

Addressing racial inequities in neuropsychological assessment requires international prescriptive standards, not demographically adjusted norms

Michelle Fernandes, Adejumo Idowu Ayede and Karen Blackmon

In their forward-looking Comment, Byrd and Rivera-Mindt address longstanding racial inequities in neuropsychological assessment (Byrd, D. A. & Rivera-Mindt, M. G. *Neuropsychology's race problem does not begin or end with demographically adjusted norms*. *Nat. Rev. Neurol.* **18**, 125–126; 2022)¹. We agree with their premise that race serves as an imperfect proxy for a spectrum of shared exposures to the effects of systemic racism². We agree that, because these exposures are linked to adverse neuropsychological outcomes, they should be measured and considered in neuropsychological assessment. Our concern is that the continued use of race-based adjustments risks propagation of entrenched scientific racism by justifying differential thresholds for disparate, ill-defined racial populations. Not only would the clinical application of demographically adjusted norms be tedious in regions (such as Africa and Asia) with a multiplicity of ethnoculturally and linguistically diverse populations, but also the rationale for such adjustments fundamentally begs an investigation of the socio-ethnocultural neutrality of existing neuropsychological tests.

Recent reports from multisite studies of neurodevelopmental outcomes in young children — including the INTERGROWTH-21st project (five countries)³, INTERBIO-21st study (six countries)⁴ and an NIH-funded observational study (four countries)⁵ — converge on two crucial findings. First, within-population variability is far greater than between-population variability when basic health and nutritional needs are met and when outcomes are measured on standardized, culturally unbiased tests^{3,5,6}. Second, epidemiological differences between populations are largely environment-driven⁴. Although these studies probed outcomes in

children below 3 years of age (which limits generalizability), the findings provide a basis upon which to argue against the rationale for demographic-specific norms.

We advocate for the construction and application of international prescriptive standards (instead of references), comprising individuals specifically recruited to control for most, if not all, major environmental exposures known to negatively influence neuropsychological outcomes. This approach has successfully been applied to the measurement of early child growth⁷; fetal skeletal growth⁸; and neurocognitive, psychomotor and behavioural outcomes at 2 years of age⁹. These tools and their accompanying standards have negated the need for demographic adjustments when applied in clinical practice and research.

Study designs aimed at deriving norms for neuropsychological tests have largely focused on describing how individuals, in a specific setting and time, 'have' attained outcomes (references) as opposed to describing how individuals in all settings 'should' attain the outcomes of interest (standards). The WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study addressed the technical and logistical complexities of constructing standards¹⁰. For ease of communication, we simplify their approach into a 'PIE' test that can be used to guide future test development: 'P' stands for the 'prescriptive' selection of normative samples by controlling for key exposures; 'I' for a diverse 'international' sampling frame; and 'E' for outcome 'equivalency' (that is, greater intragroup than intergroup variability) between geoculturally disparate populations across independent measures.

We agree that neuropsychology's race problem neither begins nor ends with demographically adjusted norms. These norms are

an interim solution to a complex methodological challenge. Instead, we advocate for the construction and implementation of prescriptive international standards.

Michelle Fernandes^{1,2,3,8}, Adejumo Idowu Ayede^{4,5,6} and Karen Blackmon⁷

¹MRC Lifecourse Epidemiology Centre, Faculty of Medicine, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK.

²Human Development and Health Academic Unit, Faculty of Medicine, University of Southampton, Southampton, UK.

³Nuffield Department of Women's & Reproductive Health, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.

⁴Department of Paediatrics, College of Medicine, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

⁵Department of Paediatrics and Neonatology, University College Hospital, Ibadan, Nigeria.

⁶Newborn and Child Survival Research Consortium, Centre for African Newborn Health and Nutrition, University College Hospital, Ibadan, Nigeria.

⁷Department of Psychiatry and Psychology, Mayo Clinic, Jacksonville, FL, USA.

✉e-mail: M.C.Fernandes@soton.ac.uk

<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41582-022-00652-7>

1. Byrd, D. A. & Rivera-Mindt, M. G. Neuropsychology's race problem does not begin or end with demographically adjusted norms. *Nat. Rev. Neurol.* **18**, 125–126 (2022).
2. Lett, E., Asabor, E., Beltrán, S., Michelle Cannon, A. & Arah, O. A. Conceptualizing, contextualizing, and operationalizing race in quantitative health sciences research. *Ann. Fam. Med.* **Jan 2022**, 2792 (2022).
3. Villar, J. et al. Neurodevelopmental milestones and associated behaviours are similar among healthy children across diverse geographical locations. *Nat. Commun.* **10**, 511 (2019).
4. Villar, J. et al. Association between preterm-birth phenotypes and differential morbidity, growth, and neurodevelopment at age 2 years: results from the INTERBIO-21st Newborn Study. *JAMA Pediatr.* **175**, 483–493 (2021).
5. Ertem, I. O. et al. Similarities and differences in child development from birth to age 3 years by sex and across four countries: a cross-sectional, observational study. *Lancet Glob. Health* **6**, e279–e291 (2018).
6. Villar, J. et al. The likeness of fetal growth and newborn size across non-isolated populations in the INTERGROWTH-21st Project: the Fetal Growth Longitudinal Study and Newborn Cross-Sectional Study. *Lancet Diabetes Endocrinol.* **2**, 781–792 (2014).
7. WHO Multicentre Growth Reference Study Group. WHO Child Growth Standards based on length/height, weight and age. *Acta Paediatr.* **95**, 76–85 (2006).
8. Papageorgiou, A. T. et al. International standards for fetal growth based on serial ultrasound measurements: the Fetal Growth Longitudinal Study of the INTERGROWTH-21st Project. *Lancet* **384**, 869–879 (2014).
9. Fernandes, M. et al. INTERGROWTH-21st Project international INTER-NDA standards for child development at 2 years of age: an international prospective population-based study. *BMJ Open* **10**, e035258 (2020).
10. de Onis, M. et al. The WHO multicentre growth reference study: rationale, planning, and implementation. *Food Nutr. Bull.* **25**, S15–S26 (2004).

Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.