Behavioral Biology and Obesity

Trenton G. Smith

Assistant Professor School of Economic Sciences Washington State University

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Introduction: Obesity and Material Constraints

• The world is getting fatter.



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- This lecture will instead consider obesity in *naturalistic* perspective, building on the biologist's notion that fattening in humans and other animals originated as a response to starvation risk.



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Leptin-less Mice Siberian Hamsters Willow Tits

Endocrinology of Obesity: Leptin

Clinical symptoms of starvation:

- hyperphagia
- decreased body temperature
- decreased physical activity
- diminished immune function
- infertility





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The *obese*-type mouse lacks leptin, behaves as if it were starving.





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Seasonal Fattening: Siberian Hamsters

- Many foraging animals (e.g., the Siberian hamster) fatten seasonally.
- The key environmental trigger appears to be **photoperiod**.





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Seasonal Fattening: Siberian Hamsters

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- The key environmental trigger appears to be **photoperiod**.
- In humans, seasonal affective disorder characterized by depression, hypersomnia, hyperphagia, and weight gain. Most commonly prescribed treatment: exposure to artificial light.
- Conversely, *summer depression* causes insomnia, decreased appetite, and weight loss.

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Social Rank and Obesity: Willow Tits

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- Theoretical explanation: fattening is an optimal response to increased risk of starvation.





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Similar patterns observed in humans and other primates.

Epidemiology Why the Poor Get Fat Fat Countries

Economic Insecurity

 Given the parallels between animal and human fattening, a natural question arises: Might variation in material risk drive incidence of obesity in the modern world?



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Economic Insecurity

- Given the parallels between animal and human fattening, a natural question arises: Might variation in material risk drive incidence of obesity in the modern world?
- Risk is difficult to measure, and it is not clear *a priori* which environmental indicators of impending scarcity will be most important empirically (but: anthropology provides clues).
- Nevertheless, many studies have reported a positive relationship between obesity (or related health problems) and various forms of "economic insecurity."



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Economic Insecurity

Risk driving fattening ...?

- poverty & obesity (Drewnowski 2004)
- inequality & health (Wilkinson & Pickett 2006, Gottschalk & Moffitt 2009)
- social status & health (Marmot 2004)
- social networks & obesity (Christakis & Fowler 2007)
- affluence & self-control (Offer 2006)

- "stress"-related eating (Greeno & Wing 1994, Laitinen *et al.* 2002)
- food insecurity & obesity (Townsend *et al.* 2001)
- financial insecurity & weight gain (Gerace & George 1996)
- job insecurity & nicotine (Smith & Barnes 2009)
- job insecurity & weight gain (Morris et al. 1992, Hannerz et al. 2004, Smith et al. 2009)



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Why the Poor Get Fat

Does economic insecurity (threat of catastrophic income loss) *cause* weight gain? (Smith, Stoddard, & Barnes 2009)

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	Hartford Life, michaelg/barnes@hartfordlife.com
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Epidemiology Why the Poor Get Fat Fat Countries

Why the Poor Get Fat

Does economic insecurity (threat of catastrophic income loss) *cause* weight gain? (Smith, Stoddard, & Barnes 2009)

- Data:
 - National Longitudinal Survey of Youth
 - national (U.S.) sample of 2,500 working-age men
 - interviewed annually or bi-annually 1988-2000.
 - variables: height/weight, weekly employment histories, annual household income, county of residence, other demographics.



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 - interviewed annually or bi-annually 1988-2000.
 - variables: height/weight, weekly employment histories, annual household income, county of residence, other demographics.
- Measures of economic insecurity:
 - probability of job loss
 - number of 50% income drops
 - dispersion of income path
 - probability of poverty
 - (received inheritance)
 - (health insurance)



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Why the Poor Get Fat: A 'Natural' Experiment

• Problem: We observe both economic (employment, income...) and health (12-year weight gain) outcomes. Does the former cause the latter?



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 - unobserved personal characteristics
 - (e.g., "laziness" causes both weight gain and job loss)



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Local labor market conditions provide a natural experiment; result can be interpreted as "causal" (subject to identification assumption).



Epidemiology Why the Poor Get Fat Fat Countries

Why the Poor Get Fat: Results

Effect of Economic	Insecurity on	Body Weight	(lbs.)) in Men,	1988-2000
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Probability	61.75**	-	-	-	111.8***	68.76***
of Job Loss	(31.2)				(23.6)	(22.2)
50% Income	_	5.445*	-	-	-	-
Drops, 1988-2000		(3.15)				
R ² on Income	-	-	-24.27***	-	-	-
Trend, 1988-2000			(7.17)			
Probability	-	-	-	2.997	-	-
of Poverty				(34.70)		
Inheritance	-	-	-	-	-0.0443***	-0.0448***
(in \$1000)					(0.008)	(0.007)
Health Insurance	-	-	-	-	-	-3.518
						(6.41)
N	2561	2561	2281	2281	2561	2548
R^2	0.67	0.672	0.64	0.672	0.67	0.671

Robust standard errors (adjusted for within-state clustering) in parentheses.

* significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%

See Smith et al. (2009) for details.



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Obesity Rates in the OECD

- Smith & McCluskey (WIP) estimate fixed-effects model of obesity rates in 17 OECD countries between 1990 and 2007.
- Obesity data from *OECD Health*, adjusted for demographics and self-reporting
- Preliminary results: labor market variables have more explanatory power than GDP, food prices, or dietary quality
- Overall explanatory power is weak



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Table 5: Fixed Effects

	Obesity Rate (U.S.= 0.0%)			
	1990	2007	Fixed Effects	
United States	0.0	0.0	0.0	
New Zealand	-6.5	-6.1	-1.6	
England	-6.2	-8.9	-3.1	
Australia	-9.1	-12.6	-3.7	
Finland	-9.7	-14.3	-6.1	
Spain	-10.3	-13.3	-6.1	
Czech Republic	-5.9	-18.0	-6.4	
Netherlands	-12.9	-19.3	-7.1	
Canada	-3.2	-13.4	-7.3	
Denmark	-12.0	-17.4	-7.4	
Iceland	-10.6	-8.7	-7.4	
Austria	-10.1	-16.5	-7.9	
Sweden	-12.8	-20.0	-8.6	
France	-12.8	-18.8	-9.3	
Italy	-13.1	-20.7	-11.2	
Switzerland	-14.0	-22.5	-16.0	
Japan	-17.8	-29.8	-21.4	



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Epidemiology Why the Poor Get Fat Fat Countries

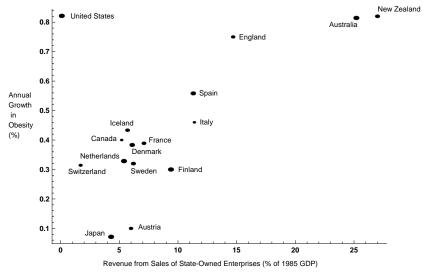
Table 3: Obesity Rankings, 1990-2007

	Obesity Rate (%)			Rank			
	1990	2007	Difference	1990	2007	Difference	
Iceland	9.4	23.9	14.5	10	3	1	
New Zealand	13.5	26.5	13.0	5	2	2	
United States	20.0	32.6	12.6	1	1	3	
England	13.8	23.7	9.9	4	4	4	
Spain	9.7	19.3	9.6	9	6	5	
Australia	10.9	20.0	9.1	6	5	6	
Finland	10.3	18.3	8.0	7	8	7	
Denmark	8.0	15.2	7.2	11	10	8	
France	7.2	13.8	6.6	12	12	9	
Austria	9.9	16.1	6.2	8	9	10	
Netherlands	7.1	13.3	6.2	14	13	10	
Sweden	7.2	12.6	5.4	12	14	12	
Italy	6.9	11.9	5.0	15	15	13	
Switzerland	6.0	10.1	4.1	16	16	14	
Canada	16.8	19.2	2.4	2	7	15	
Japan	2.2	2.8	0.6	17	17	16	
Czech Republic	14.1	14.6	0.5	3	11	17	



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Privatization and Obesity in the OECD, 1985–1999



Epidemiology Why the Poor Get Fat Fat Countries

America's "Great Risk Shift"

 Is the U.S. an anomaly? Has the rise in obesity been accompanied by a rise in economic insecurity?



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- Some likely culprits:

1974-present Health insurance subscriptions down
1979-present Rising income instability
1981-present Pensions: from pooled to individual risk
1994-present NAFTA and outsourcing



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• Though some point to a dramatic rise in fast food restaurants over this time period...



Conjecture on Dietary Quality Conclusion

Dietary Quality: A Conjecture

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What about dietary *quality*?

 Consider nature of famine foods: primarily carbohydrate (root vegetables, leaves, seeds)



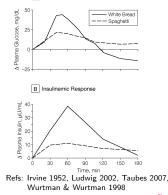
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 - appetite stimulation, lipogenesis





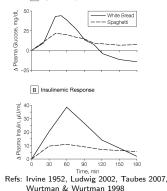
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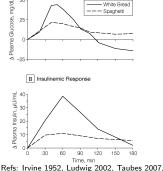
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...which together suggest economic insecurity might cause weight gain in part by inducing changes in dietary composition.



Wurtman & Wurtman 1998



Conjecture on Dietary Quality Conclusion

Summary & Conclusion

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- Rising obesity could be due-in part-to changes in the economic environment that have increased idiosyncratic material risks faced by households.
- It might even be possible that shrinking public expenditures have something to do with our expanding waistlines...



Conjecture on Dietary Quality Conclusion

Worries go down better with soup than without. $-{\rm Jewish}$ proverb

