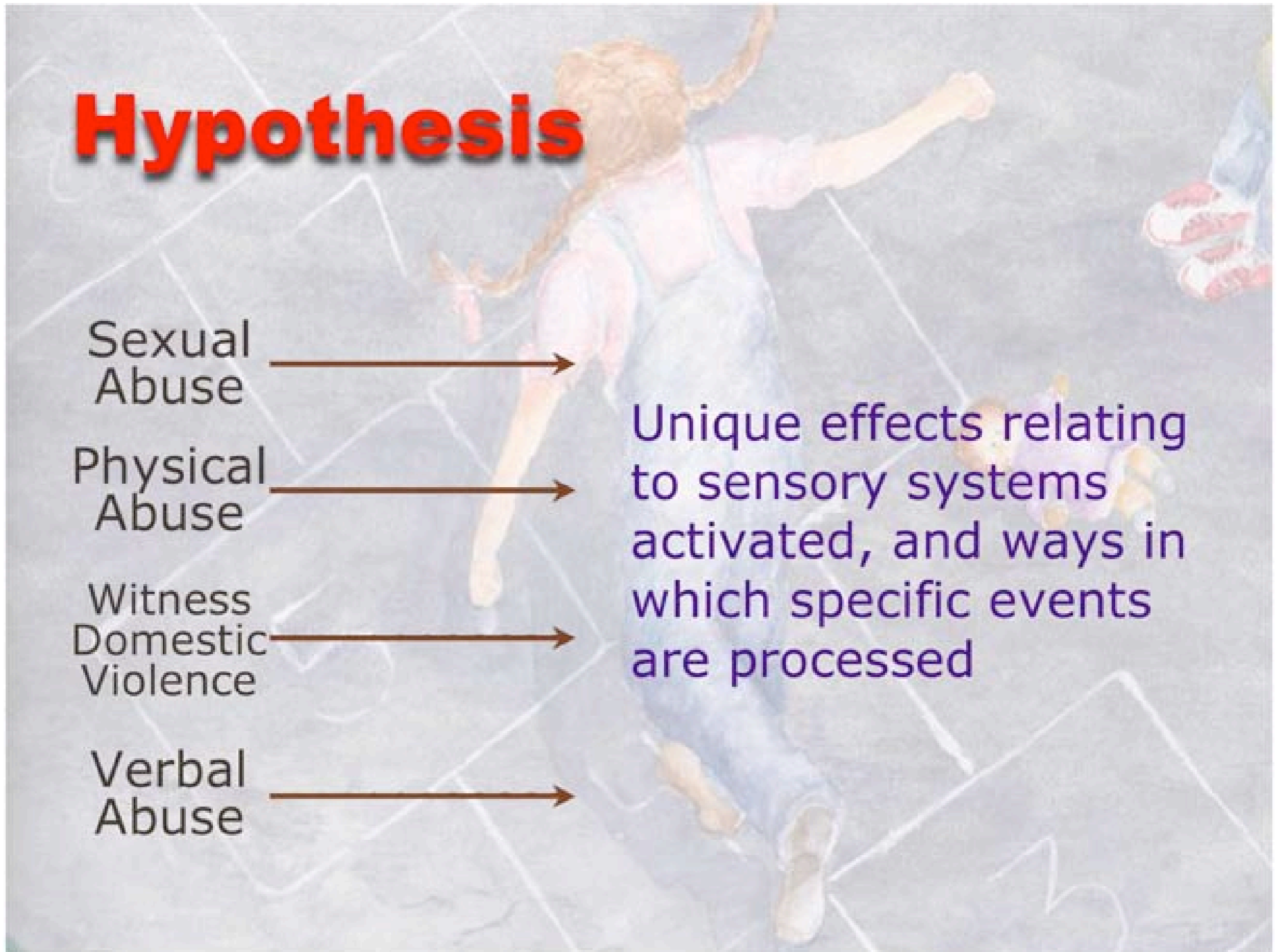
Witness
Domestic
Violence



Verbal
Abuse



Unique effects relating
to sensory systems
activated, and ways in
which specific events
are processed



Study Design

Goal: Recruit ideal groups of subjects to test hypotheses regarding the relationship between early adverse experience and brain development.

Study Design

Ideal: As free as possible from confounding factors that can affect brain development.

No head trauma, neurological disorders, perinatal problems, maternal substance abuse, or exposure to any other form of trauma (MVA, natural disasters, near drownings, animal attacks, etc.)

Study Design

ROI 1 (1999-2004)

Childhood Sexual Abuse

ROI 2-4 (2003-09)

**Verbal Abuse
Witnessing Domestic
Violence
Harsh Corporal
Punishment
Trauma (PA/SA)**

Study Design

Advertise Aggressively

ROI 1 (1999-2004)

“Psychiatric Research”

**18-22 years
right handed
unmedicated**

ROI 2-4 (2003-09)

“Memories of Childhood”

**18-25 years
right handed
unmedicated**

Study Design

Collect Extensive Information

ROI 1 (1999-2004)

**Mailed booklets
350 items**

n = 564

ROI 2-4 (2003-09)

**Online enrollment
2342 items**

n = 1663

Study Design

Prescreen, Invite & Interview

ROI 1 (1999-2004)

SCID Axis I

DIB

SCID-D

TAI

ROI 2-4 (2003-09)

SCID Axis I

SCID Axis II

TAI

Study Design

Neuroimaging

ROI 1 (1999-2004)

GE 1.5T Scanner

T1 volumetric morph

T2-relaxometry

Dynamic Susceptibility

Contrast

(n=60)

ROI 2-4 (2003-09)

Siemens 3T Trio

T1 volumetric morph

T2-relaxometry

Diffusion Tensor Imaging

Functional Connectivity

Spectroscopy

MPH-challenge

(n=193)

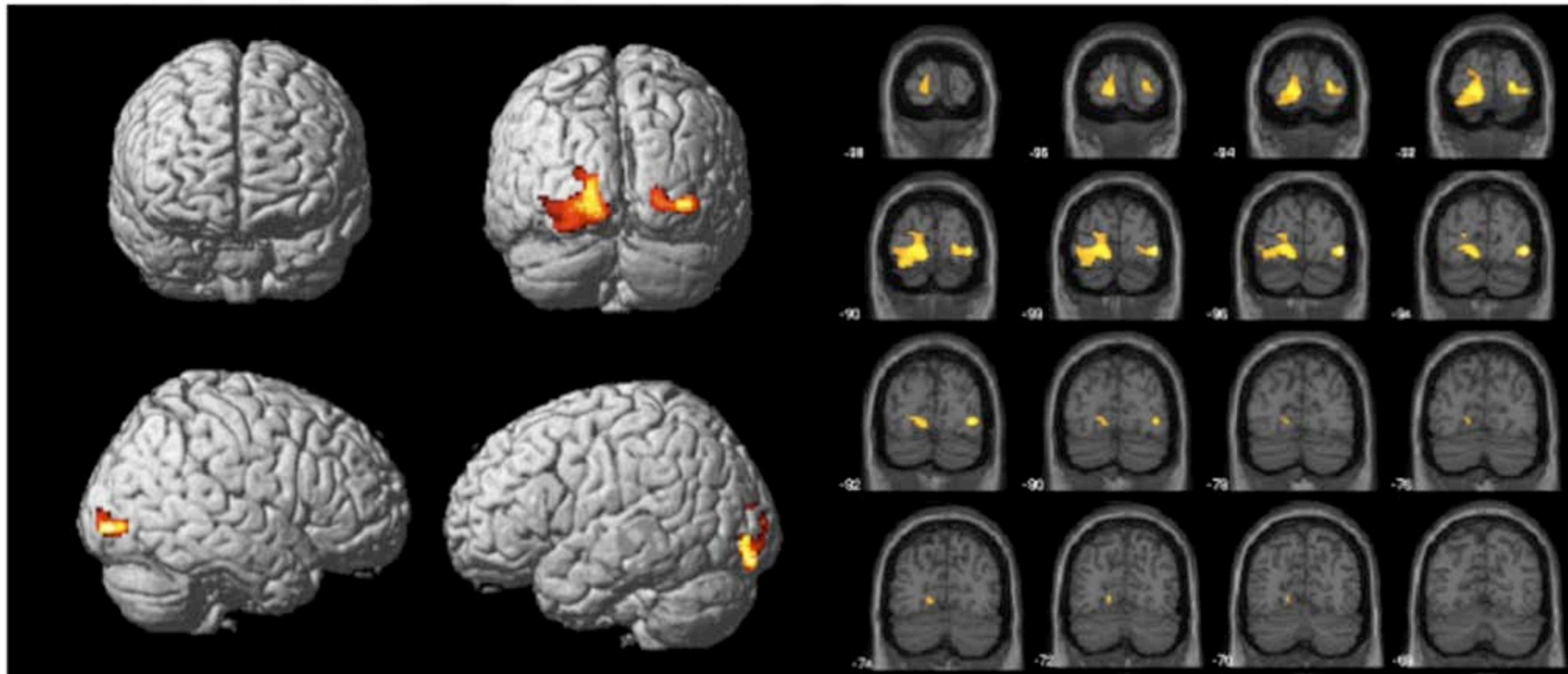
Childhood Sexual Abuse



Voxel-Based Morphometry

VBM is a fully automated whole-brain morphometric technique that detects regional structural differences in gray matter volume between groups on a voxel-by-voxel basis.

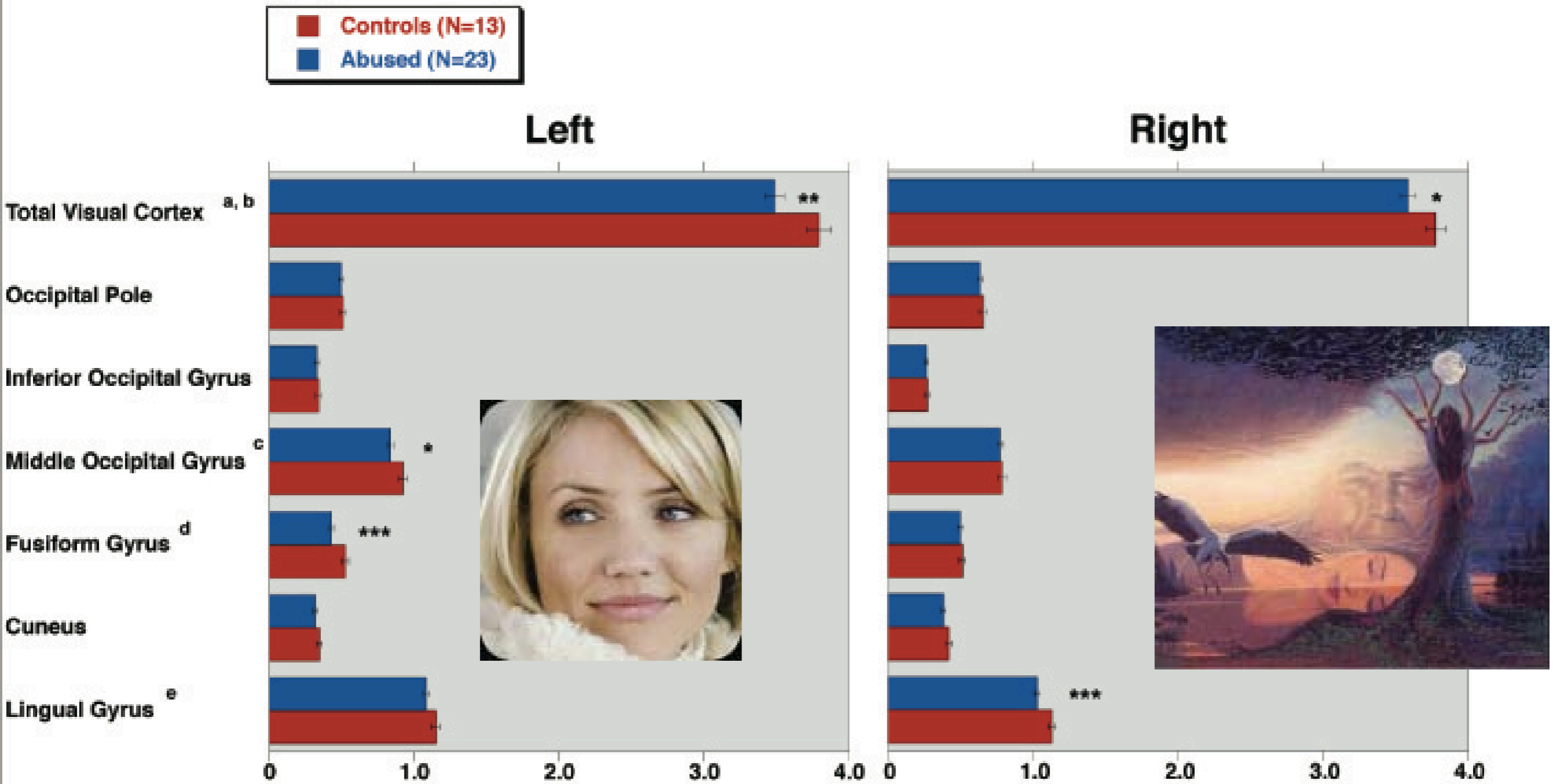
Repeated Exposure to Childhood Sexual Abuse



Reduces gray matter volume 14.1% in left primary and secondary visual cortex.

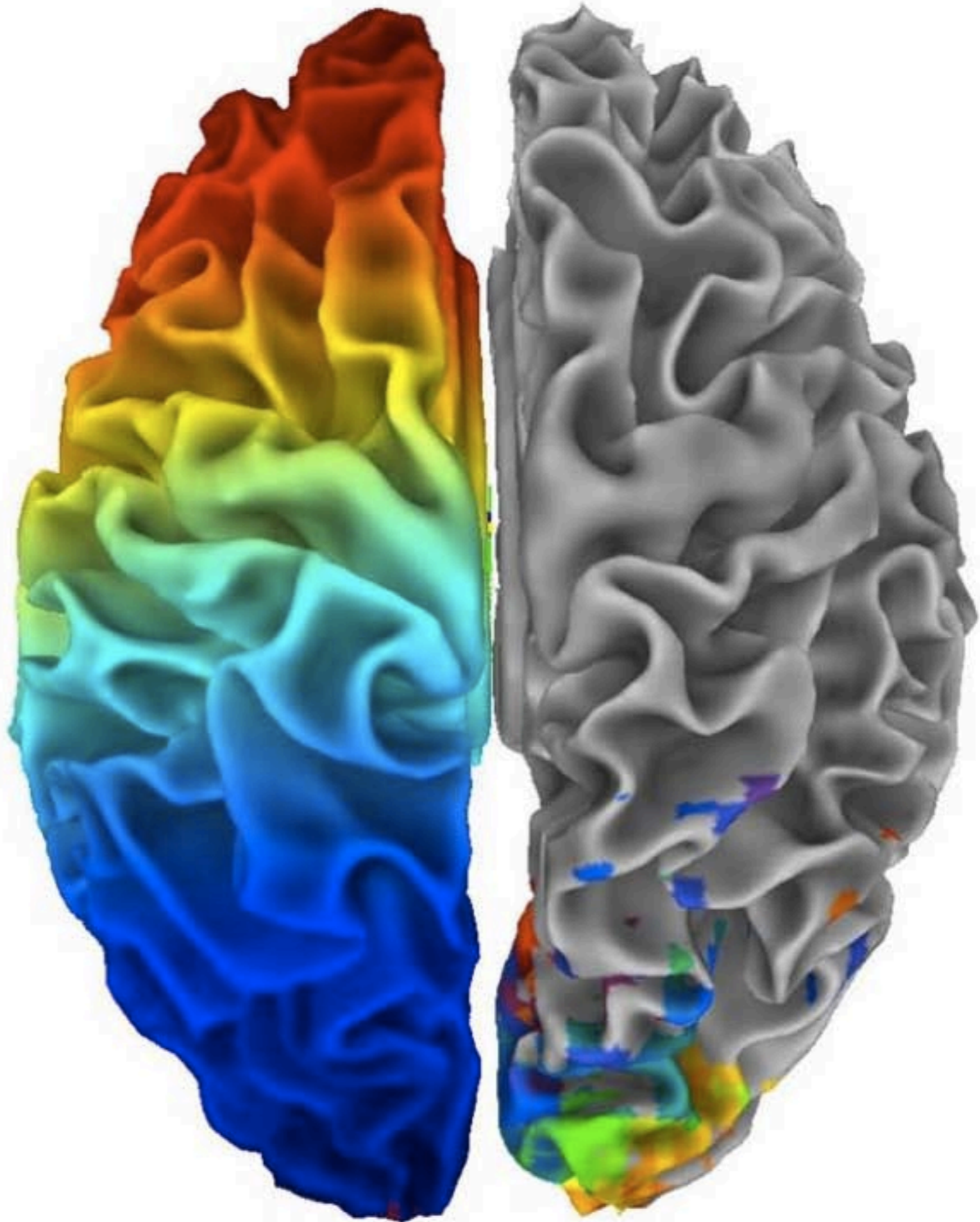
Tomoda, A., Navalta, C.P., Polcari, A., Sadato, N., and Teicher, M.H. (2009) Childhood sexual abuse is associated with reduced gray matter volume in visual cortex of young women. *Biol Psychiatry* 66, 642-648

Cortical Surface-Based Analysis



FreeSurfer

Cortical
Surface
Analysis



Cortical Thickness

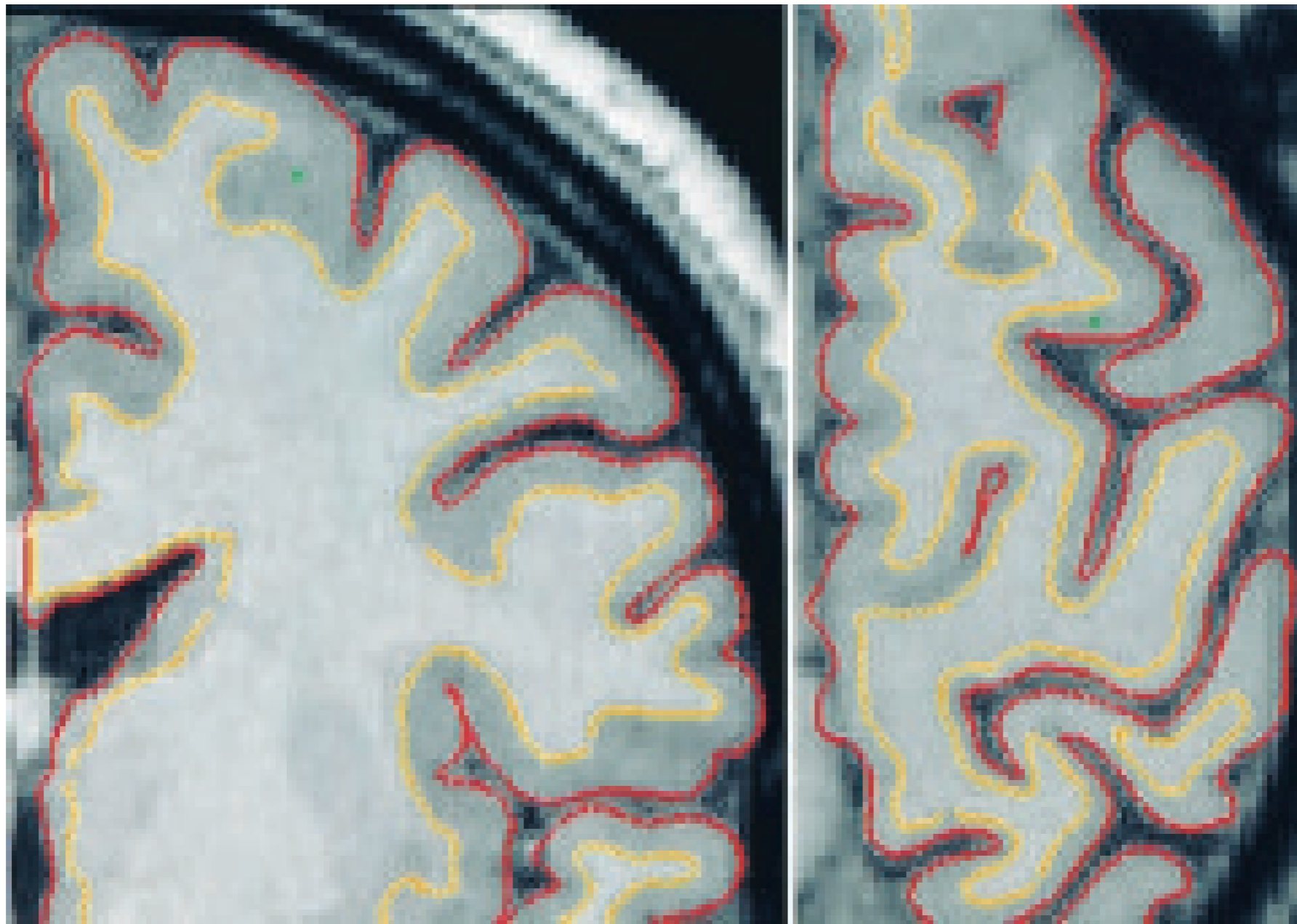




Fig. 1. Coronal (Left) and horizontal (Right) slices of the left hemisphere with gray/white (yellow) and pial (red) surfaces overlaid. The green crosses indicate a point at which using the coronal view only would result in a dramatic overestimation of the thickness of the cortex.

Orbital Frontal Cortex

-  The orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) is a region of association cortex of the human brain involved in cognitive processes such as decision making.
-  In particular, the human OFC is thought to regulate planning behavior associated with sensitivity to reward and punishment.

Bechara, A.; Damasio, A. R.; Damasio H. & Anderson, S.W. (1994) "Insensitivity to future consequences following damage to human prefrontal cortex". *Cognition* **50**: 7-15

Precuneus

- The interconnected medial prefrontal regions and the posteromedial parietal cortex have been proposed to represent a network through which personal identity and past personal experiences are interlinked with one another, with the net interactions permitting us to move between representation and awareness of self.

Andrea E. Cavanna and Michael R. Trimble (2006). The precuneus: a review of its functional anatomy and behavioural correlates. *Brain* 129: 564-583.

Precuneus

- Autobiographical memory
- Self versus non-self representation
- Self-referential judgements
- First- versus third-person perspective
- Perceived agency
- Mind reading/social cognition.

A close-up photograph of a woman with short grey hair, wearing a purple hat with a white lace veil and gold-rimmed glasses. She has a surprised or angry expression with her mouth open and is pointing her right index finger towards the camera. She is wearing a dark, patterned sweater and a pearl earring.

Verbal Abuse

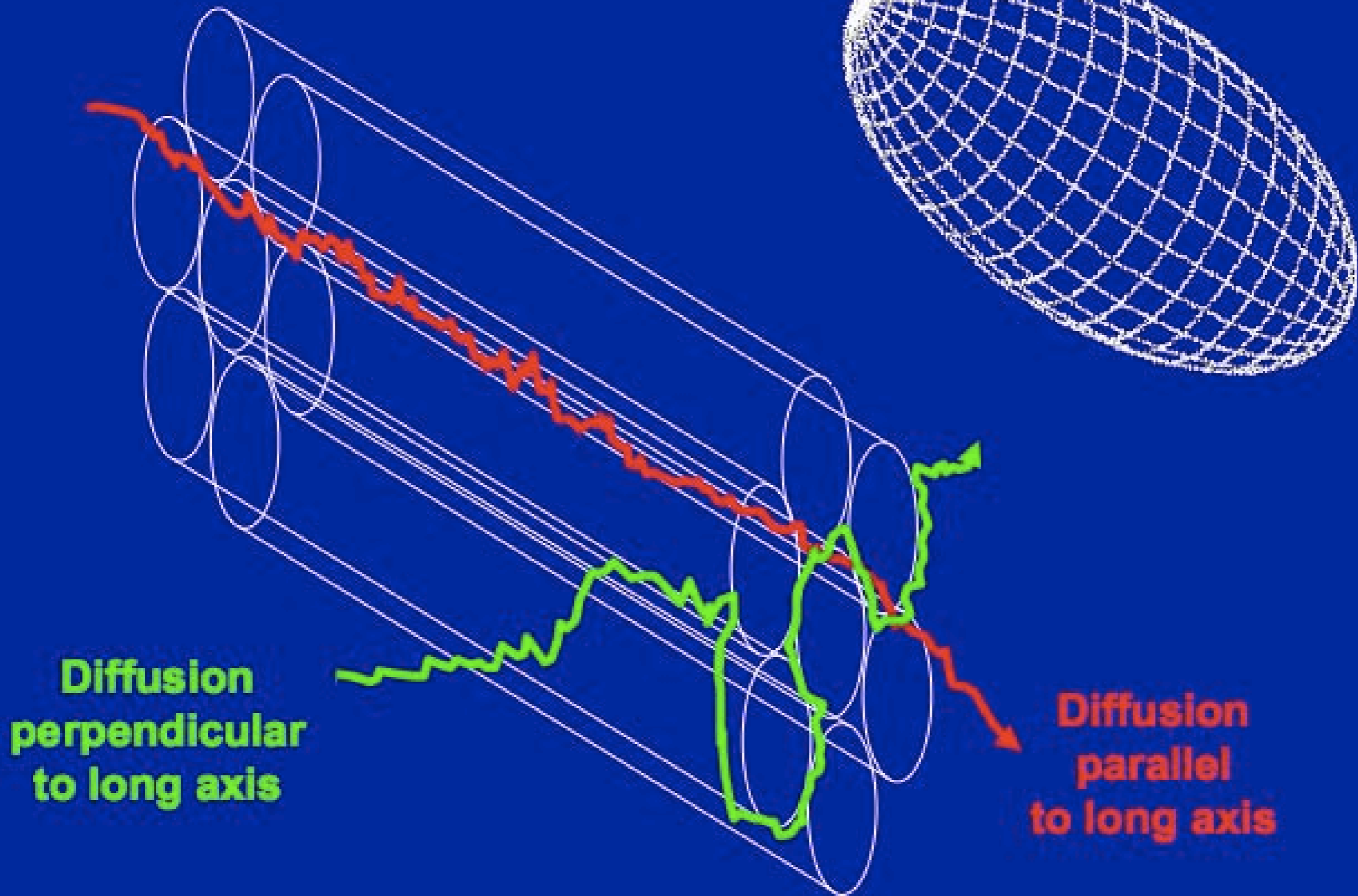
*!#\$^&@

Verbal Abuse

*!#\$%^&@

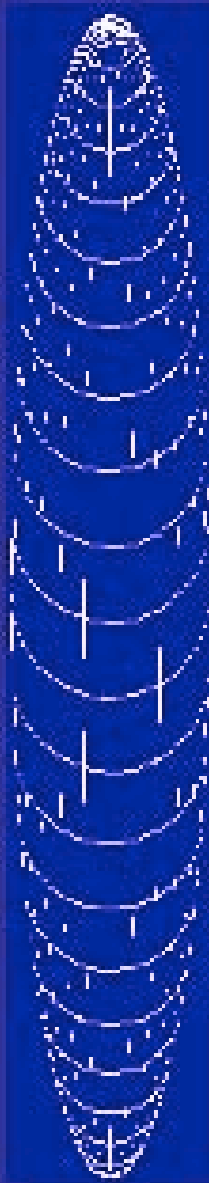
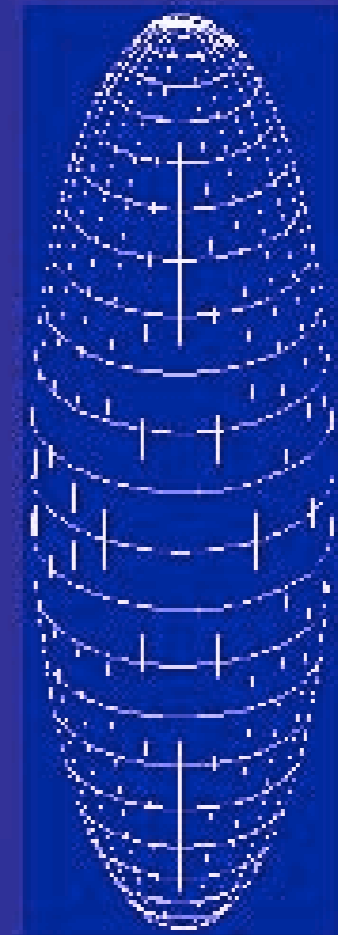
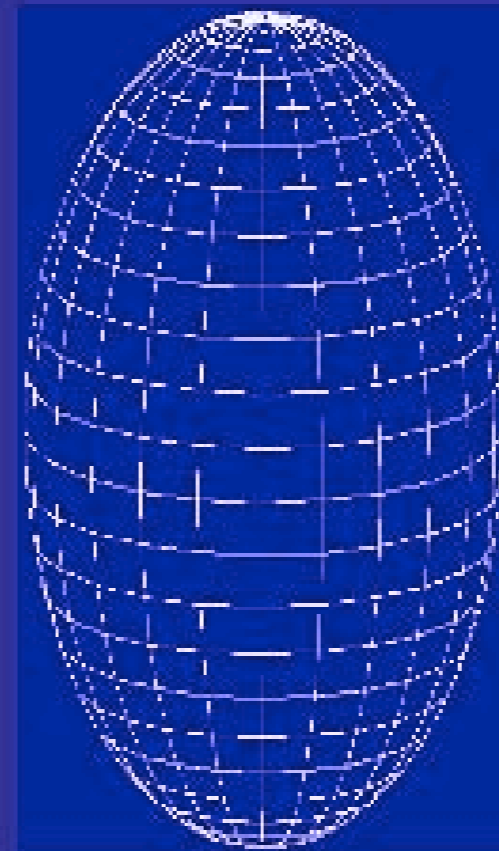
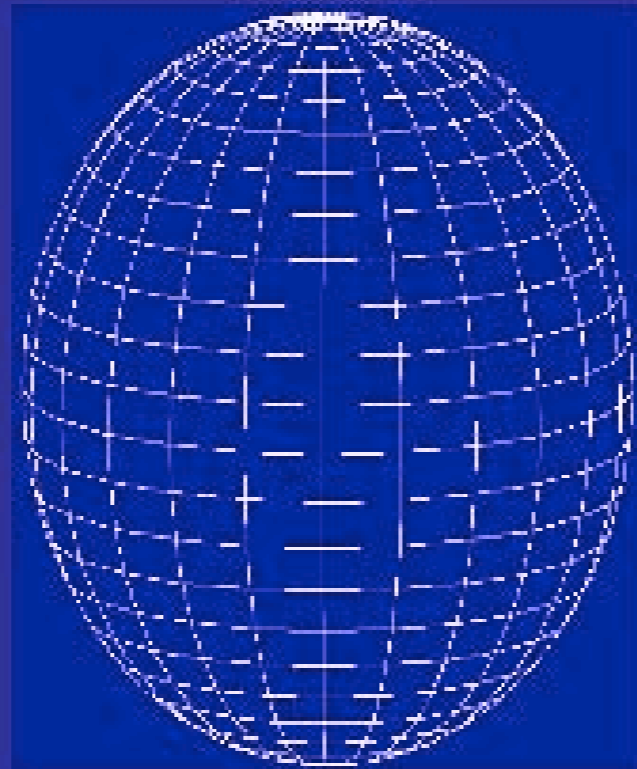
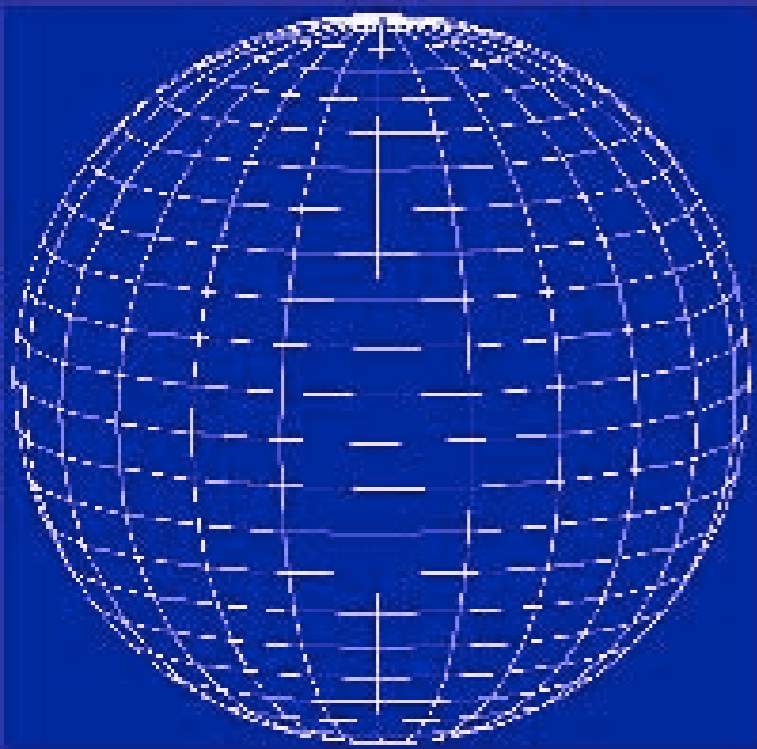


Diffusion Tensor Imaging



Diffusion Tensor Imaging

Isotropic
Tensor



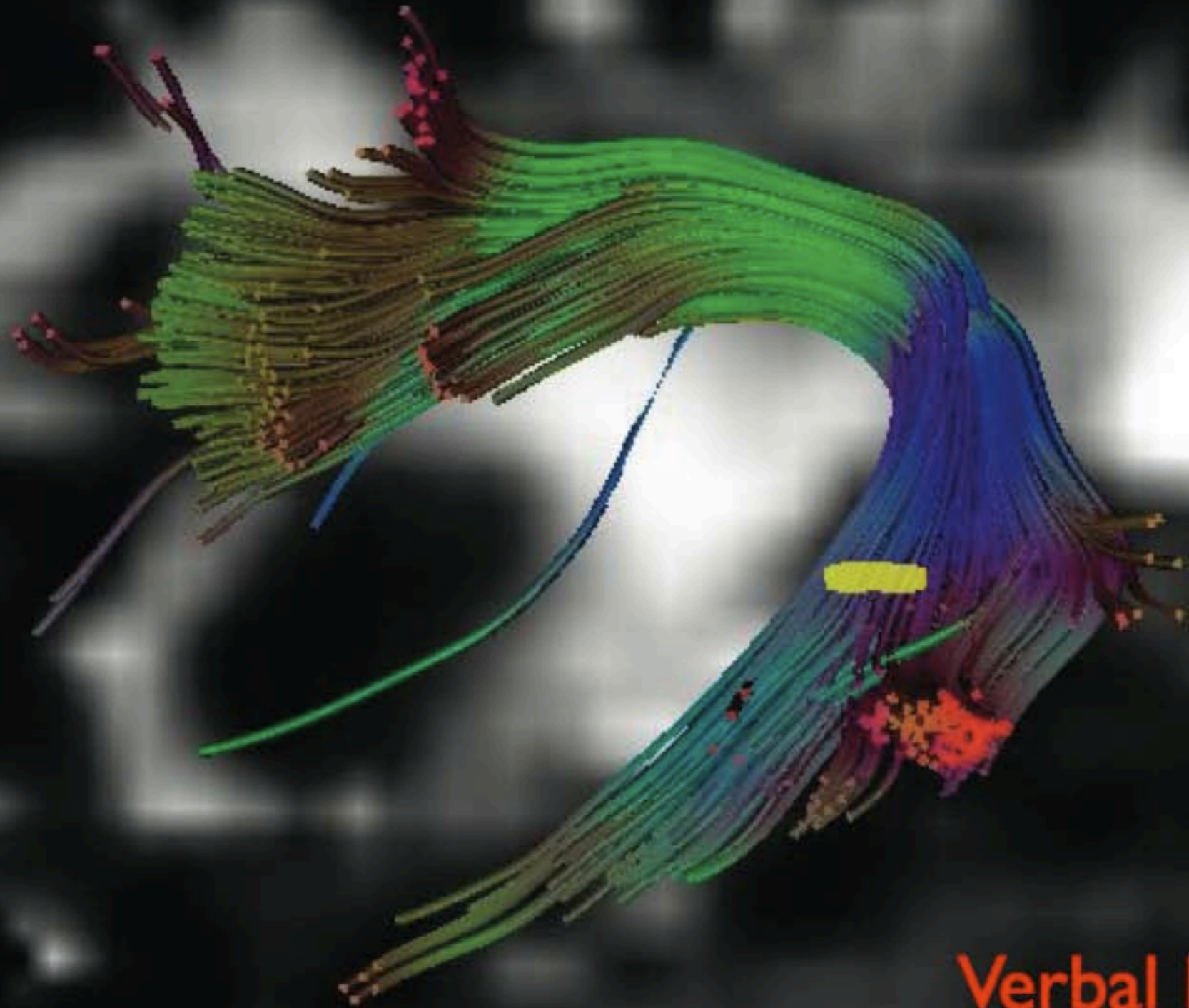
ANISOTROPY





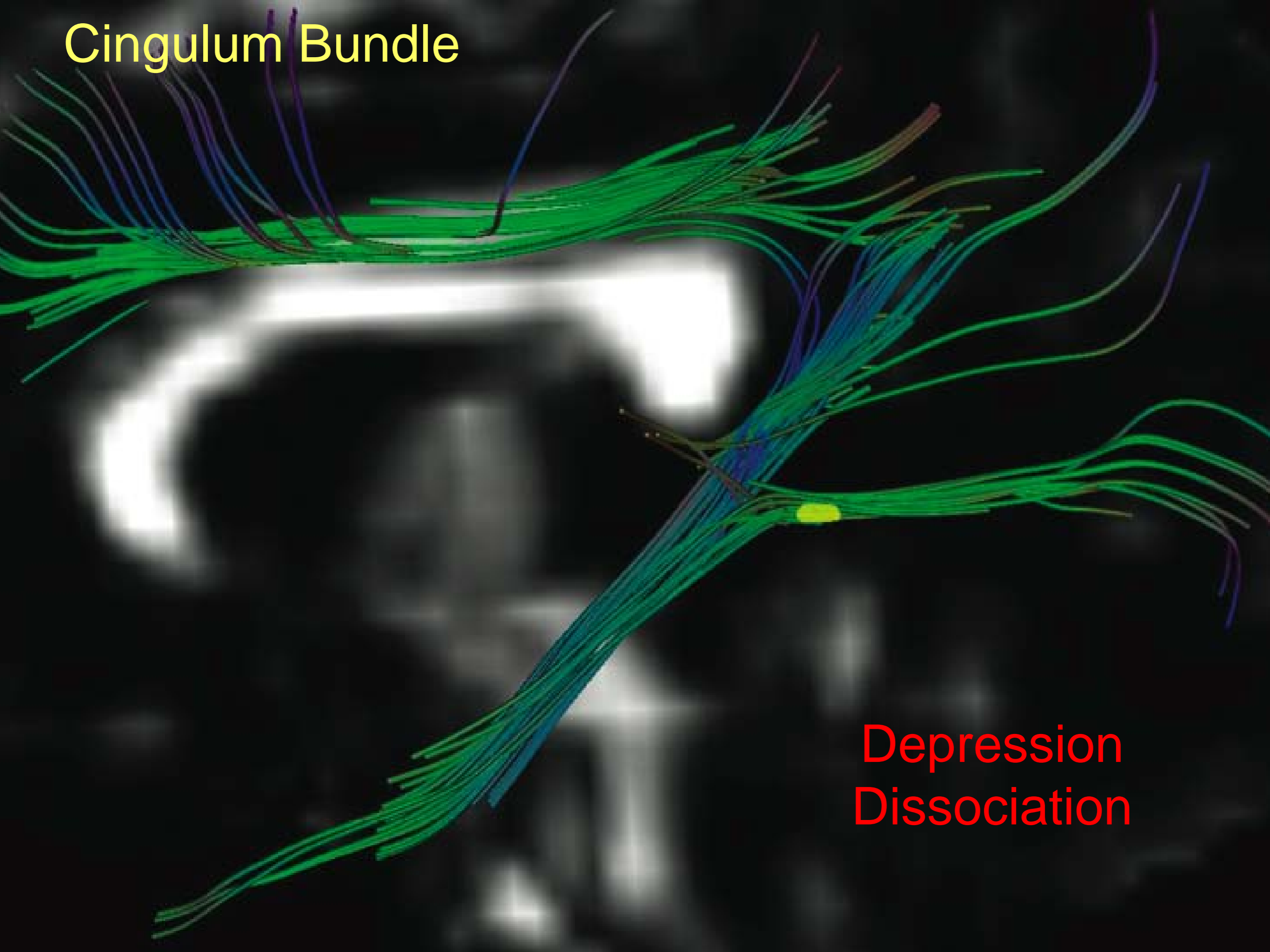


Arcuate Fasciculus



Verbal IQ

Cingulum Bundle



Depression
Dissociation

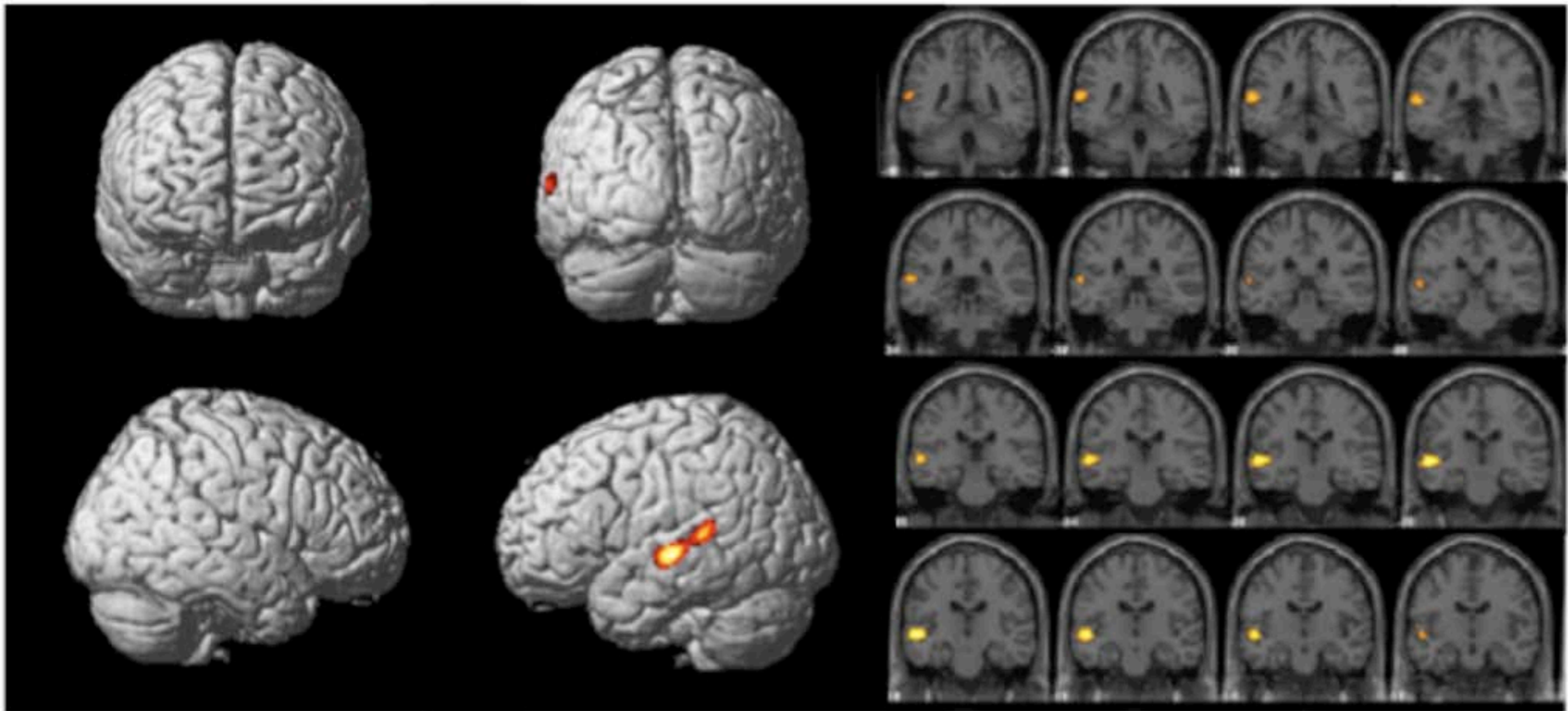
Fornix

**Anxiety
Somatization**

Choi, J., Jeong, B., Rohan, M.L., Polcari, A.M., and Teicher, M.H. (2009)
Preliminary evidence for white matter tract abnormalities in young adults
exposed to parental verbal abuse. *Biol Psychiatry* 65, 227-234



Verbal Abuse: Voxel-based morphometry



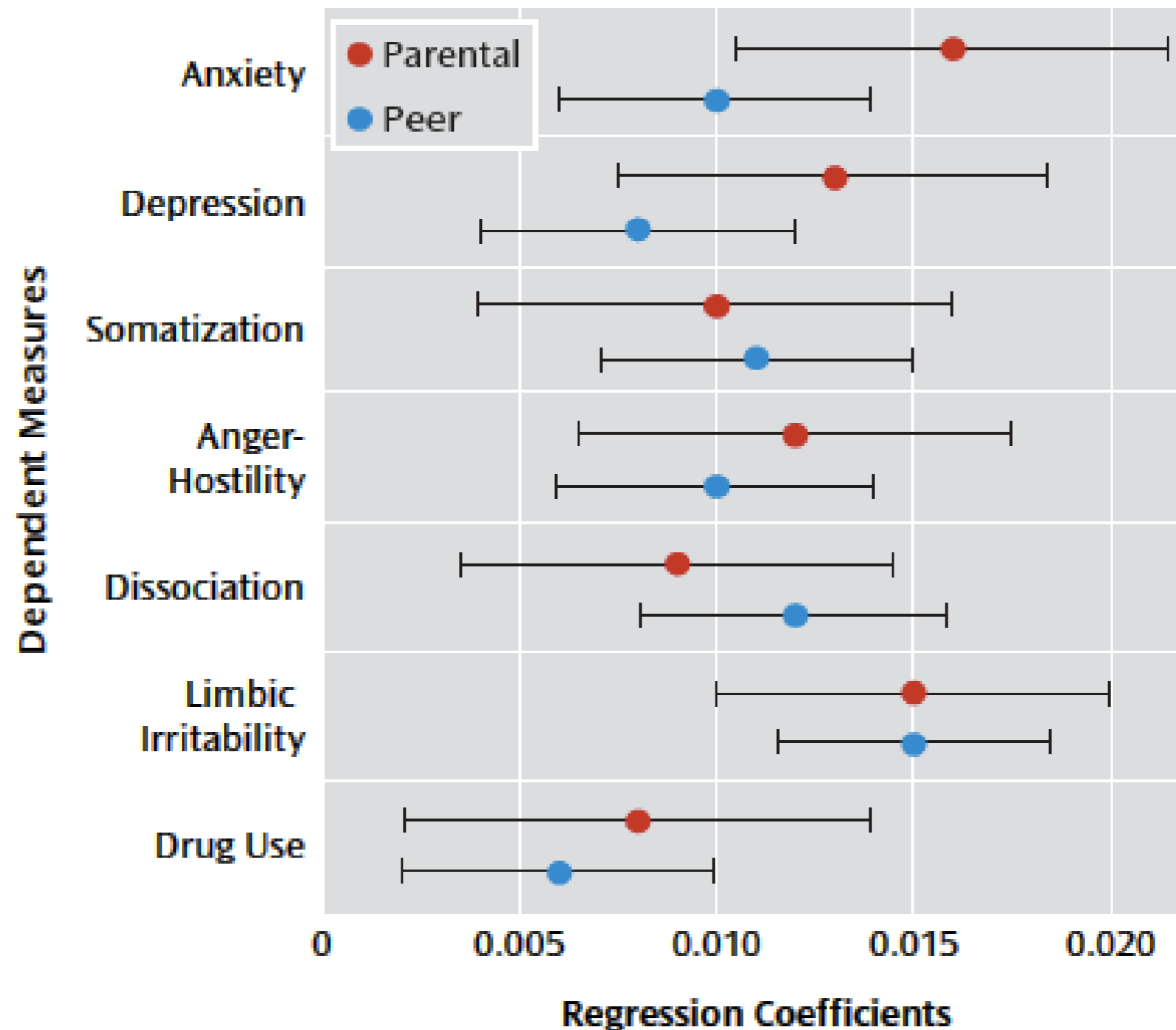
Increased gray matter volume
left superior temporal gyrus

Peer Verbal Abuse



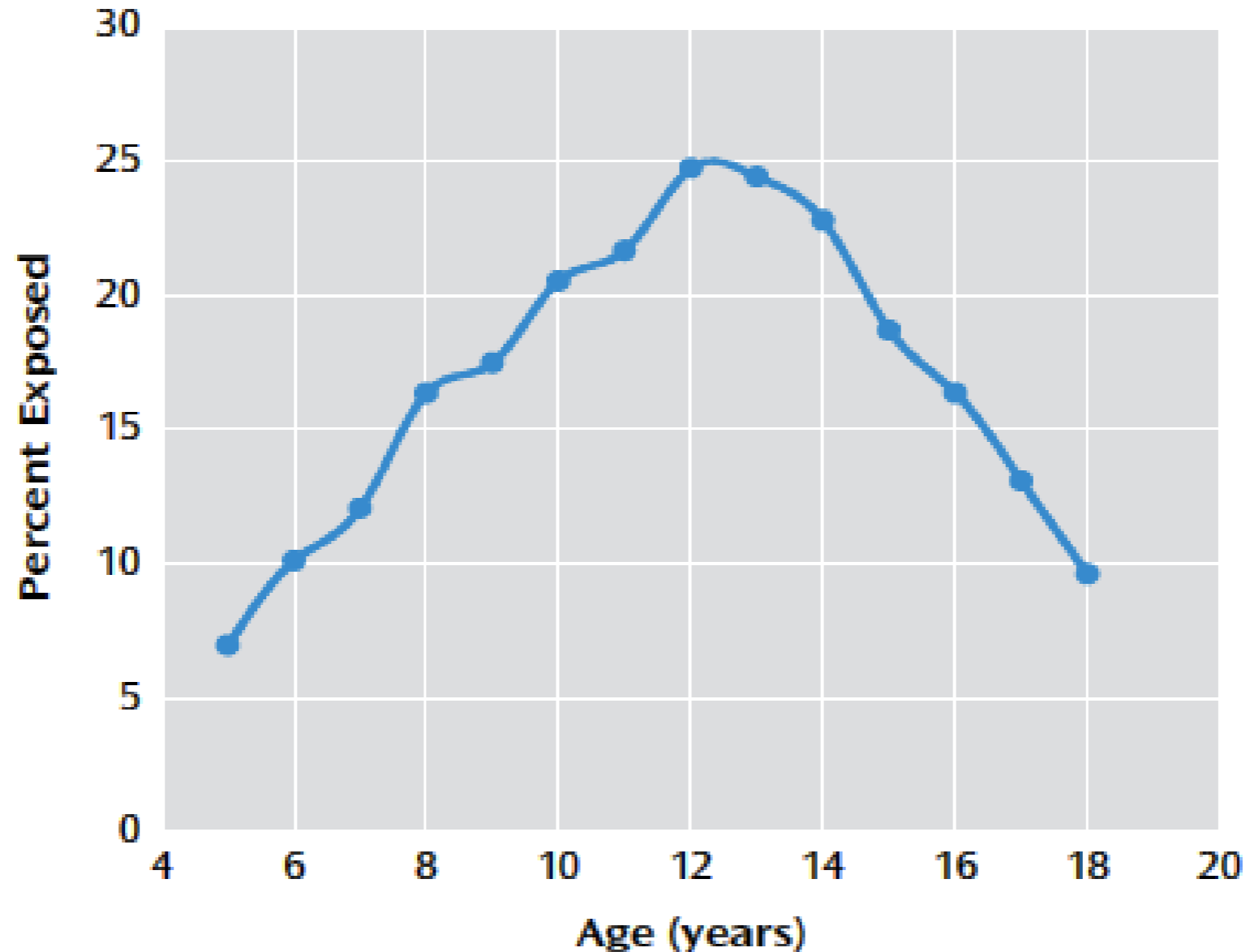
Peer Verbal Abuse

FIGURE 3. Effect of Exposure to Parental Verbal Abuse and Peer Verbal Abuse on Symptom Ratings and Drug Use in 848 Young Adults^a

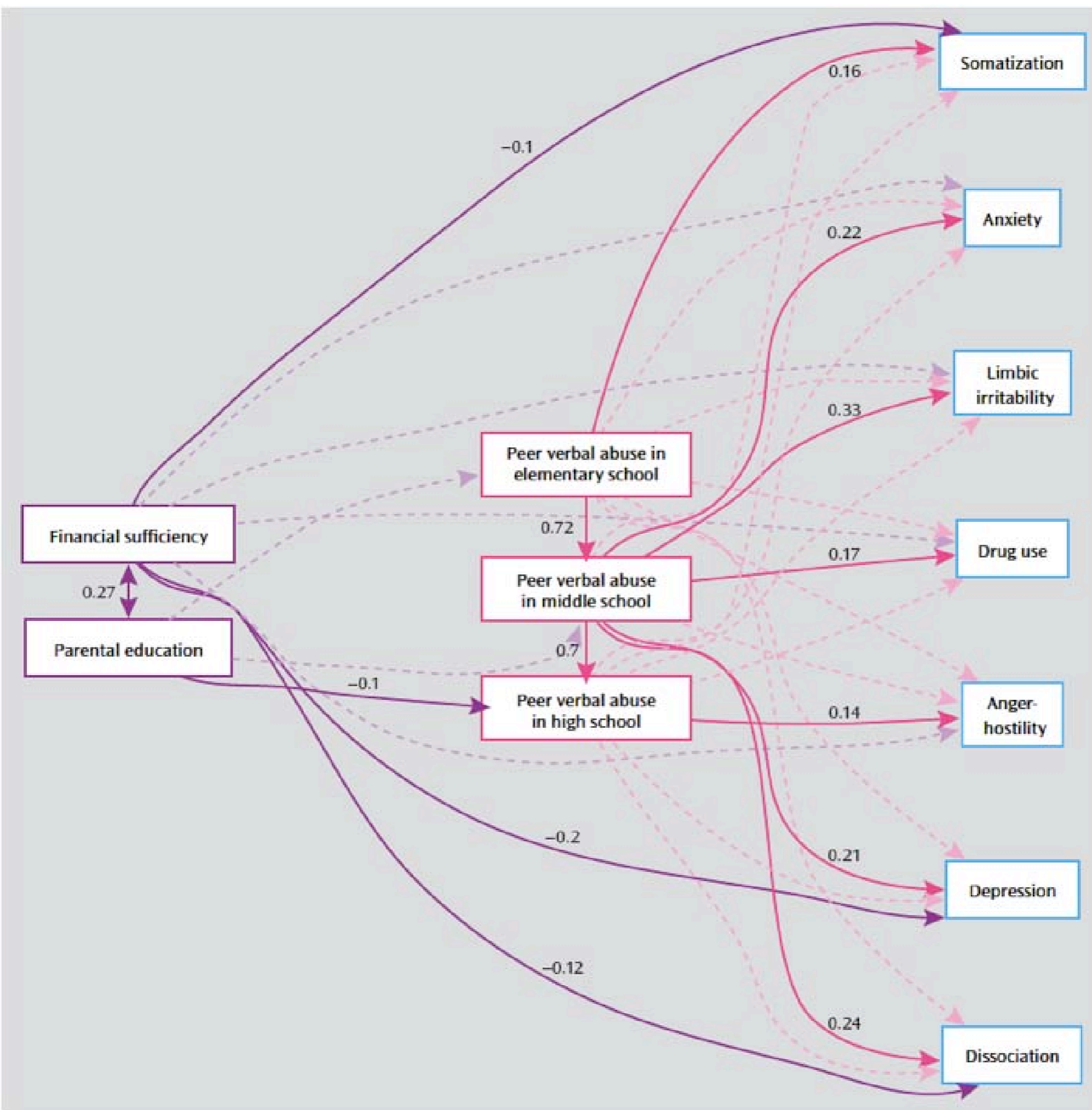


Peer Verbal Abuse

FIGURE 4. Percentage of 1,662 Young Adults in a Community Sample Reporting Exposure to Significant Peer Verbal Abuse Between Ages 5 and 18^a



^a Significant peer verbal abuse was defined as maximal peer Verbal Abuse Questionnaire scores ≥ 30). Note that exposure peaks at ages 12–13.



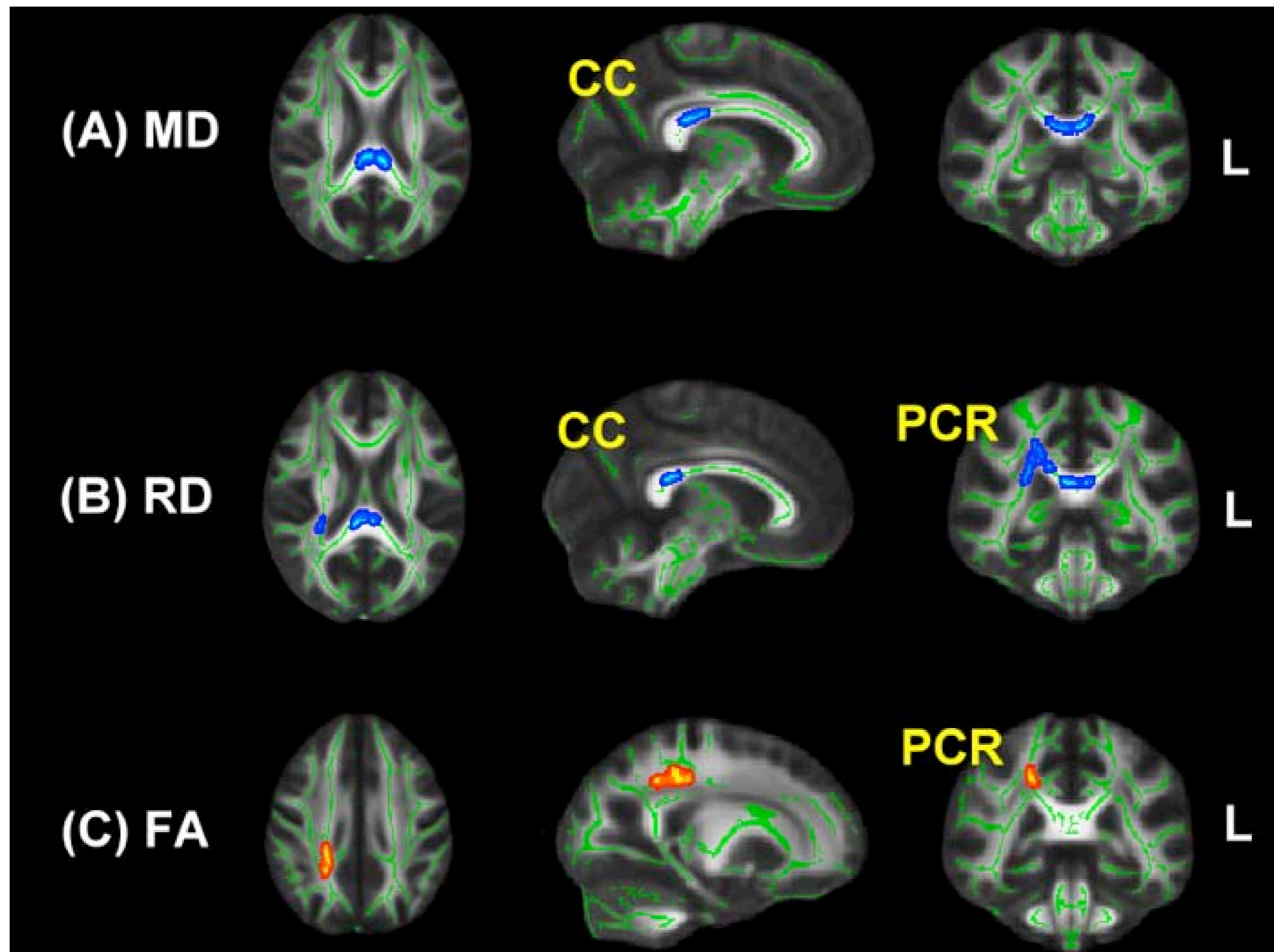


Figure 5. Regions identified by TBSS in the corpus callosum (CC) and posterior corona radiata (PCR) in which there were correlations between degree of exposure to peer verbal abuse and mean diffusivity (MD), radial diffusivity (RD) and fractional anisotropy (FA) (n = 63).

Witnessing Domestic Violence



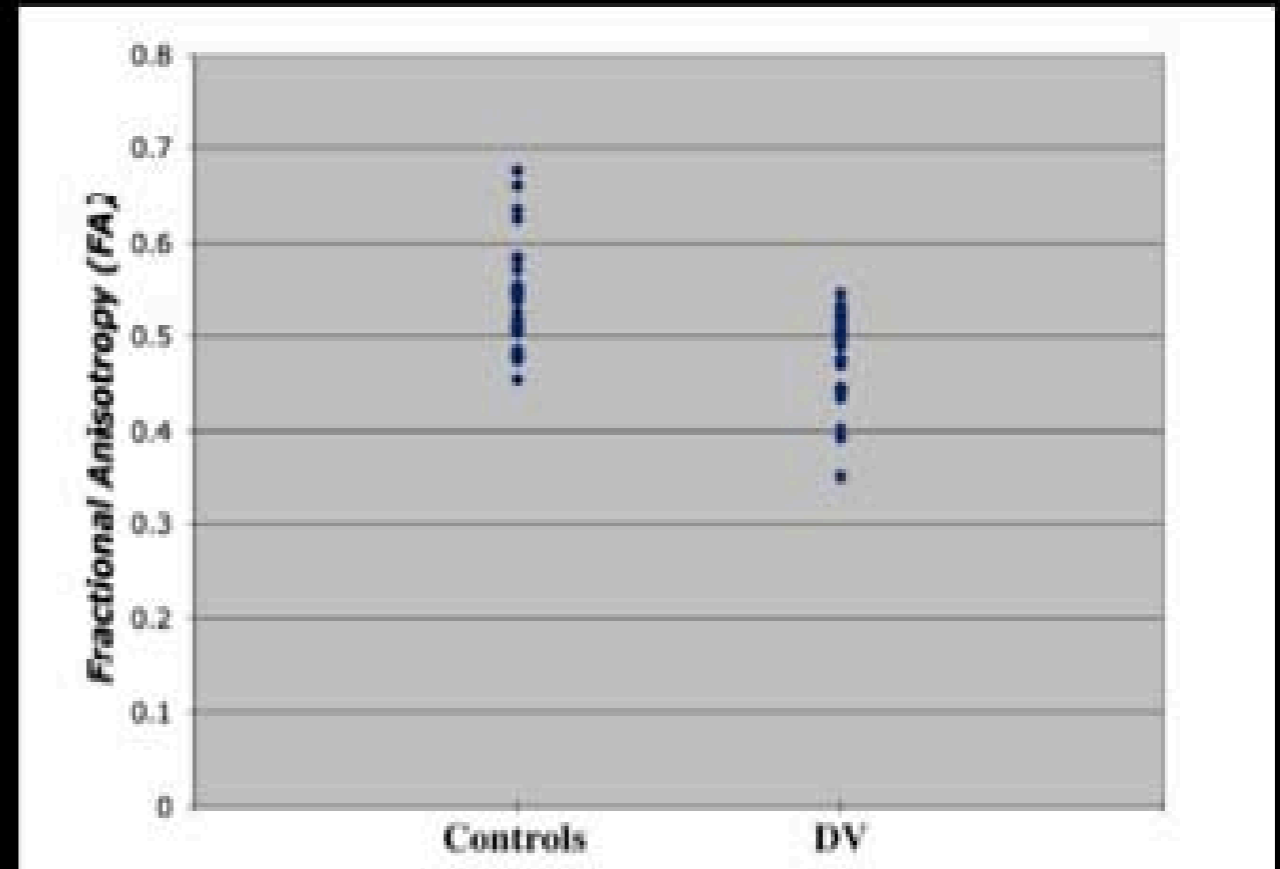
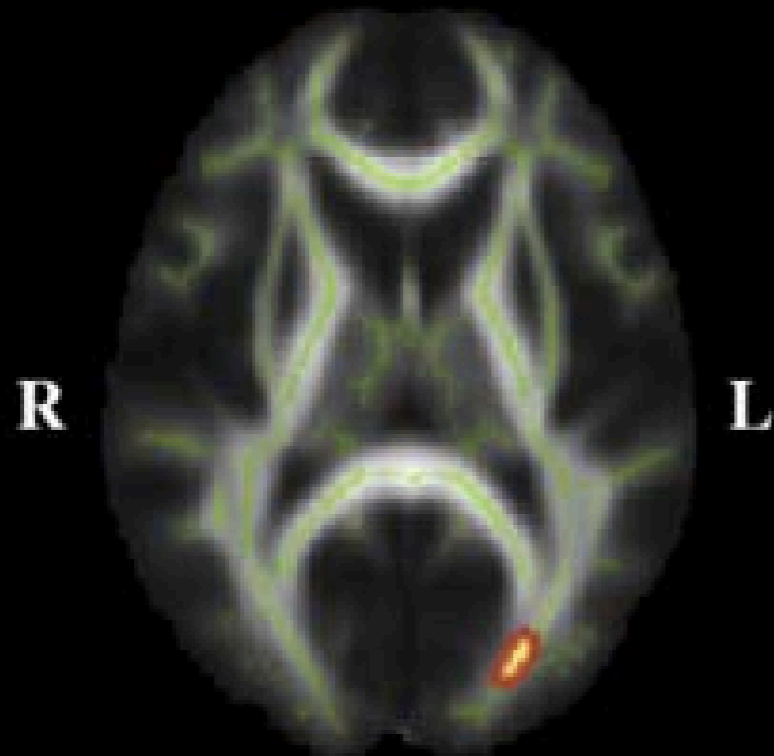
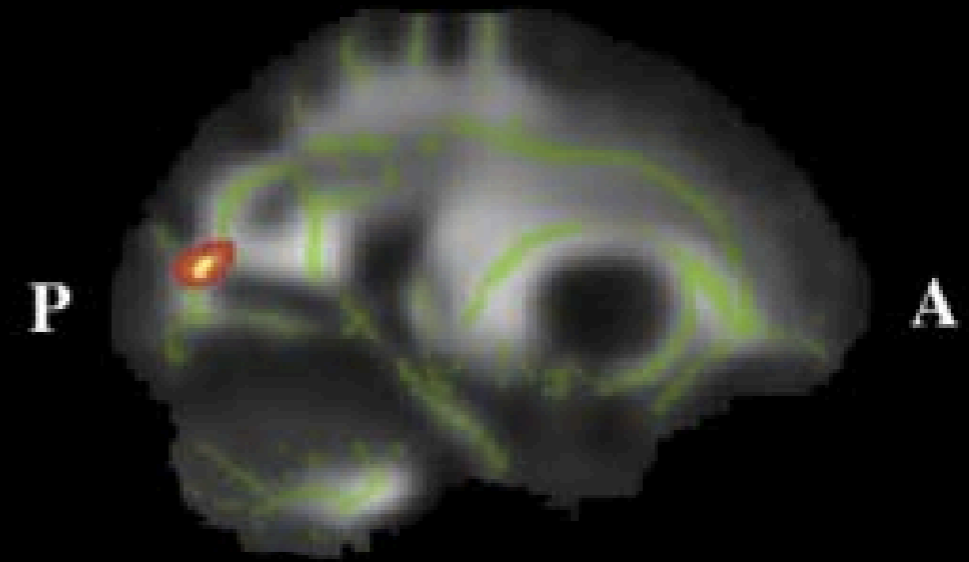
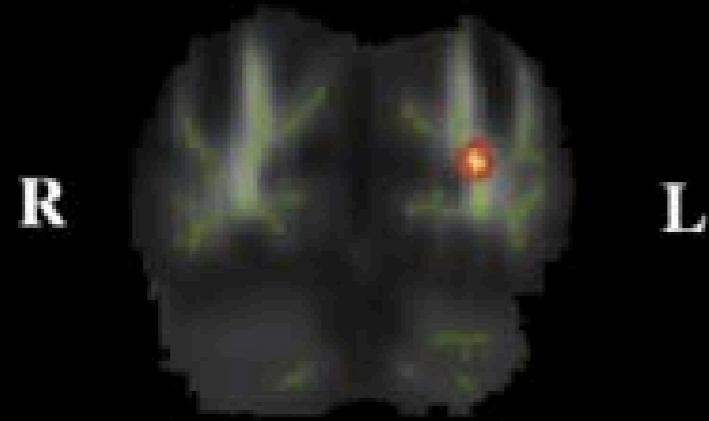
Witnessing Domestic Violence



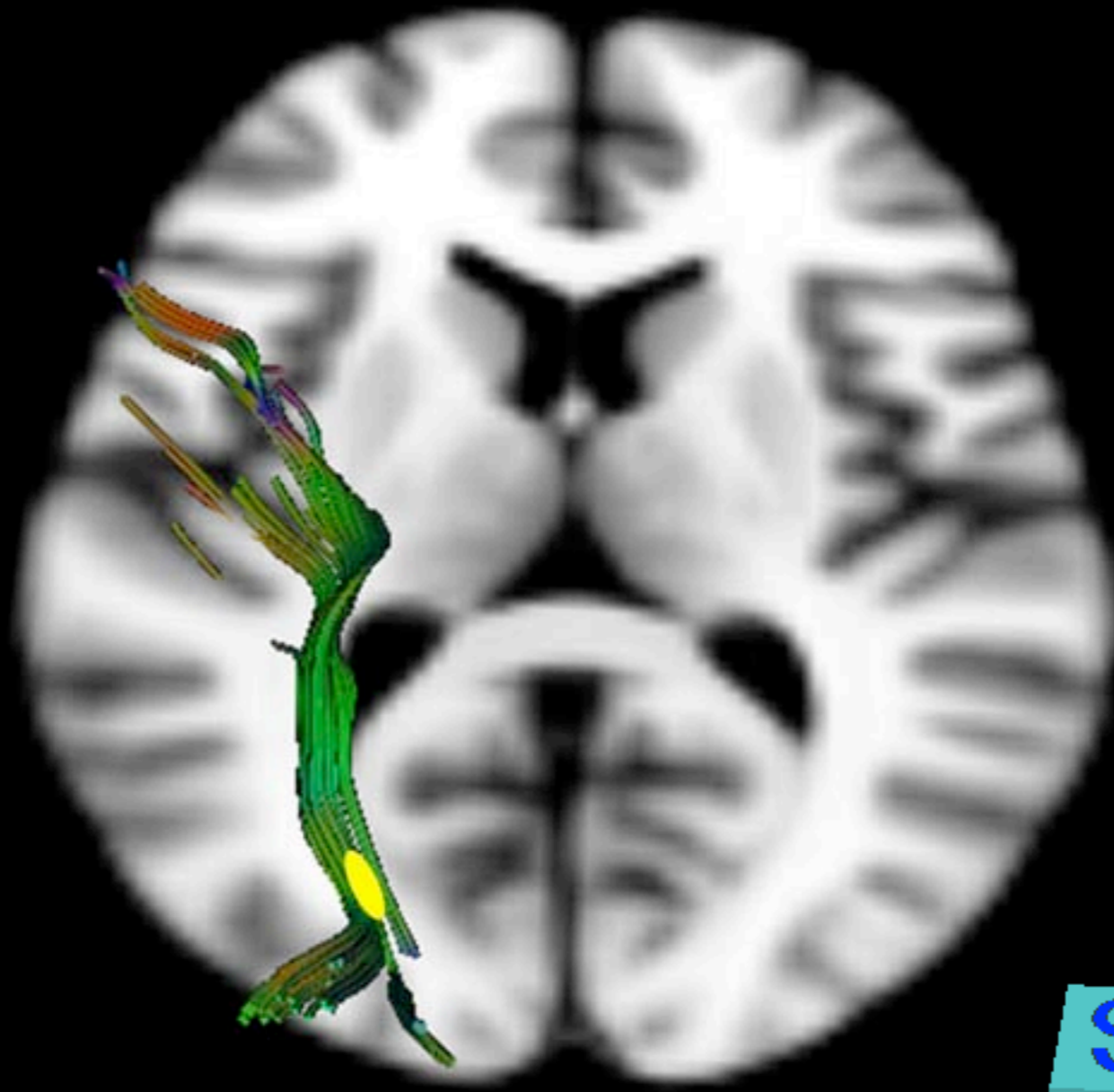
Witnessing Domestic Violence

- ❖ 1402 volunteers screened
- ❖ (16F/4M, 22.4 ± 2.48 yrs) who witness domestic violence but were exposed to no other forms of trauma
- ❖ (19F/8M, 21.9 ± 1.97 yrs) healthy controls

Witnessing Domestic Violence



Inferior Longitudinal Fasciculus

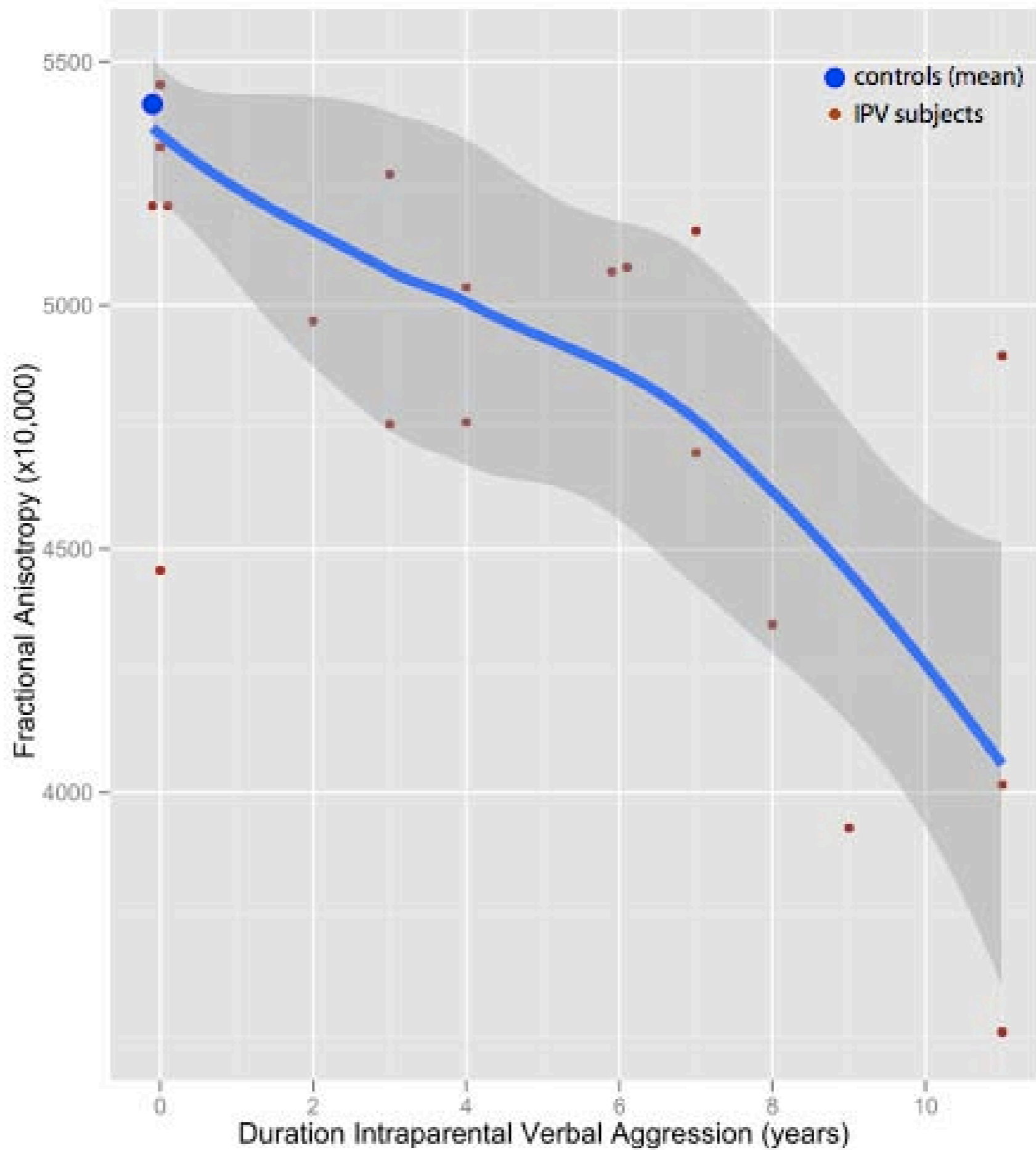


Witnessing Domestic Violence

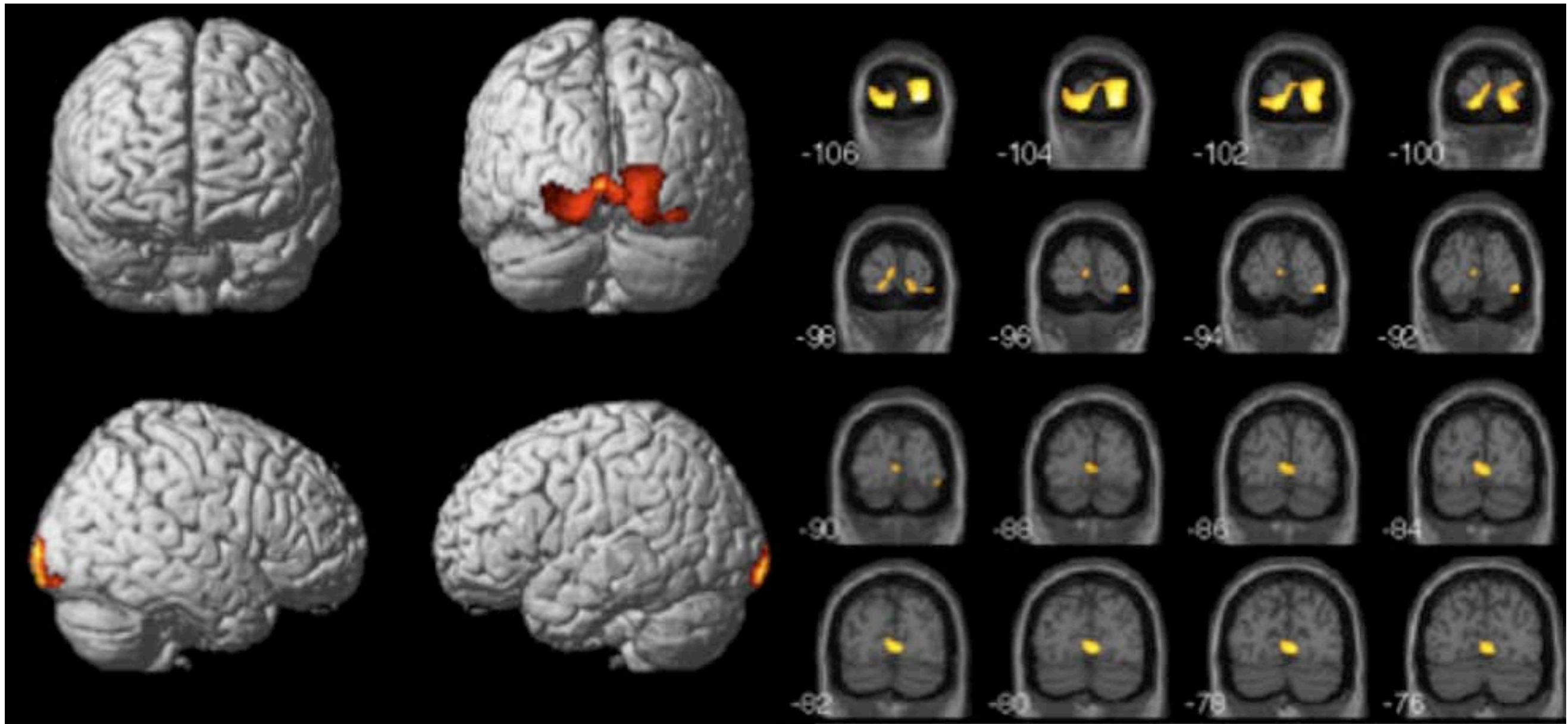
- ❖ FA values in this region were significantly associated with ratings of depression, anxiety, somatization, and dissociation ($r = -0.502$, $p < 0.0001$; $r = -0.421$, $p = 0.0003$; $r = -0.377$, $p = 0.01$; $r = -0.365$, $p = 0.012$).

Witnessing Domestic Violence

- ❖ The inferior longitudinal fasciculus connects occipital and temporal cortex, and is the main component of the visual-limbic pathway that subserves emotional, learning and memory functions that are modality specific to vision.



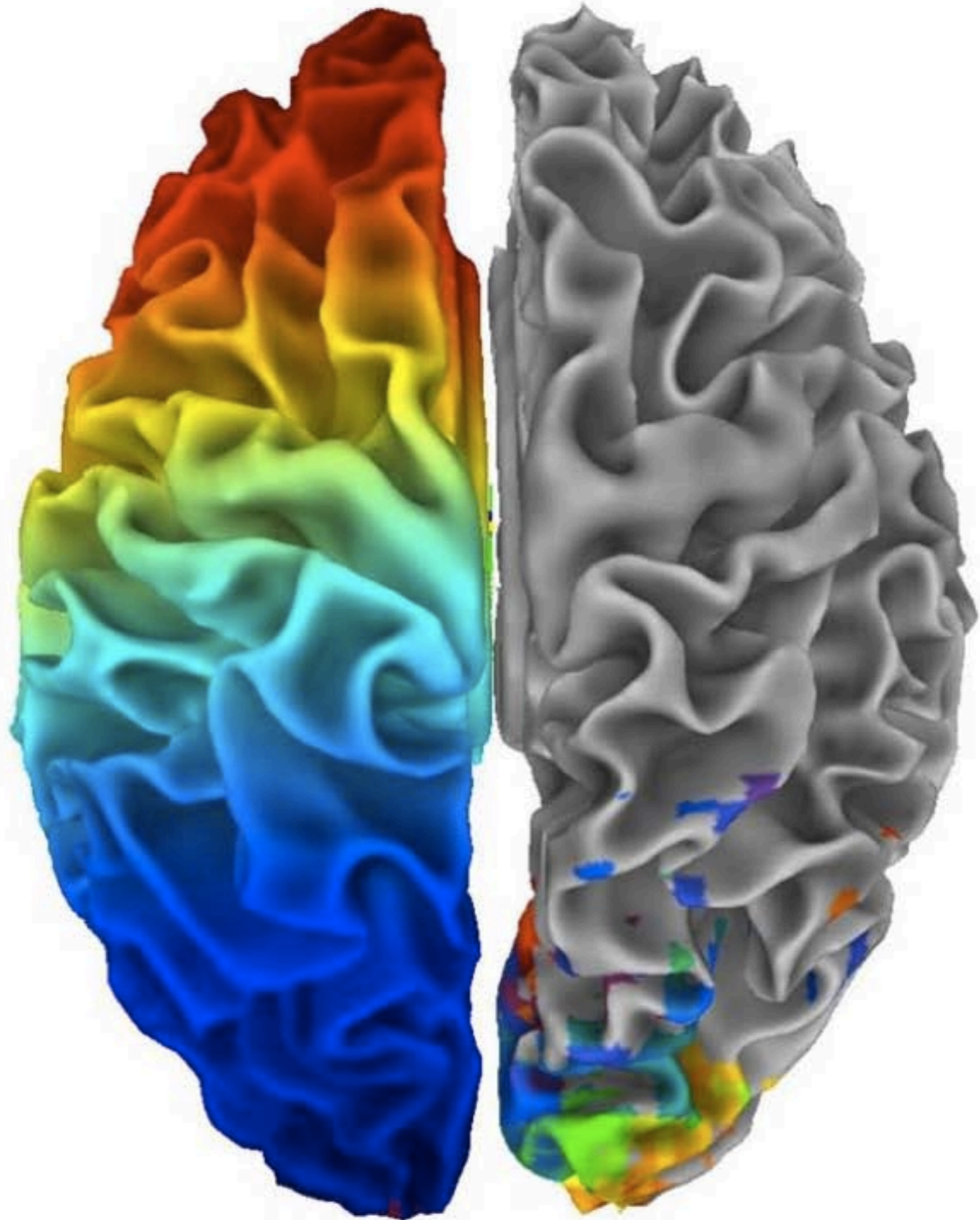
Witnessing Domestic Violence



WDV subjects had a 20.5% GMV reduction in right Lingual Gyrus, (BA17), 6.8% reduction in right BA18, and 16.4% reduction in left BA17.

FreeSurfer

Cortical
Surface
Analysis





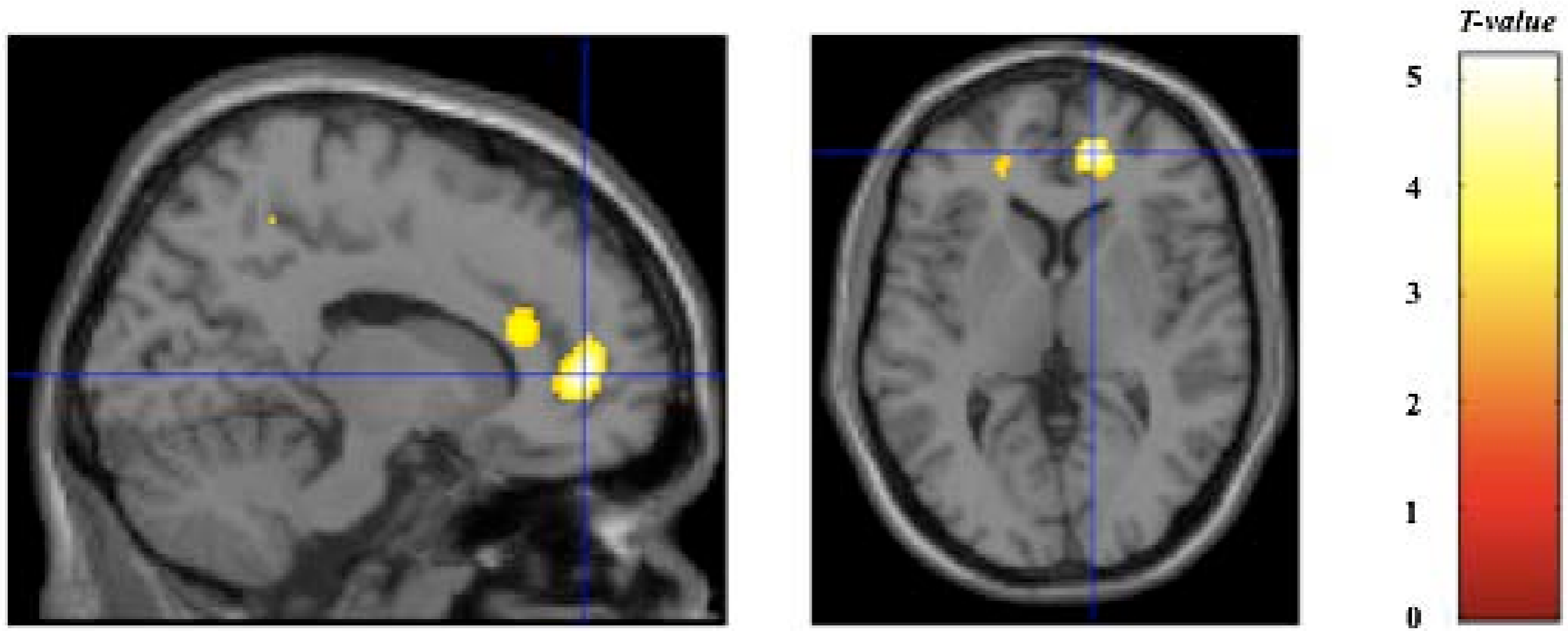




Corporal Punishment

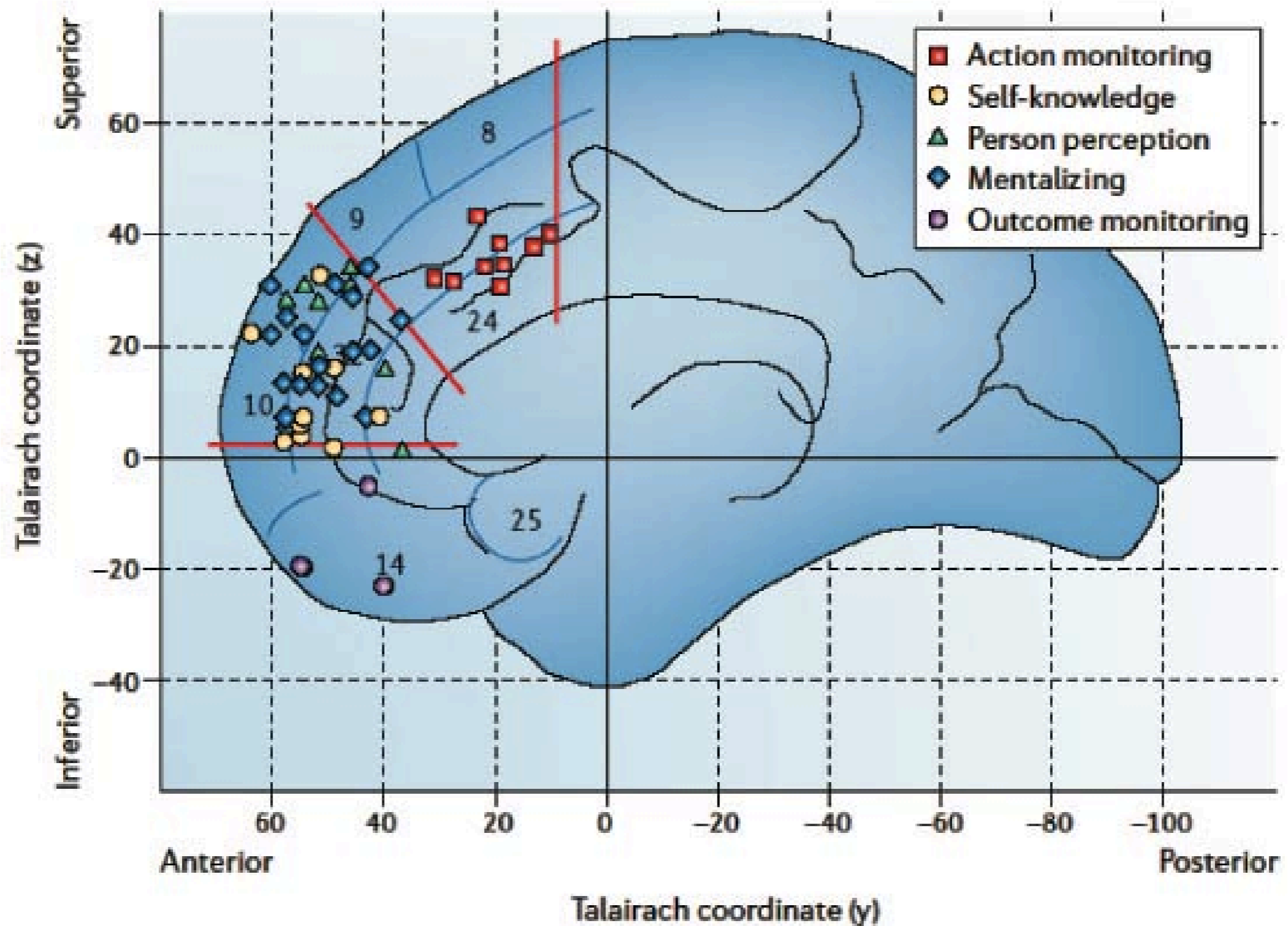


Corporal Punishment



Right Medial Prefrontal Cortex (BA10)
Left medial frontal gyrus (DLPFC) (BA9)
Right anterior cingulate gyrus (BA24)

Tomoda, A., Suzuki, H., Rabi, K., Sheu, Y.S., Polcari, A., and Teicher, M.H. (2009) Reduced prefrontal cortical gray matter volume in young adults exposed to harsh corporal punishment. *Neuroimage* 47 Suppl 2, T66-71



David M. Amodio and Chris D. Frith. Meeting of minds: the medial frontal cortex and social cognition. *Nat Rev Neurosci.* 2006, 7(4): 268-277.

Harsh Corporal Punishment

Control

Corporal Punishment

Cortical pain pathway

ACC

ACC

R

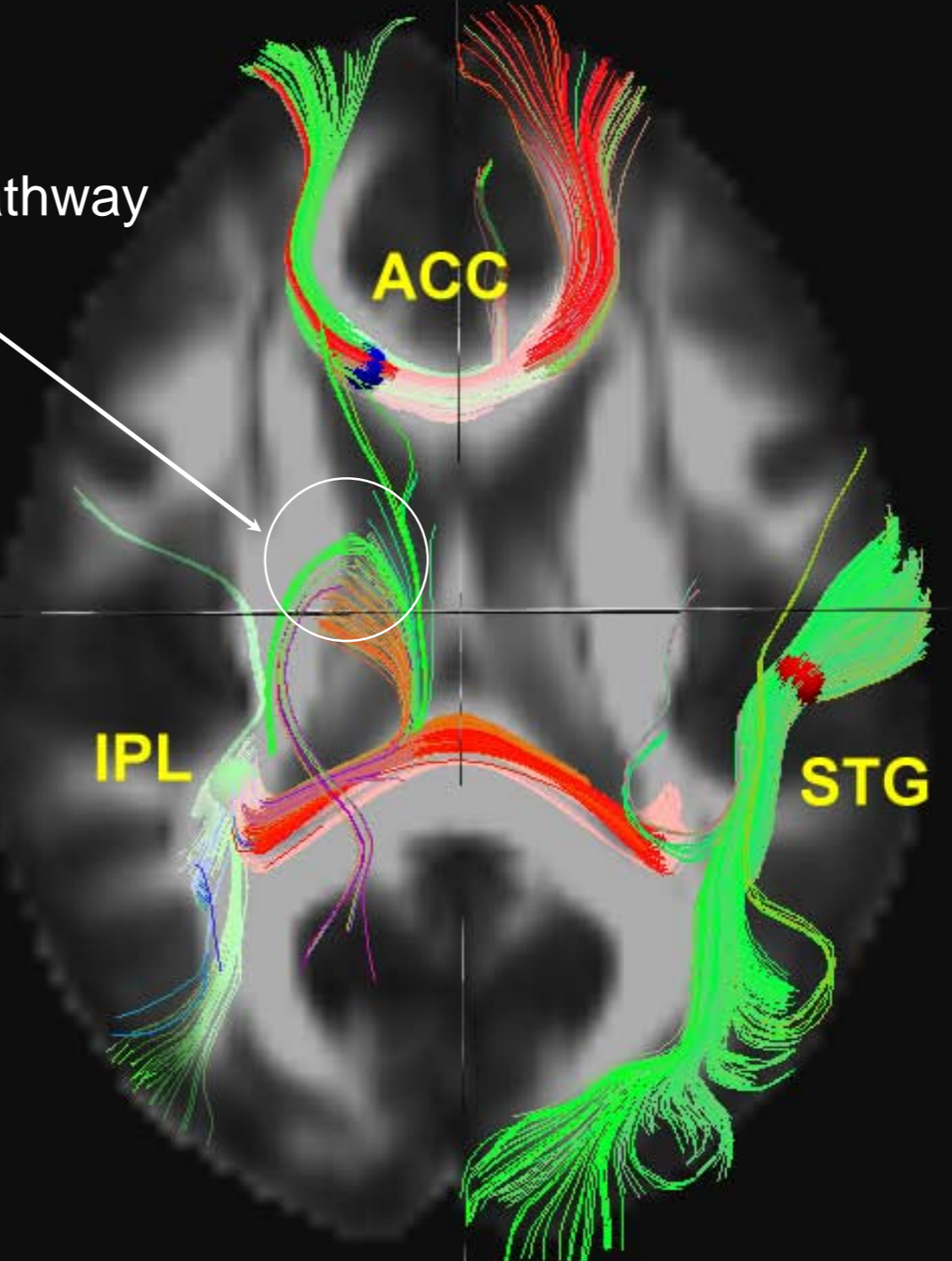
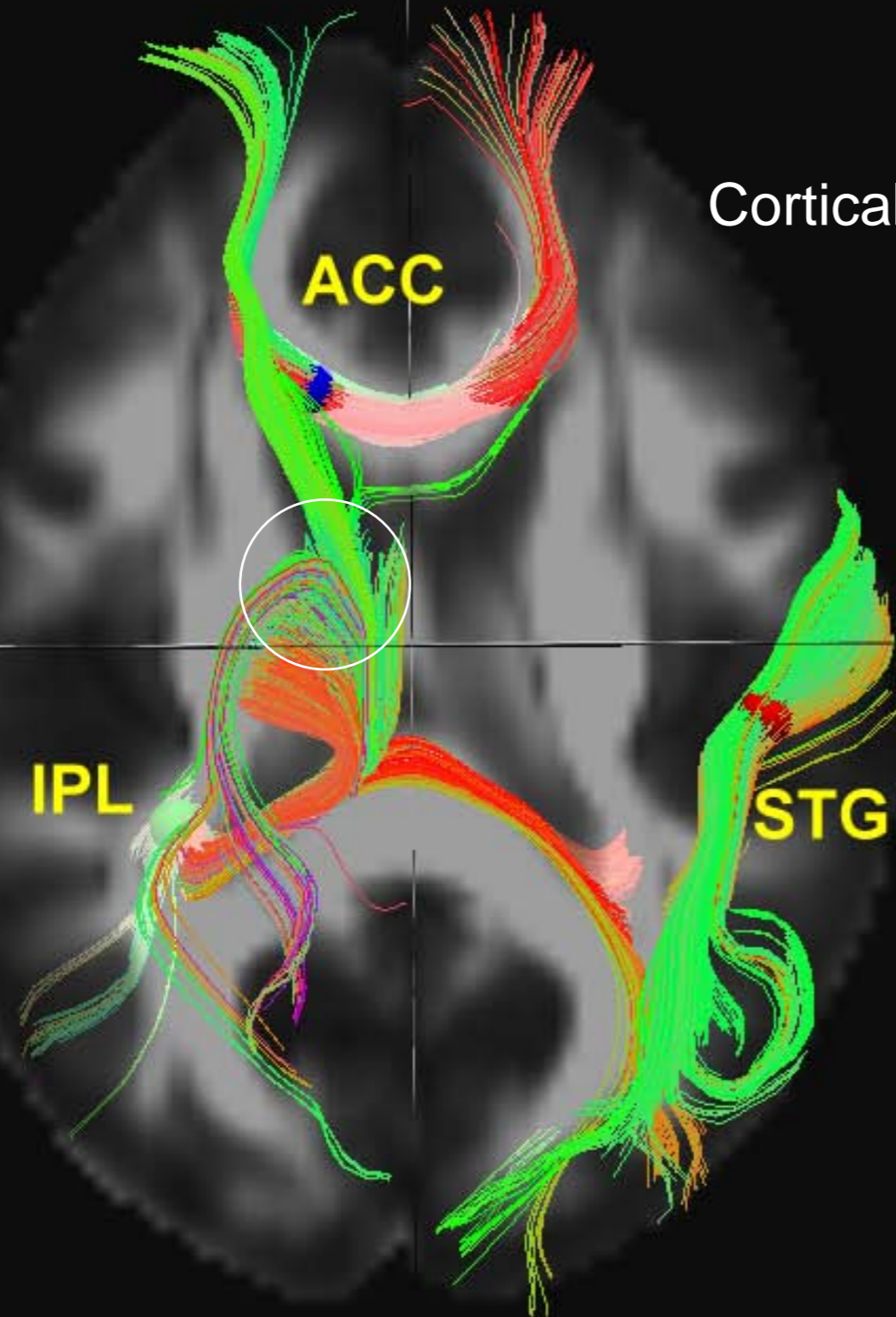
L

IPL

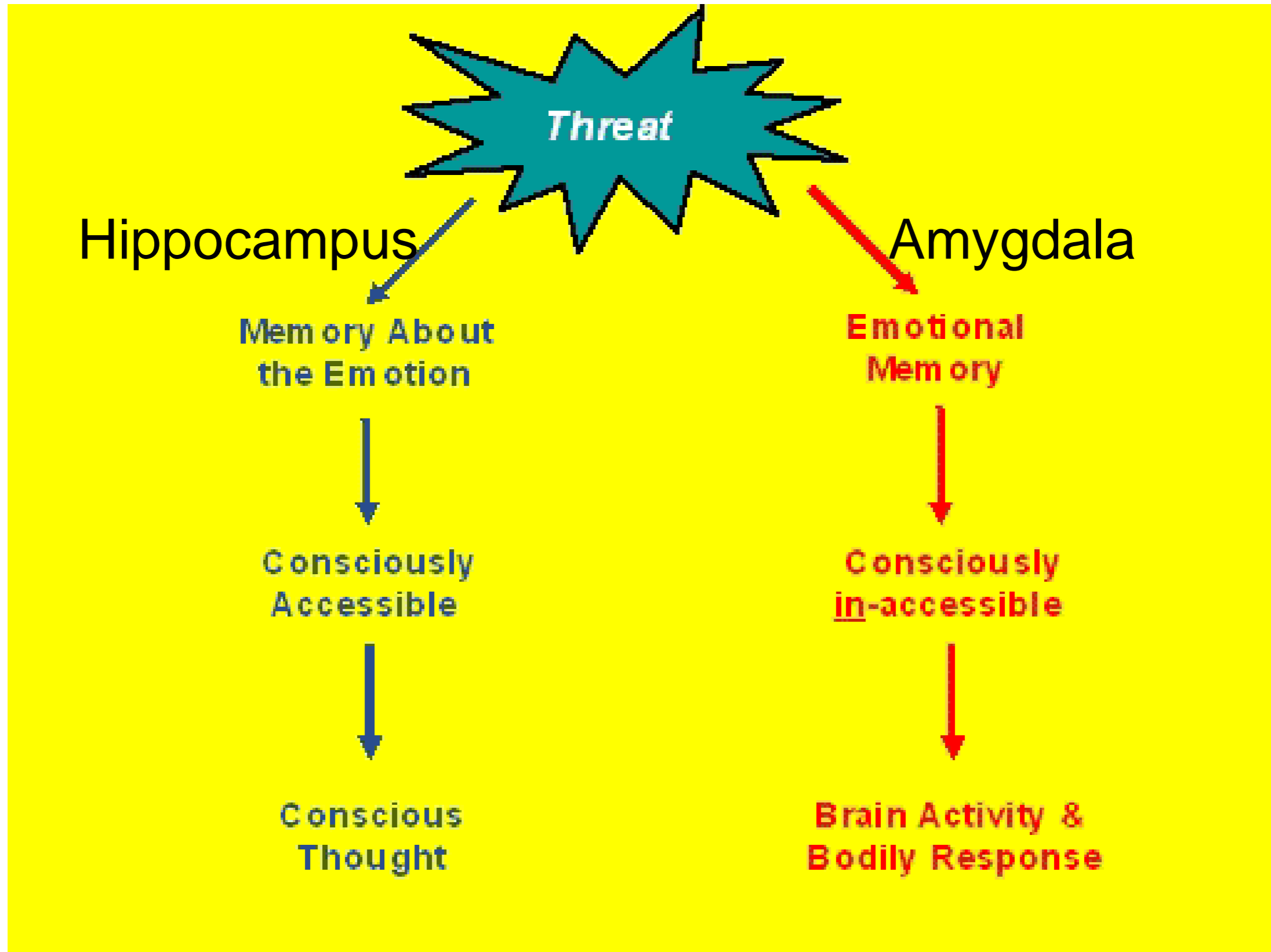
STG

IPL

STG

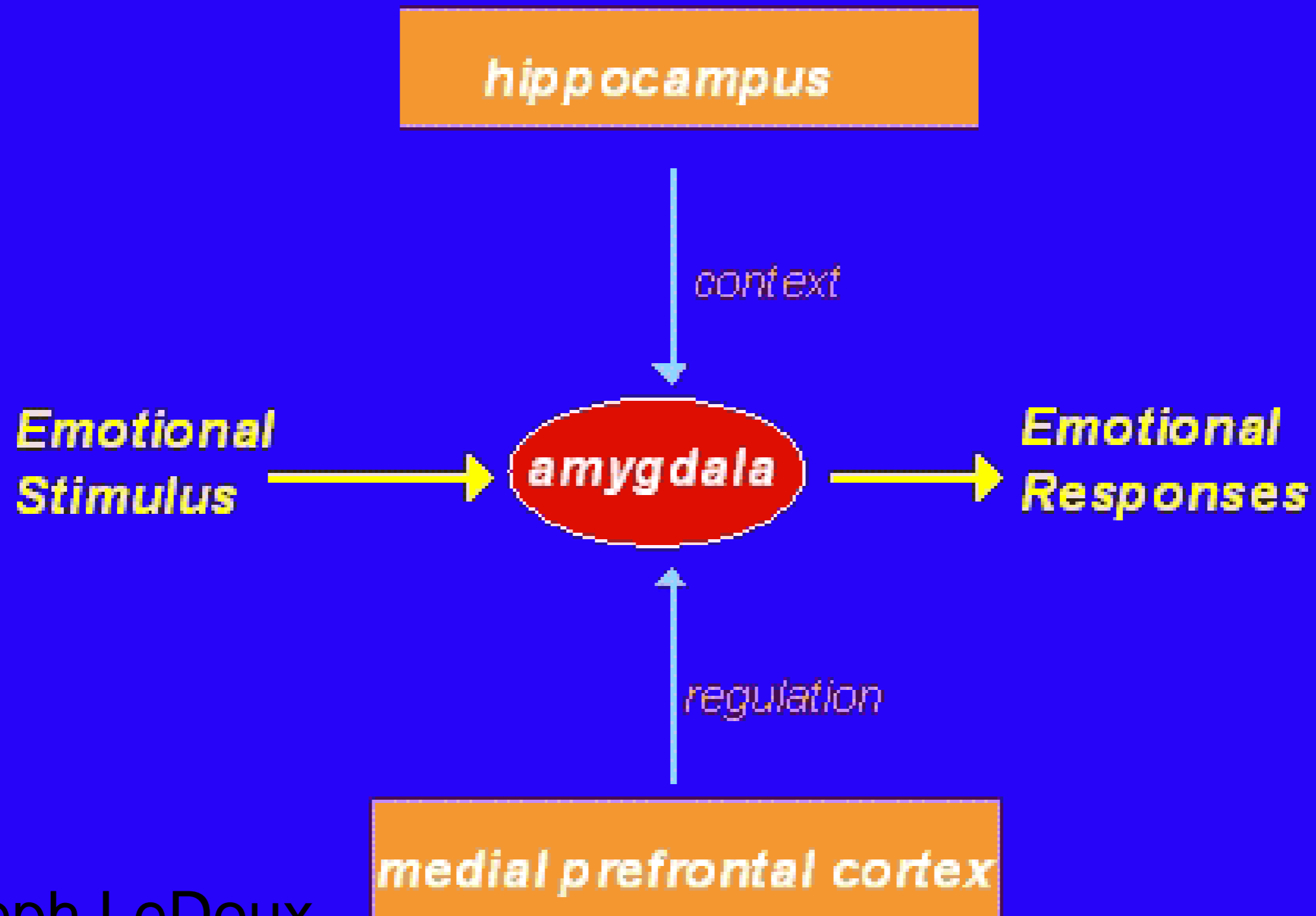


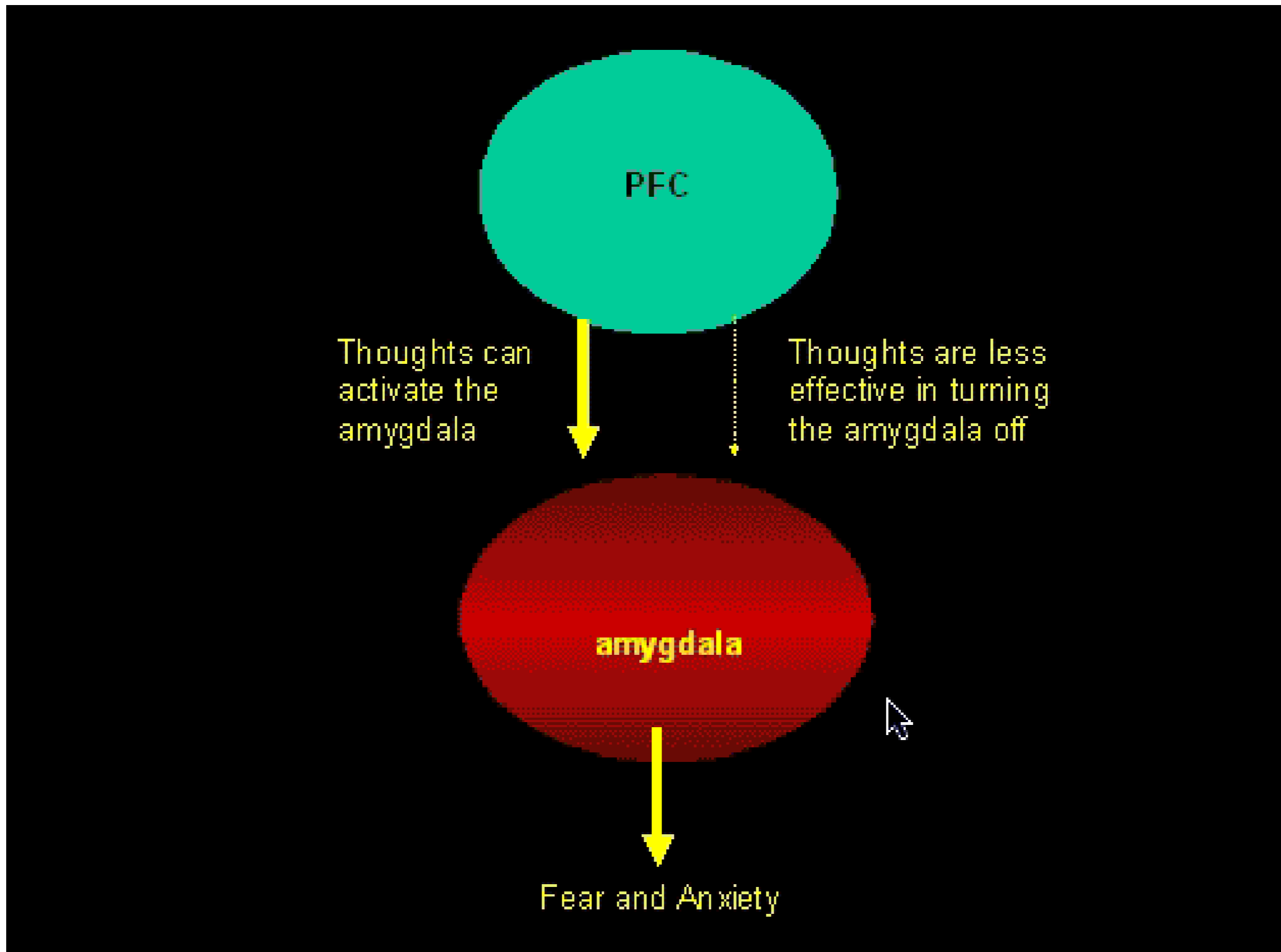




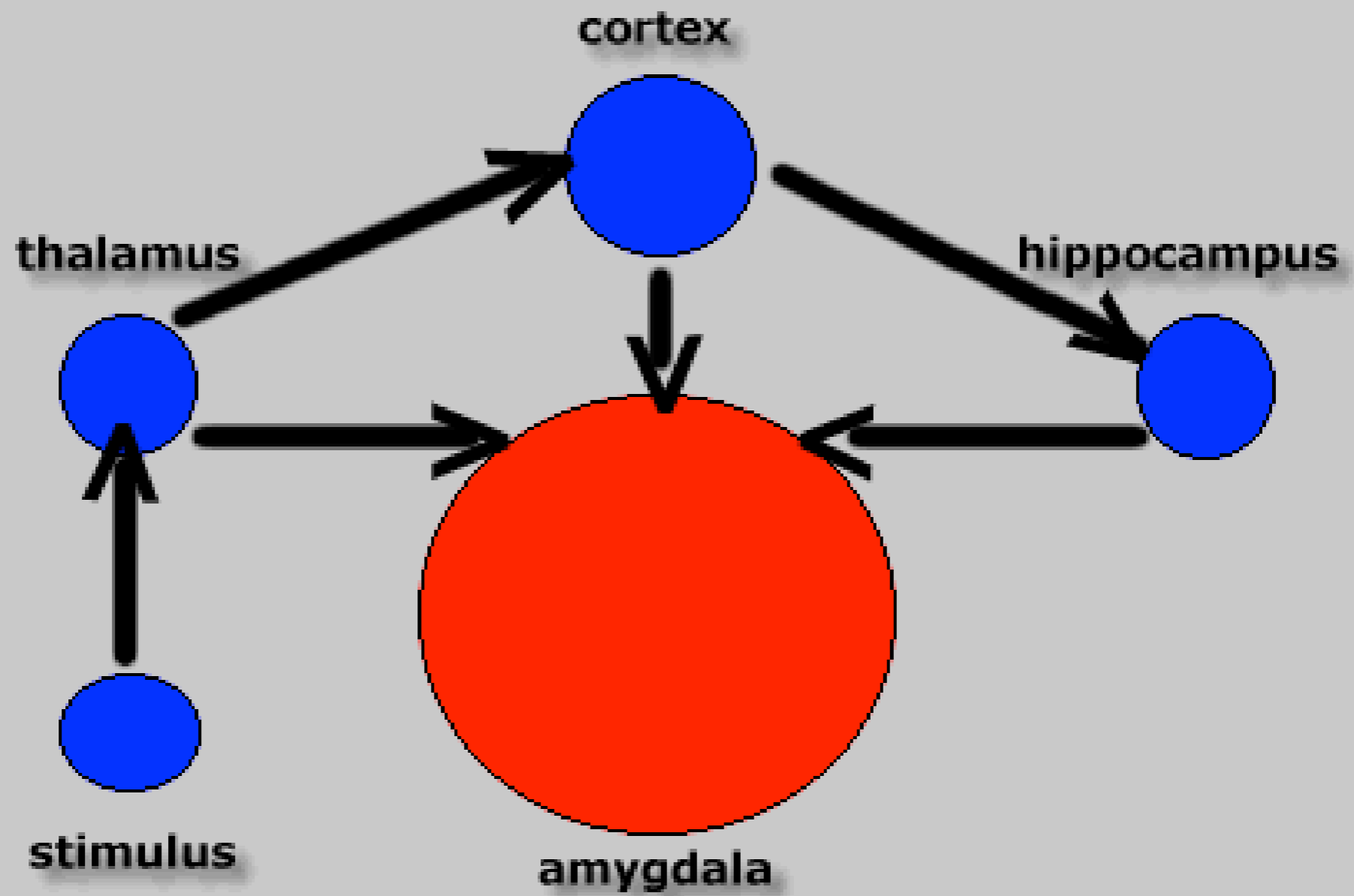
Joseph LeDoux

Partners in Fear



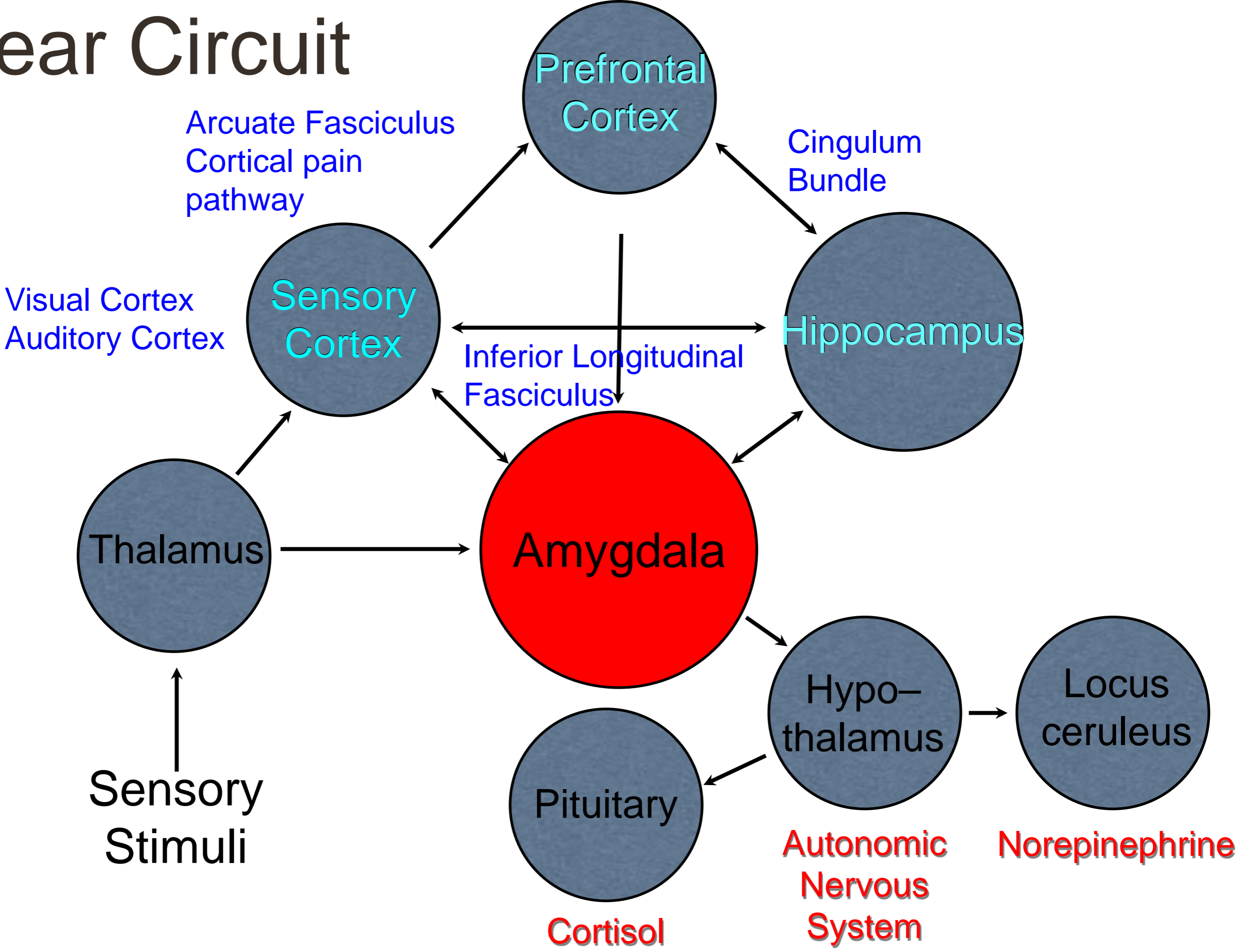


Joseph LeDoux

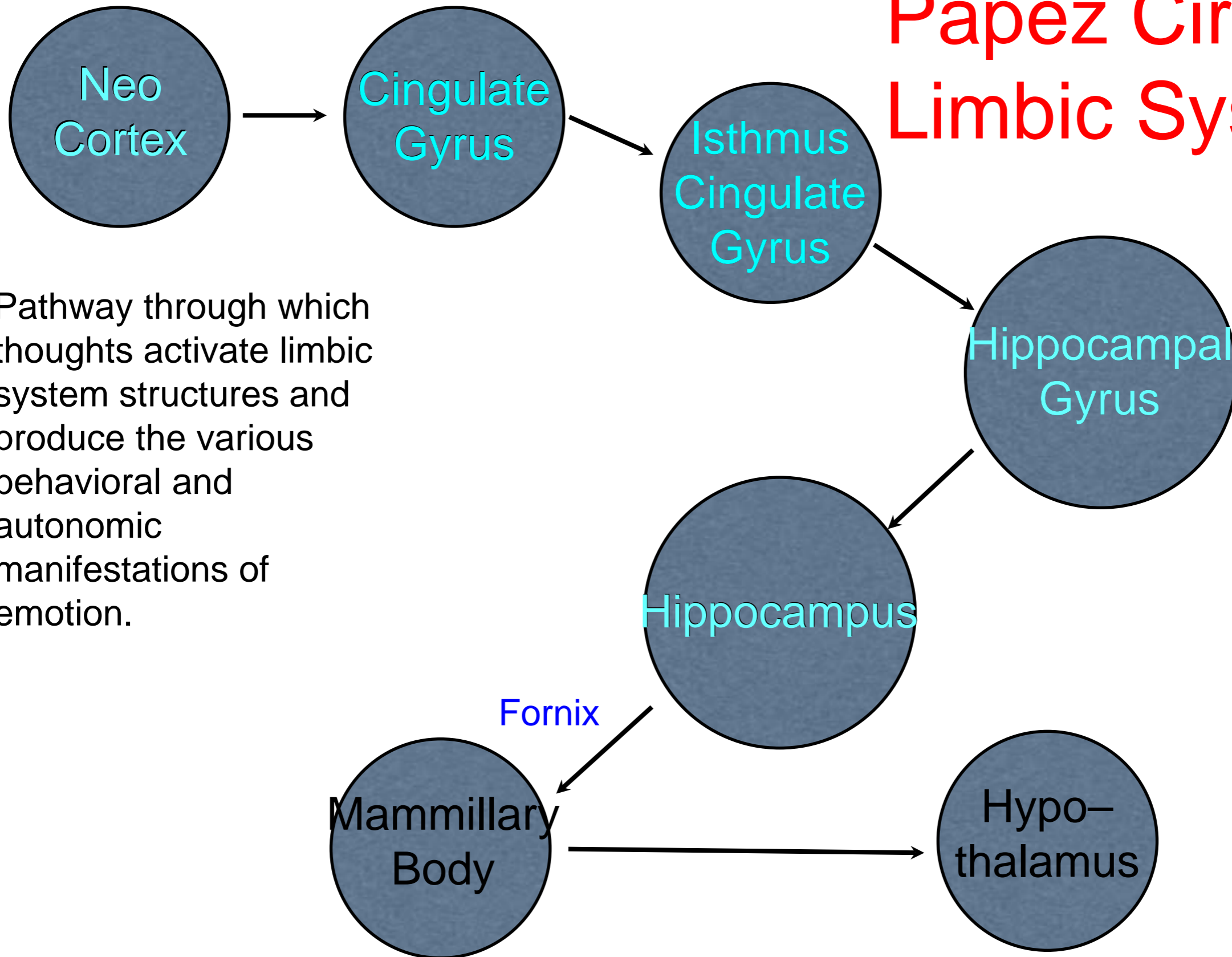


(From: LeDoux 1994)

Fear Circuit

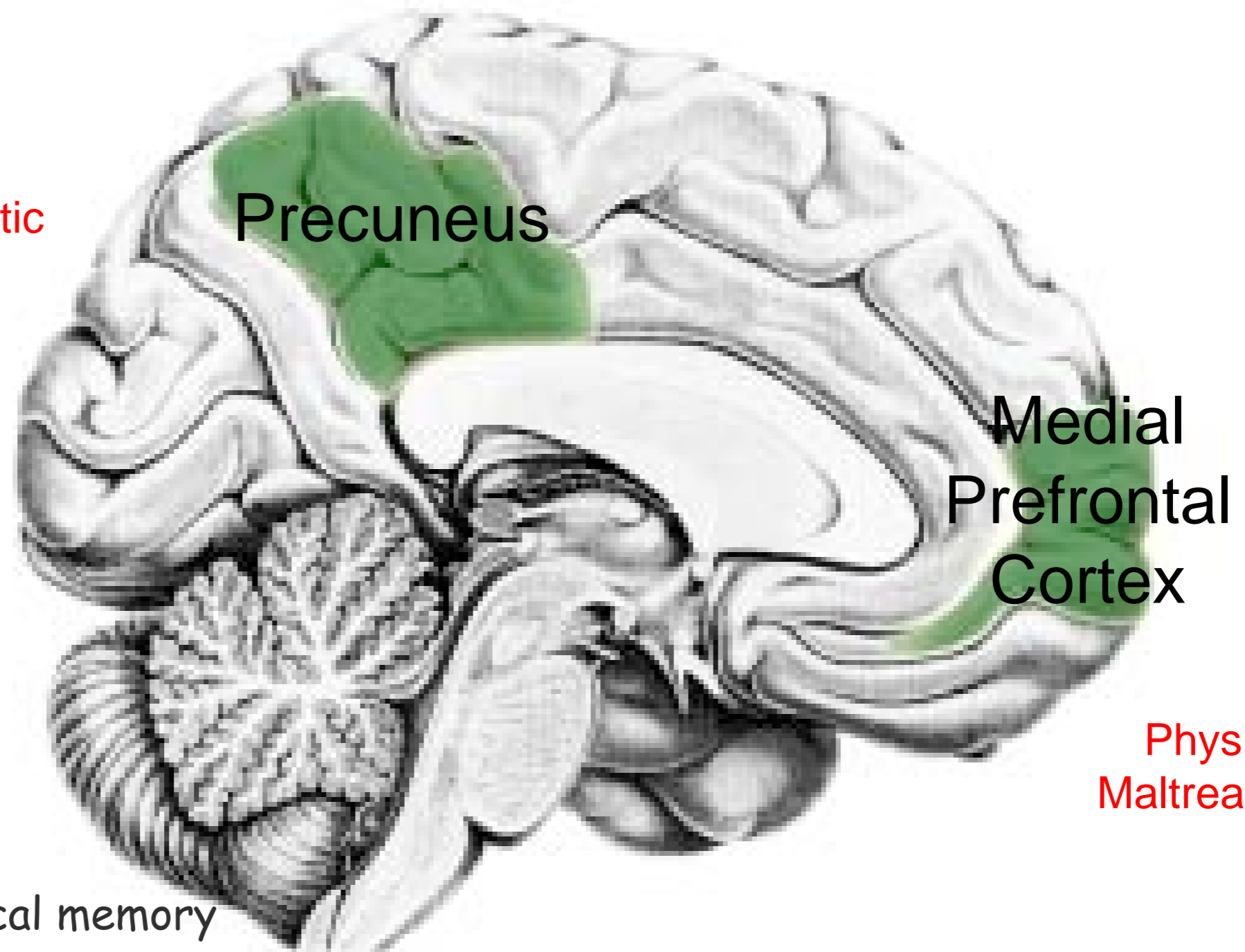


Papez Circuit - Limbic System



Pathway through which thoughts activate limbic system structures and produce the various behavioral and autonomic manifestations of emotion.

Sexual Abuse
Witnessing Domestic
Violence



Physical
Maltreatment

- Autobiographical memory
- Self versus non-self representation
- Self-referential judgements
- First- versus third-person perspective
- Perceived agency
- Mind reading/social cognition.

The mammalian brain has evolved to be sculpted by early experience, and adverse stressful early experience has been a routine part of our ancestry.

Is it plausible that the developing brain never evolved to cope with exposure to stress or maltreatment and is damaged in a non-adaptive manner?

The counterintuitive but logical alternative is that exposure to early stress produces a cascade of molecular and neurobiological effects that alters neural development in an adaptive way that prepares the adult brain to survive and reproduce in what it predicts will be a malevolent world.

Psychosocial acceleration, other adaptations?

In contrast, we hypothesis that adequate nurturing and absence of intense early stress permits our brains to develop in a manner that is less aggressive, more emotionally stable, social, empathic, and hemispherically-integrated. We believes that this enhances the ability of social animals to build more elaborate social structures and enables humans to better realize their creative potentials.

This may be more the exception than the rule.

