# 2019 LEGAL EPIDEMIOLOGY SYMPOSIUM

**Looking Back and Looking Ahead** 



## **SESSION 3**

Using Law to Address the Social Determinants of Health

- Scott Burris, Temple Law and CPHLR
- Katie Moran-McCabe, CPHLR
- Jennifer Karas Montez,
   Syracuse University
- Kelli Komro, Emory University
- Wendy Parmet, Northeastern
   University School of Law
- Evan Anderson, Penn Nursing
   (Moderator)



# Contextualizing the Gradient: Developing the Relational Element of the Social Determinants Analysis

Scott Burris, JD

Center for Public Health Law Research

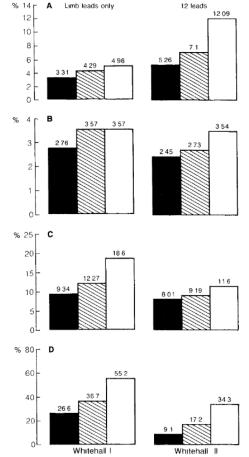
Temple University Beasley School of Law

Philadelphia, PA

September 13, 2019

## The Original Gradient

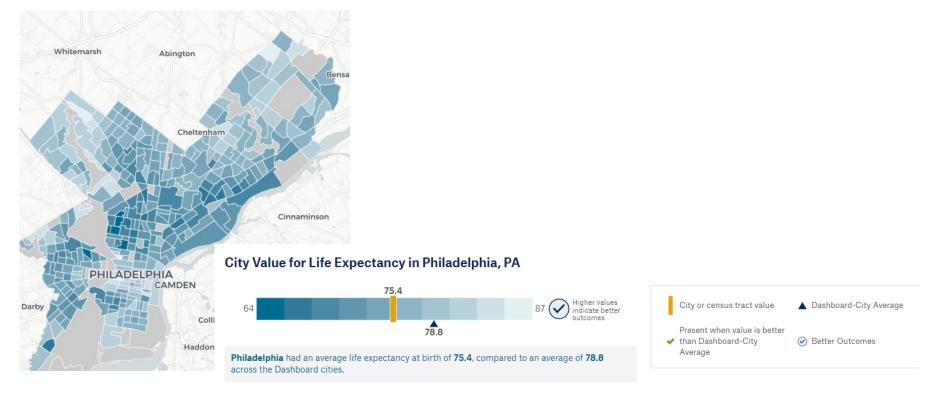
Marmot, M. G., Smith, G. D., Stansfeld, S., Patel, C., North, F., Head, J., . . . Feeney, A. (1991). Health inequalities among British civil servants: the Whitehall II study. Lancet, 337(8754), 1387-1393. doi: 0140-6736(91)93068-K [pii]



Prevalence of cardiorespiratory disease and smoking among men aged 40-54 in the Whitehall I (1967-69) and Whitehall II (1985-88) studies (age-adjusted percentages).

(A) Probable and possible ECG ischaemia, (B) angina pectoris, (C) chronic bronchitis, (D) current cigarette smokers. Administrators (■), professional/executive (S), clerical/support (□).

## The Latest Meme: Zip Code as Fate



https://www.cityhealthdashboard.com/pa/philadelphia/metric-detail?metric=837

## Social Structure Has a Gravitational Effect on Research and Theory, Too

#### Social Conditions as Fundamental Causes of Disease\*

BRUCE G. LINK

Columbia University and New York State Psychiatric Institute

JO PHELAN

University of California, Los Angeles

Journal of Health and Social Behavior 1995, (Extra Issue):80-94

Addressing the "Risk Environment" for Injection Drug Users: The Mysterious Case of the Missing Cop

SCOTT BURRIS, KIM M. BLANKENSHIP, MARTIN DONOGHOE, SUSAN SHERMAN, JON S. VERNICK, PATRICIA CASE, ZITA LAZZARINI, and STEPHEN KOESTER

The Milbank Quarterly, Vol. 82, No. 1, 2004 (pp. 125-56)

#### Research | allostatic load notebook

#### printable version

#### Allostatic Load and Allostasis

Summary prepared by Bruce McEwen and Teresa Seeman in collaboration with the Allostatic Load Working Group, Last revised August, 2009.

#### **Chapter Contents**

- a. Introduction
- b. Where Stress Fits In
- c. Allostasis and Allostatic Load
- d. Allostatic Load Requires Understanding of Physiological Mechanisms
- e. Validation of Allostatic Load f. Further Refinement of Allostatic Load
- g. Recent Developments
- h References

#### Introduction

There are gradients of health when groups of people are classified according to their socioeconomic status, which reflect both income and level of education. The poor suffer earlier mortality and worse health, on the average, than the middle class, which, in turn, is not as healthy as those who are wealthier and/or better educated. Attempts to explain these gradients on the basis of access to health care or such behaviors as smoking have failed to explain the gradient (1.2). Instead there is a need to understand more comprehensively how various aspects of life impact collectively on health, involving such factors as living environment, work, relationships, community, knowledge and practice of health promoting or health damaging behaviors including diet and exercise. In order to do this we must move from groups to individuals and understand how behavior and biology interact.

Often, we use the word "stress" to refer to these biological factors, but this is an oversimplification because they are more that "stress" and include many aspects of lifestyle and daily experience and behavior, including the adjustments to the circadian light-dark cycle. Moreover, the widespread use of the term "stress" in popular culture has made this word a very ambiguous term to describe the ways in which the body copes with psychosocial, environmental and physical challenges. Thus we have been in search of a more comprehensive term for the role of biological mediators in adaptation and maladaptation of the individual to the circumstances of life.

Where Stress Fits In

#### Note Books

Social Environment Notebook

Psychosocial Notebook

Allostatic Load Notebook

Developmental Chapter

#### Chapters

Allostatic Notebook
Table of Contents

- Allostatic Load and Allostasis
- 2. Antibody Response to an
- Antigenic Challenge
  3. Body Composition
- 4. Cardiovascular Measures of Allostatic Load
- 5. Catecholamines and
- Environmental Stress 6 Central Body Fat
- Decrease in Cell-mediated
   Immunity A Marker for
   Allostatic Load Effects on
   Immune Function
- 8. Dietary Factors and SES
- 9. Heart Rate Variability 10. Food
- 11. Memory Function and Hippocampal Formation Volume
- 12. Modes of Cardiac Control
- 13. Muscle Tension
- 14. Parasympathetic Function
- 15. Salivary Cortisol

  Measurement and
  Challenge Tests

## A Lucky Coincidence







THE POLICY
SURVEILLANCE
PROGRAM

A LawAtlas Project

## There is Robust Theory and Evidence in Social Psychology

## 1. Inequality is identified and maintained through perceptual processes:

 Social Class Is Signaled and Accurately Perceived During the Early Stages of Social Perception

#### 2. Ideologies of Merit Reinforce Economic Inequality

- Structural Class Divisions Create Economic Inequality Blindness
- Higher Social Class Is Accompanied by Ideological Beliefs of Economic, Personal, and Social Deservingness
- Ideologies of Merit and Inequality in Political Participation Exacerbate Economic Inequality

#### 3. Economic Inequality also operates along Moral– Relational Paths

 Higher Social Class Curbs Compassion and Heightens Self-Interest in Ways That Exacerbate Inequality Advances in EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
VOLUME 57

#### Unpacking the Inequality Paradox: The Psychological Roots of Inequality and Social Class

Paul K. Piff\*,<sup>1</sup>, Michael W. Kraus<sup>†</sup>, Dacher Keltner<sup>‡</sup>
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\*Vale University, School of Management, New Haven, CT, United States
\*University of California, Berkeley, CA, United States
\*Corresponding author: e-mail address: ppiif@uci.edu



## A Practical Example: Inequality Reproduced Through Help

**Table 11.1** Responses to the inaction of the disadvantaged groups

		Advantaged groups' response to disadvantaged groups' inaction	
		Disapproval	Approval
Is inaction interpreted as disagreement with the status quo?	No	Inaction is attributed to the laziness, indifference, incompetence, or ungratefulness of the disadvantaged group.	Inaction is attributed to the innate inferiority of the disadvantaged group and as indicating consent to their disadvantaged position
	Yes	Inaction is recognised as an attempt to challenge the status quo; measures to ensure the advantaged group's dominant position are taken.	Inaction is recognised as an attempt to challenge the status quo; the disadvantaged group's struggle for equality is seen as legitimate and probably supported

Conceptualisation of Help Avoidance as Motivated Inaction: Implications for Theory, Research and Society. In E. v. Leeuwen & H. Zagefka (Eds.), Intergroup Helping (pp. 223-246). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

## Going forward on Inequity

- Structural change is essential
- But interpersonal change is possible and essential and can change lives right here and now
- Social determinants work has room to grow…



## Legal Levers for Health Equity in Housing

Katie Moran-McCabe, JD

Center for Public Health Law Research

Temple University Beasley School of Law

Philadelphia, PA

September 13, 2019

The Policies for Action Program of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation supported the research reported in this presentation. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent views of the Program or the Foundation.

## What Has Our "Housing System" Produced in the Past Half Century?

### A chronic affordability gap:

- There are only 37 affordable and available units for every 100 extremely low-income renter households
- More than 10 million households pay more than half of their incomes for housing

### Persistently inequitable and unhealthy conditions:

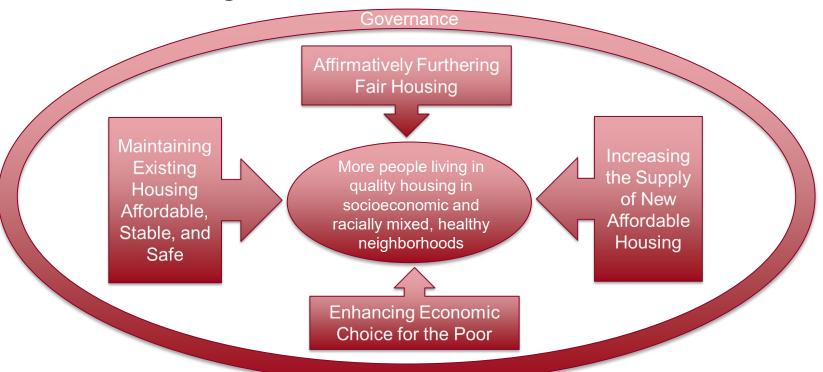
- The average White person lives in a neighborhood that is almost 80% White, approximately 10% Latino, less than 10% Black, and less than 5% Asian
- 4 million households have children exposed to high levels of lead

### What Do We Want the System to Produce?

Health Equity in Housing (HEIH)



## A Legal Levers Model for HEIH



## The Questions We Addressed

- 1. Are legal levers for HEIH actually doing what they purport to do?
- 2. If so, are they tending to produce HEIH?
- 3. How can we better design and deploy legal levers for HEIH?

## Are legal levers for HEIH actually doing what they purport to do?

Mostly "no" or "just don't know."

Some "sort of" or "in some places."

VOL. 11, NO. 1 NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW

Health, Housing, and the Law

251

Abraham Gutman, \* Katie Moran-McCabe, \*\* Scott Burris \*\*\*

## How can we better design and deploy legal levers for HEIH?

Changes to laws that are mostly harmful:

- Exclusionary zoning laws
  - Changes to allow for greater density
  - Use of inclusionary zoning

## How can we better design and deploy legal levers for HEIH?

Tweaks to levers that seem to work (at least in some ways):

- Low Income Housing Tax Credit program
  - ○Use of Qualified Allocation Plan
- Housing Choice Voucher program
  - Small Area Fair Market Rents
  - Source of Income protections

## How can we better design and deploy legal levers for HEIH?

Levers with potential, but needing evaluation:

Rent control

Free legal representation for tenants in eviction hearings

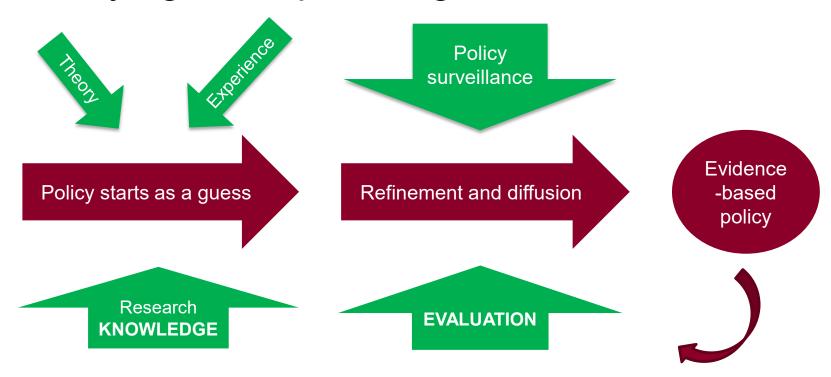
## Thoughts from a systems perspective $\rightarrow$ Levers working together



 LIHTC housing unfettered by QAP and zoning barriers guided by AFFH metro-wide plan

 The goal is to balance the levers to achieve "the perfect sound" – equity

## Systematic Experimental Approach to Identifying and Spreading Good Levers Faster



### Thank You!

**Contact Information:** 

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Call: 215-204-5786

Visit: <a href="http://publichealthlawresearch.org/">http://publichealthlawresearch.org/</a> and <a href="http://LawAtlas.org">http://LawAtlas.org</a>

Twitter: @LawAtlas

Youtube: YouTube.com/LawAtlasorgTemple

## Policy Polarization & Death in America

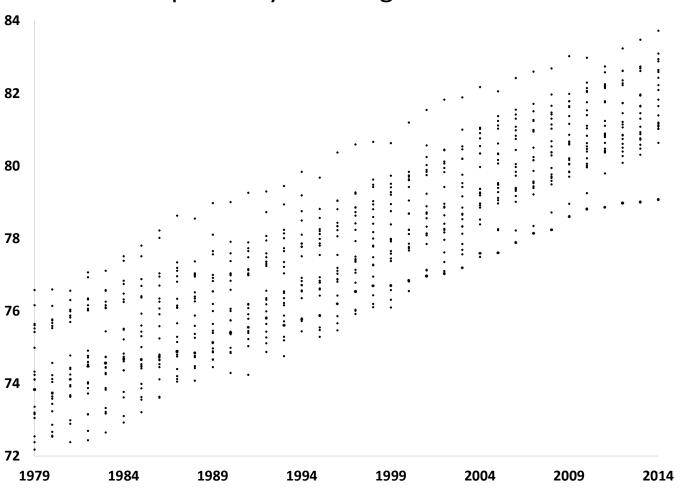
Jennifer Karas Montez, PhD

Professor of Sociology
Gerald B. Cramer Faculty Scholar in Aging Studies
Co-Director of the Policy, Place, and Population Health Lab
Syracuse University

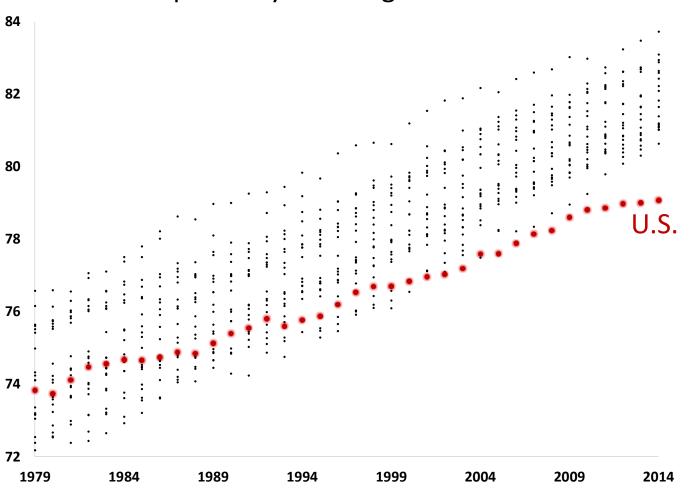
10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium of the Center for Public Health Law Research, Temple University

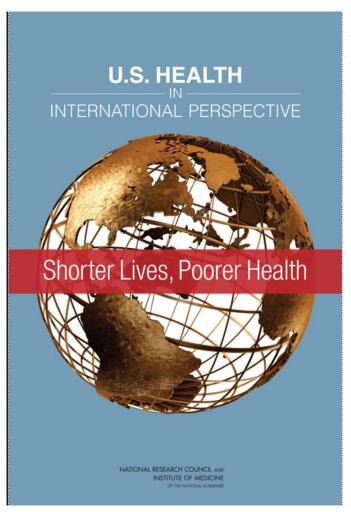
September 13, 2019

### Life Expectancy in 22 High Income Countries

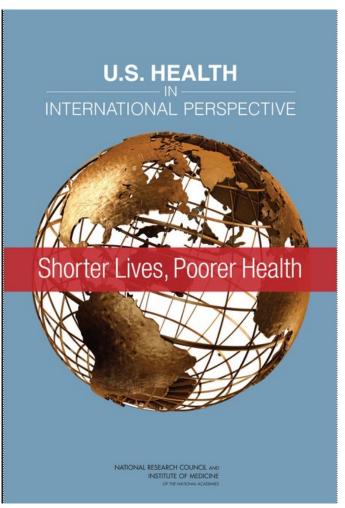


### Life Expectancy in 22 High Income Countries





- Policies & social values
- Physical & social environments
- Social & economic factors
- Public health & medical care systems
- Individual behaviors



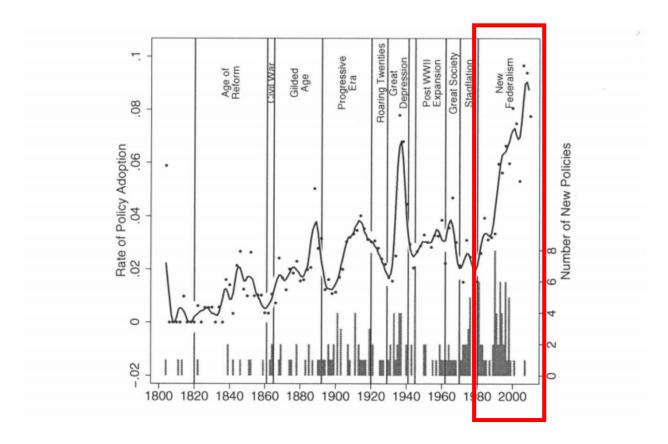
- Policies & social values
- Physical & social environments
- Social & economic factors
- Public health & medical care systems
- Individual behaviors

Policies and political choices are...

"the causes of the causes of the causes of geographical inequalities in health."

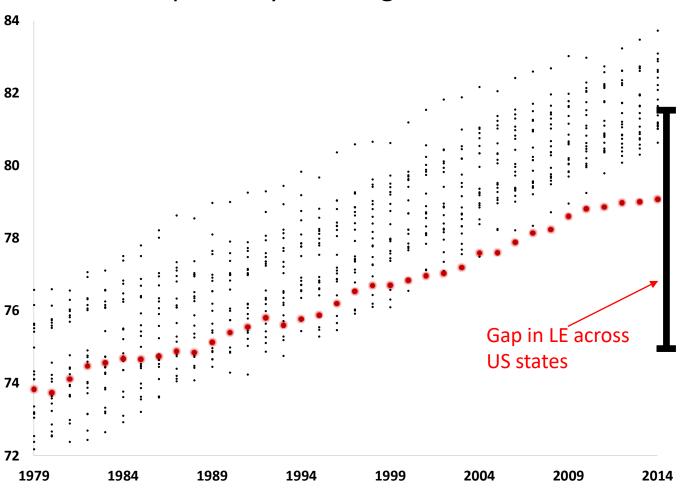
If we ignore them, we are "in danger of missing the bigger picture."
(Bambra et al 2019)

"the policy regime under which an individual lives is increasingly determined by her state of residence." (Grumbach 2018)

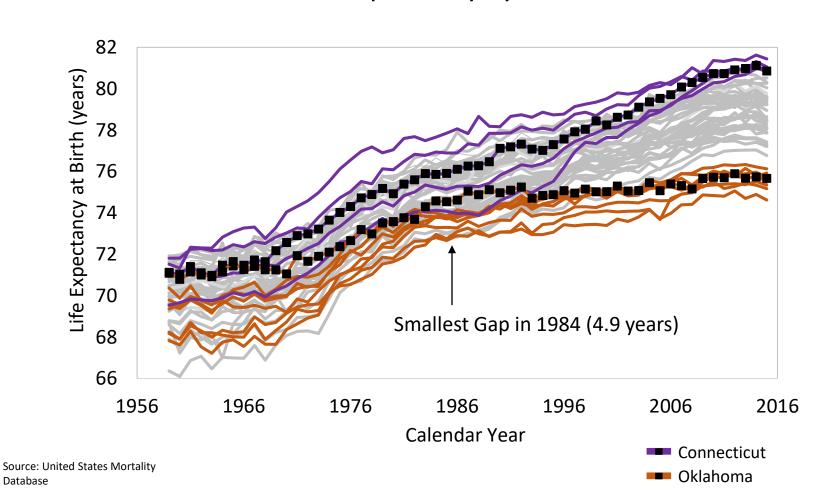


Boehmke & Skinner. 2012

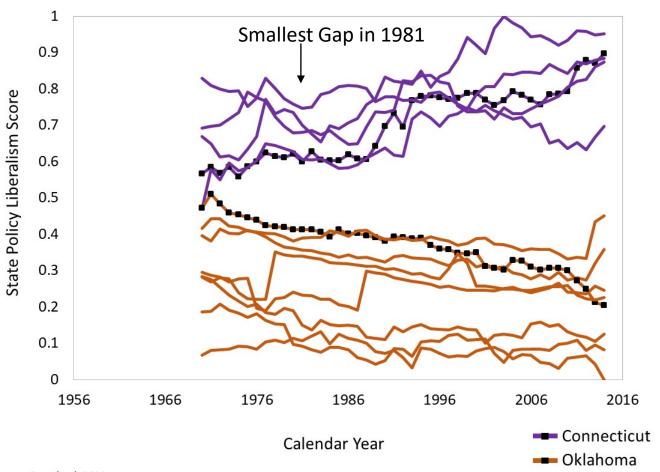
### Life Expectancy in 22 High Income Countries



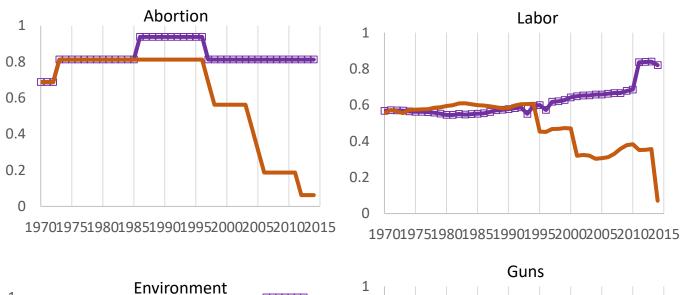
### Life Expectancy by US State

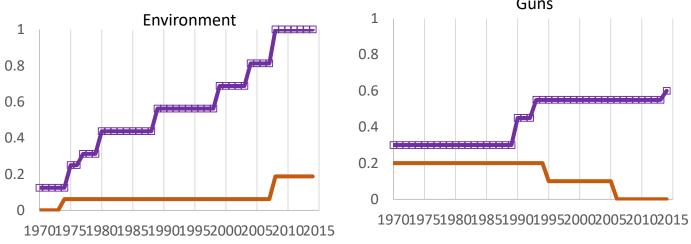


### Overall Policy Liberalism by US State



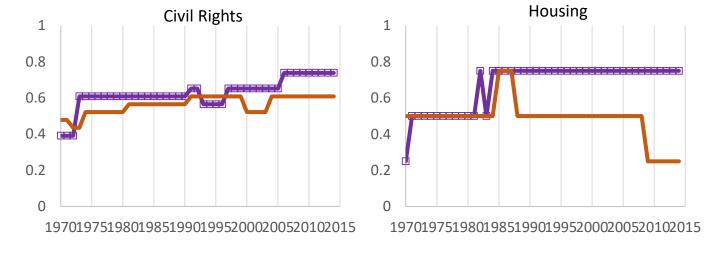
Source: Grumbach 2018

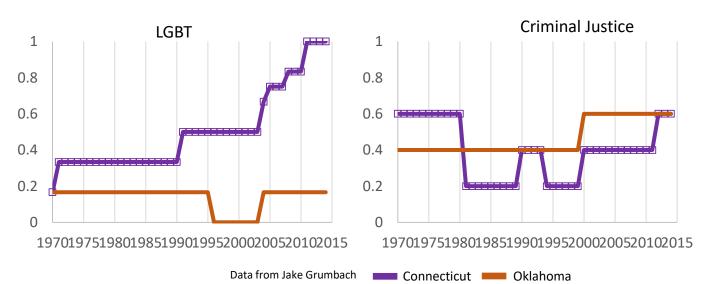




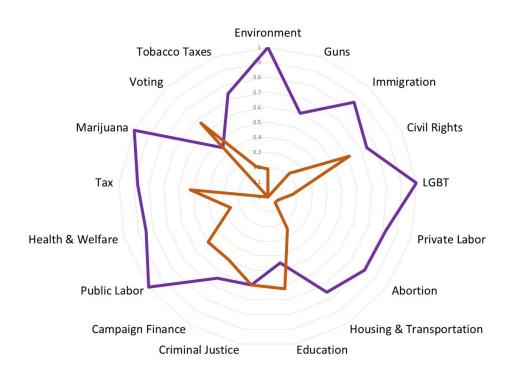
Connecticut Oklahoma

Data from Jake Grumbach





### How much would US life expectancy change if all states enacted the policies of CT or OK?



**Connecticut Policies** 

Women: +2.0 years

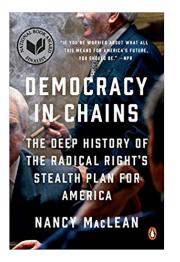
Men: +1.6 years

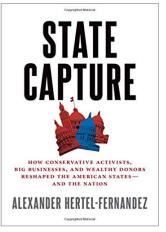
Oklahoma Policies

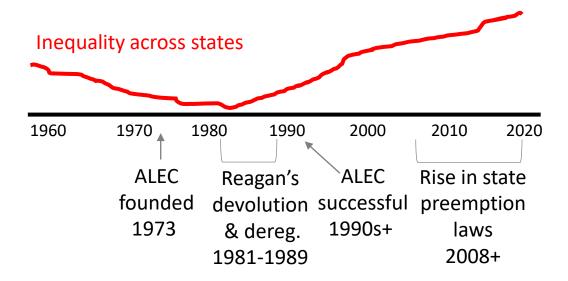
Women: -1.2 years

Men: -0.9 years

#### How did we get into this mess? And how do we get out?







- Researchers & funders must focus on state policy context
- Greater awareness among public & decision makers about
  - Effect of state policies on health
  - ALEC's role and their members
- More funding and professionalization for state reps
- Campaign finance limits?
- Coordinated, multi-level, cross-sector, national response

### Thank you

#### Acknowledgements

This work was supported by grant R01AG055481 (Educational Attainment, Geography, and US Adult Mortality Risk) from the National Institute on Aging; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Policies for Action Program; and Carnegie Foundation of New York.

#### <u>Disclaimer</u>

All views expressed in this presentation are exclusively those of the presenter.

#### References

Bambra et al 2019 "Scaling up: the politics of health and place." Social Science & Medicine 232:36-42.

Boehmke & Skinner. 2012. "State Policy Innovativeness Revisited." State Politics & Policy Quarterly 12(3):303-329

Grumbach. 2018. "From backwaters to major policymakers: policy polarization in the states, 1970-2014." *Perspectives on Politics* 16(2):416-435.

# Improving Social Determinants of Health with Public Policy: An Interdisciplinary Research Approach

KA Komro, PhD, MD Livingston, PhD, S Markowitz, PhD & AC Wagenaar, PhD Emory University Rollins School of Public Health & Dept of Economics

S Burris, JD, L Cloud, JD & H Grunwald, PhD Temple University Beasley School of Law

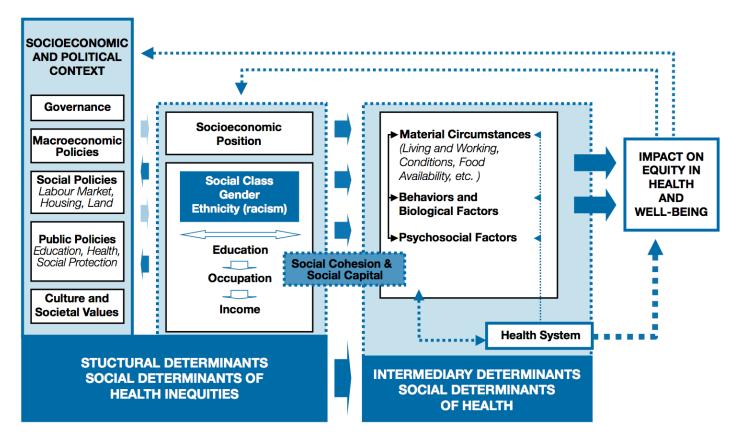




# Understanding How Law Affects Health Scientific Contributions from Multiple Disciplines

- Law
- Social & Behavioral Sciences
- Epidemiology
- Economics
- Statistics

Figure A. Final form of the CSDH conceptual framework



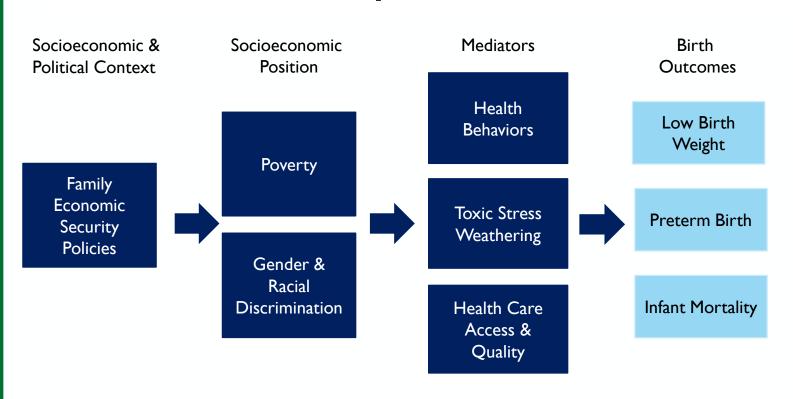
WHO Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH, 2010)

# Family Economic Security Policy: Effects on Infant and Child Health Disparities

- 1. Minimum Wage Laws
- 2. Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)
- 3. Unemployment Insurance
- 4. Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)

R01 funded by the National Institute on Minority Health and Health Disparities, 2015-2020 Initial policy surveillance and pilot studies funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Public Health Law Research program, 2012-2015

# Social Determinants of Birth Outcomes Conceptual Framework

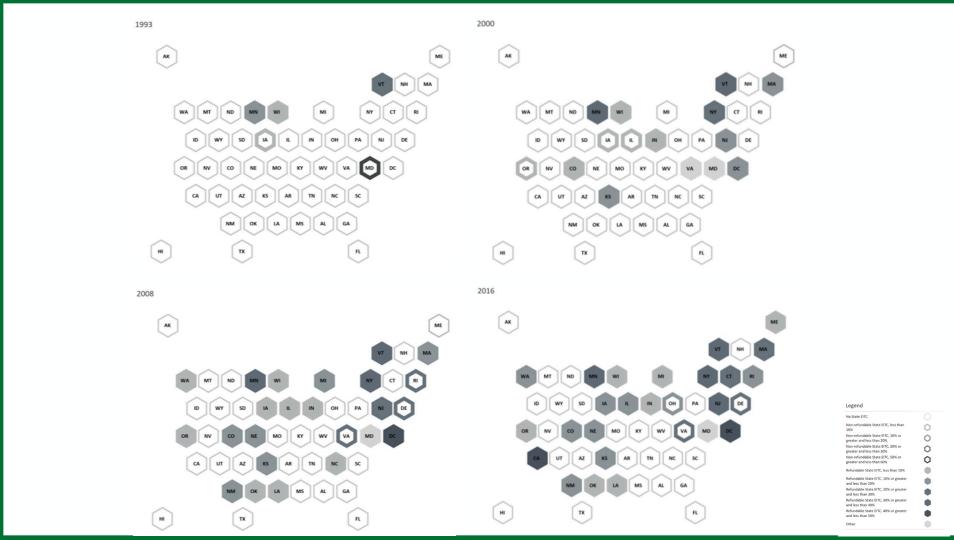


# State earned income tax credits and health: Policy diffusion from 1980 to 2016

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Non-refundable State EITC, 20% or greater and less than 30%	
Non-refundable State EITC, 50% or greater and less than 60%	•
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Refundable State EITC, 10% or greater and less than 20%	
Refundable State EITC, 20% or greater and less than 30%	
Refundable State EITC, 30% or greater and less than 40%	
Refundable State EITC, 40% or greater and less than 50%	
Other	>





Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

#### Social Science & Medicine

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/socscimed



# Effects of state-level Earned Income Tax Credit laws in the U.S. on maternal health behaviors and infant health outcomes



Sara Markowitz<sup>a</sup>, Kelli A. Komro<sup>b,\*</sup>, Melvin D. Livingston<sup>c</sup>, Otto Lenhart<sup>d</sup>, Alexander C. Wagenaar<sup>b</sup>

### Contribution

- 1. Strong quasi-experimental and longitudinal design
  - state-level EITCs
  - multiple policy changes over 20 years
- 2. Presence and generosity of state EITCs
  - infant health outcomes
  - possible mechanisms via maternal health behaviors

### State EITC

In 1994, 5 states had an EITC → In 2013, 26 states had an EITC

least generous

 State-specific EITC ranges from 3.5% to 40% of the federal amount, varies by number of children and refundability

#### **EITC** summary measure

most generous States with an EITC, States with an EITC, States with an EITC, States with an EITC, nonrefundable payments, refundable payments, nonrefundable payments, refundable payments, and payments States with **no** and payments and payments and payments **EITC** less than 10% of the federal less than 10% of the federal 10% or more of the federal 10% or more of the federal amount amount amount amount

# Birth Outcome Results

	Dependent Variables							
	Birth Weight in Grams	Birth Weight <2500g	Gestation Weeks					
Low EITC No Refund	9.44	-0.003	0.05					
Low EITC With Refund	16.85	-0.005	0.03					
High EITC No Refund	12.68	-0.003	0.17					
High EITC With Refund	27.31	-0.008	0.08					

More generous EITCs associated with reductions in probability of LBW

- 0.3 to 0.8 percentage-point reductions
- 4% to 11% reductions
- 4,300 to 11,850 fewer babies born LBW every year among women with high school education or less

# **Quantile Regression Results**

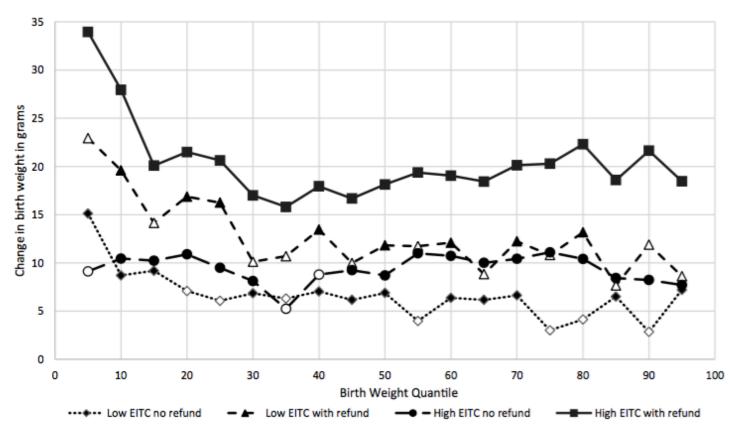


Fig. 2. Effects of EITC Generosity on Birth Weight Using Unconditional Quantile Regression at 5th through 95th Quantiles. Note: N = 30,780,950. Solid marker indicates point estimate is statistically significant at the 5% level.



Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

#### SSM - Population Health

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/ssmph



#### Short Report

# Effects of changes in earned income tax credit: Time-series analyses of Washington DC\*



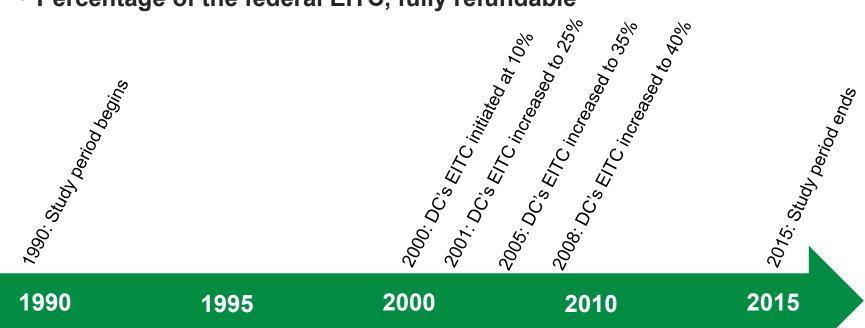
Alexander C. Wagenaar<sup>a,\*</sup>, Melvin D. Livingston<sup>a</sup>, Sara Markowitz<sup>b</sup>, Kelli A. Komro<sup>a</sup>

Department of Behavioral Sciences and Health Education, Rollins School of Public Health, Emory University, 1518 Clifton Road, NE, GCR 556, Atlanta, GA 30322, USA

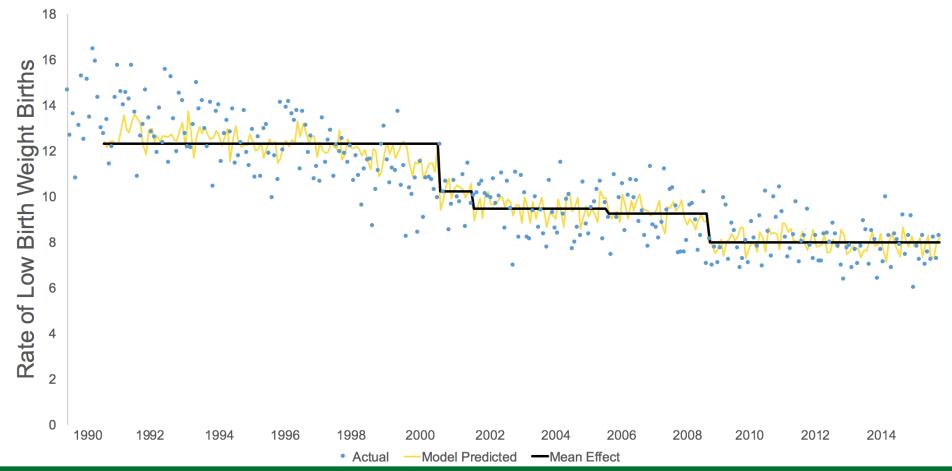
b Department of Economics, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, USA

### EITC in DC

- Four distinct policy changes over 8 year period
- Percentage of the federal EITC, fully refundable



# Effects of EITC on Low Birth Weight



## **Bottom Line: Effects in DC**

 40% tax credit → 40% decrease in low birth weight births from baseline

 Prevents an estimated 349 low-weight births per year in DC Health Equity Volume 3.1, 2019

DOI: 10.1089/heg.2018.0061

Health Equity



#### **ORIGINAL ARTICLE**

**Open Access** 

# Effects of State-Level Earned Income Tax Credit Laws on Birth Outcomes by Race and Ethnicity

Kelli A. Komro,<sup>1,2,\*</sup> Sara Markowitz,<sup>3</sup> Melvin D. Livingston,<sup>1</sup> and Alexander C. Wagenaar<sup>1</sup>

# **Health Inequities**

- Health inequities in birth outcomes by mother's income, education level and race
  - Percent low birth weight births (2016)
    - Hispanic women: 7% to 9.5%
    - non-Hispanic white women: 7%
    - non-Hispanic black women: nearly 14%
- Caused by a complex set of social factors across the life course
  - income inequality
  - education achievement gaps
  - residential segregation
  - toxic environment exposures

#### Results

 Larger beneficial effect among black mothers compared with white mothers for the probability of low birth weight and gestation weeks

 No significant differences in birth outcomes between Hispanic and white mothers





#### **Bigger State Earned Income Tax Credits Lead to Healthier Babies**



Some 1,047 babies in Georgia a year can be saved from low birth weight if lawmakers pass a Georgia Work Credit, according to Emory University researchers. A new study finds that state tax credits to support low-income working families are linked to better health outcomes for babies.

The research builds on a robust body of evidence that already highlights many health and economic benefits from the federal Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC).

Georgia lawmakers came close to passing a state tax credit to help working families

earlier this year, and this move remains on the table for 2018. Lawmakers can still support working families and boost the health of babies statewide.

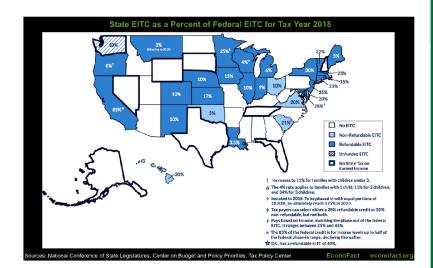




#### EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT

### The Potential of State Earned Income Tax Credits

By Kelli Komro and Sara Markowitz · March 14, 2019 **Emory University** 



# We're Just Getting Started

- Minimum wage and birth outcomes
- Minimum wage and EITC interactive effects
- Minimum wage and EITC optimum legal constructions
- TANF effects on maternal, infant and child outcomes
- Exploring differential effects by race/ethnicity
- Additional health outcomes
- Additional policies affecting social determinants
- Continued monitoring and coding of legal changes

Thank You! Kelli (kkomro@emory.edu)



# **Immigration Law**

