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5 6	Life course trajectories of neighborhood social deprivation and population density before and after first diagnosis of psychotic disorders: a nested case-control study in Sweden
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20 Key points

- 21 Question: Do trajectories of exposure to neighborhood social environments before and after first
- 22 diagnosis of a serious mental illness (SMI) differ between cases and matched controls?
- 23 Findings: In this nested case-control study of 26,729 cases diagnosed with SMI and 26,729 birth-
- 24 year-sex matched controls, we observed gradients between living in more deprived neighborhoods
- 25 during upbringing and subsequent risk of SMI; in contrast, risk was ameliorated in those who
- 26 experienced early life upward mobility. Following diagnosis, few cases moved into more deprived
- 27 areas; cases remained disproportionately exposed to higher levels of deprivation.
- 28 Meaning: Associations between deprivation, population density and psychotic disorder are partially
- 29 explained by social causation, but exacerbated after diagnosis by social immobility; social drift does
- 30 not play a strong role.

31 Abstract

Importance: People with psychosis are more likely to be born and live in densely populated and
 socioeconomically deprived environments, but it is unclear whether these associations are a cause
 or consequence of disorder.

Objective: To investigate whether trajectories of exposure to deprivation and population density
 before and after diagnosis were associated with psychotic disorders or non-psychotic bipolar
 disorder.

38 Design, Setting, and Participants: Nested case-control study of all individuals born in Sweden 39 between January 1, 1982, and December 31, 2001, diagnosed for the first time with an International 40 Classification of Diseases, Tenth Revision [ICD-10] psychotic disorder (F20-29, F30/1.2, F32/3.3) or 41 non-psychotic bipolar disorder (F30/3.x) between their fifteenth birthday and cohort exit (December 42 31, 2016). We randomly selected one sex- and birth-year-matched control per case. 43 **Exposures:** Quintiles of neighbourhood-level deprivation and population density each year from: 44 birth to age 14, and first diagnosis until cohort exit. Group-based trajectory modelling was used to 45 derive trajectories of each exposure in each period. Logistic regression was used to examine

46 associations with outcomes.

47 **Results:** We included 53,458 individuals (26,729 cases and 26,729 controls), of whom 30,746 (57.5%) 48 were female. From birth to early adolescence, we observed gradients in exposure to deprivation and 49 population density trajectories during upbringing and psychotic disorder, with those in the most-50 versus-least deprived (adjusted odds ratio [aOR]: 1.17; 95%CI: 1.08-1.28) and densely populated 51 (aOR: 1.49; 95%CI: 1.34-1.66) trajectories at greatest risk. A strong upward mobility trajectory to less 52 deprived neighborhoods was associated with similar risk to living in the least deprived trajectory 53 (aOR: 1.01; 95%CI: 0.91-1.12). Following diagnosis, only 2.3% of participants experienced downward 54 social drift; people with psychotic disorder were more likely to belong to this trajectory (aOR: 1.38;

- 95%CI: 1.16-1.65) or remain in the most deprived trajectory (aOR: 1.36; 95%CI: 1.24-1.48) relative to
 controls. Patterns were similar for non-psychotic bipolar disorder and deprivation, but weaker for
 population density.
- 58 **Conclusions and Relevance:** Greater exposure to deprivation during upbringing increased risk of
- serious mental illness (SMI), but upward mobility mitigated this. People with SMI disproportionately
- 60 remained living in more deprived areas following diagnosis, highlighting issues of social immobility.
- 61 Prevention and treatment should be proportionately located in deprived areas according to need.

62 Introduction

63 Elevated rates of serious mental illnesses (SMI), primarily non-affective psychotic disorders, have been consistently observed in more socially deprived and densely populated areas.¹⁻¹¹ The causal 64 65 direction of this association remains unclear. Social causation theory posits that exposure to socioenvironmental stressors cause increased psychosis risk.¹²⁻¹⁵ Conversely, non-causal "selection-66 67 drift" theories propose that downwards social mobility explains the association between social 68 adversity and SMI.^{8,16} Social drift theory posits that psychosis negatively impact one's ability to 69 sustain living standards, resulting in intragenerational drift into more deprived areas. Social selection 70 theory proposes that individuals with genetic predisposition to psychosis are selected into such 71 environments prior to psychosis onset due to intergenerational transmission of genetic liability to 72 psychosis,¹⁶⁻²⁰ which may be an upstream common cause of other functional processes related to 73 both exposure and outcome, such as cognition.²¹ Cognitive impairment is more strongly associated 74 with psychotic disorders than other SMIs such as bipolar disorder; this may explain the specificity of association between neighborhoood social environments and non-affective psychoses.^{20,22,23} 75 76 Both selection and drift occur by actively moving into more adverse neighborhoods or lower 77 socioeconomic positions. A related third process may also exist. Here, individuals with psychosis may 78 remain in the same neighborhood or socioeconomic position, but experience social immobility

relative to their unaffected peers, who are more likely to experience upward mobility by both placeand status.

These causal and non-causal explanations are not mutually exclusive. Longitudinal evidence of a dose-response relationship between urbanicity at birth and upbringing with future risk of psychotic disorders excludes intragenerational drift as the sole underlying mechanism.^{24,25} Some studies,^{20,22} though not all,^{26,27} have reported modest levels of social drift after psychosis onset, though whether this is due to social drift or relative social immobility amongst people with SMI remains unclear. Recently, genetically-informed studies have sought to untangle social causation from

87	intergenerational selection. Genetic susceptibility to schizophrenia, measured by polygenic risk
88	scores (PRS) or shared familial influences, predicts subsequent residence in more deprived areas
89	prior to onset, irrespective of SES at birth. ^{28,29} However, a social causation interpretation remains
90	possible via mediated pleiotropy, ³⁰ and not all studies have observed that PRS for schizophrenia
91	predicts urban birth. ³¹ Further, urban birth and upbringing remain associated with later psychosis,
92	despite adjustment for genetic risk. ³¹⁻³⁴ No study to date has investigated the specificity of
93	longitudinal associations between neighborhood social environments and various SMI outcomes,
94	during upbringing and after first diagnosis, which would shed further light on social causation versus
95	selection-drift-immobility hypotheses. The present study used Swedish national population-based
96	register data to investigate these issues. Our aims were to:
97	1. Identify and describe latent trajectories of neighborhood-level deprivation and population
98	density from (a) birth until age 14, and (b) year of SMI diagnosis in cases and matched
99	controls until the end of follow-up.
100	2. Explore whether people diagnosed with psychotic disorder, non-psychotic bipolar disorder
101	and controls differed in their deprivation and population density trajectories.
102	We hypothesised that social causation would mean that individuals diagnosed with a psychotic
103	disorder were more likely to have lived in more deprived and densely populated areas prior to
104	diagnosis, compared with controls. We also hypothesised that selection-drift-immobility would
105	mean that, following diagnosis, individuals with psychotic disorders were more likely than controls
106	to follow a downward trajectory to more deprived and densely populated areas. Finally, we
107	hypothesised these patterns would be weaker for non-psychotic bipolar disorders, given previous
108	evidence. ^{23,35}

110 <u>Methods</u>

111 Study Design

112 Using a nested case-control design, we matched cases and controls by birth year and sex, ensuring 113 that trajectories of neighborhood change occurred during similar ages and time periods. We first 114 identified a cohort of individuals born in Sweden between January 1, 1982, and December 31, 2001, 115 through Psychiatry Sweden, a register linkage of national longitudinal registries of routine data, 116 linked via a civic registration number assigned to all Swedish residents at birth. Data on Small Area 117 Marketing Statistics (SAMS) neighborhoods were available from 1982 onwards. We followed the 118 cohort from birth until censorship due to an SMI diagnosis, death, emigration, or the study end date 119 (December 31, 2016), whichever came first. All individuals who died, emigrated, or were diagnosed 120 with SMI before age 15 were excluded.

121

122 Selection of Cases and Controls

123 Within the base cohort, we excluded 49,784 (2.5%) individuals missing data on neighborhood of 124 residence, and 97 (<0.1%) individuals missing covariate data (Figure 1). We then identified all cases 125 with a first SMI diagnosis after 15 years old (earliest, January 1, 1997) recorded in the National 126 Patient Register. SMI diagnoses were defined using the International Statistical Classification of 127 Diseases and Related Health Problems, Tenth Revision (ICD-10), and categorised into two groups: 128 psychotic disorders (schizophrenia [F20], nonaffective psychoses [F21-29], or affective psychotic 129 disorders [F30.2, F31.2, F31.5, F32.3, F33.3]); and non-psychotic bipolar disorder (F30.x, F31.x, 130 excluding F30.2, F31.2, F31.5). People who received both diagnoses were categorised in the psychotic disorder group, consistent with previous research.³⁶ For each case, we randomly selected 131 132 one sex- and birth-year-matched control without an SMI diagnosis.

133

134 Exposures

135 For each year of observation, we estimated area-level socioeconomic deprivation and population density, utilising the SAMS register.^{29,37-39} Sweden is divided into 9,209 SAMS for administrative 136 137 purposes. The register holds annual information on area-level characteristics of each SAMS. These 138 are classified to be maximally socioeconomically homogeneous, but their deprivation and population 139 density levels vary.²⁹ Socioeconomic deprivation was derived from measures of income, social 140 benefits, unemployment, and crime (eMethods in Supplement). These were z-standardised and 141 summed to calculate a deprivation index (higher scores specifying greater deprivation).^{21,40} 142 Population density was calculated as people per square kilometer in each SAMS. For each year, we 143 calculated guintiles of deprivation and population density. Individuals were linked to their SAMS 144 area and respective quintile values for each year of observation.

145

146 Covariates

We included the following confounders: biological parental history of SMI; parental migrant status;
parental disposable income quintile at birth; number of residential moves from birth until age 14;
and number of residential moves from index year until end of follow-up for post-diagnosis analyses
(eMethods in Supplement).

151

152 Statistical Analyses

153 First, we conducted group-based trajectory modelling (GBTM) to identify latent groups that followed

154 similar trajectories of deprivation and population density exposure over time (see eMethods in

155 Supplement for full details).⁴¹ GBTM was conducted separately for each exposure for two different

- 156 time periods: pre-diagnosis (from birth year until 14th year of follow-up) and post-diagnosis (from
- 157 index diagnosis year in cases until end of follow-up). For each model, we established the optimal
- 158 number of trajectory groups and their shape, considering Bayesian Information Criterion values and

other statistics.⁴¹⁻⁴³ Each individual was then classified to a group according to the maximum
 posterior probability assignment rule.

161 Second, to determine the association between trajectory group membership and each SMI outcome, 162 we conducted logistic regressions for pre-diagnosis and post-diagnosis periods, separately. We fitted 163 univariable models for each exposure-outcome association, bivariable analyses (mutually adjusted 164 for population density and deprivation trajectories), and multivariable models adjusted for all 165 covariates. Reference categories for each exposure were the least deprived and least densely 166 populated trajectory groups. We reported odds ratios (OR) with 95% confidence intervals (95% CI). 167 As post-hoc analyses, we conducted re-parameterized logistic regression models with the 'upward 168 mobility' and 'urban-rural movement' trajectories as the reference categories, to investigate the 169 presence of relative social immobility for people with SMI (i.e. remaining in more deprived or urban 170 environments relative to their unaffected peers). Given minimal missing data (2.5%), we conducted complete-case analyses,⁴⁴ and compared the 171 172 characteristics of those with and without complete data. All modelling was conducted in Stata, version 17; GBTM was estimated using the *traj* user-written Stata package.⁴⁵ 173 174 This study was approved by the Stockholm Regional Ethical Review Board (2010/1185-31/5) and the 175 UCL Research Ethics Committee (21019/001), and consent was waived. 176 177 **Results**

178 Sample characteristics

- 179 From the complete case sample of 1,949,374 individuals (97.5% of cohort; eTable 1 and eResults in
- 180 Supplement), we identified 26,729 cases with a first SMI diagnosis (psychotic disorder: 12,947,
- 181 48.4%; non-psychotic bipolar disorder: 13,782, 51.6%), and selected 26,729 birth-year-sex matched
- 182 controls (Figure 1; Table 1). Cases with psychotic disorder were more likely to be male, second-

generation immigrants, born in the most deprived and densely populated quintiles, and to have
moved five or more times after index diagnosis year, compared with cases with non-psychotic
bipolar disorder and controls (all p<0.001; Table 1). All cases were more likely to have a parental
history of SMI, and to have moved between birth and age 14, consistent with previous findings.³⁹
Median years of post-diagnosis follow-up was 5 (interquartile range (IQR): 2-7) in both cases and
controls.

189

190 Trajectory identification

191 Model fit statistics (eTable 2 and eTable 3 in Supplement) indicated that we obtained trajectory

192 models with good model fit, as described below for each exposure and time period.

193

194 Pre-diagnosis

195 For deprivation, a 6-group model provided optimal fit to the data. Four trajectories indicated

temporally stable levels of exposure to deprivation (from low to high; Figure 2A: trajectories 1, 2, 3,

4) between birth and age 14, accounting for 80.8% of the sample. Trajectories 5 (8.0%) and 6 (11.2%)

depicted groups which moved from more to less deprived areas, which we termed 'strong upward

199 *mobility'* and *'moderate upward mobility'*, respectively.

200

201 For population density, we were unable to execute the trajectory modelling for the entire follow-up

202 period due to convergence issues. Therefore, we restricted the model from birth to age 13, and

203 selected a 6-group model. Population density remained stable for five trajectories (from low to high;

Figure 2B: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; 92.1% of the sample). Trajectory 6 (7.9%) depicted an 'urban-rural movement'

group which moved from more urban to rural environments in childhood.

206

207 Post-diagnosis

208	We chose a 7-group model for deprivation trajectories up to 19 years after the index diagnosis year
209	(eTable 2). Deprivation remained stable for five trajectories (from low to high; Figure 2C: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5;
210	96.1% of the sample). Two further trajectories included an 'downward drift' group (trajectory 6;
211	2.3%) moving from less to more deprived areas in the first 5-6 years following diagnosis, and
212	conversely, an 'upward mobility' group (trajectory 7; 1.6%).
213	
214	We modelled population density using a 5-group model. Population density remained largely stable
215	following diagnosis for four trajectories (from low to high; Figure 2D: 1, 2, 3, 4; 98.0% of the sample).
216	Trajectory 5 (2.0%) represented an 'urban-rural movement' group which moved from the most to
217	least densely populated areas.
218	
219	Association between trajectories and SMI outcomes
220	
221	Pre-diagnosis
222	In unadjusted and bivariable models, we observed strong gradients between living in progressively
223	greater deprivation trajectories from birth to age 14 and odds of psychotic disorder after age 15
224	(Table 2), which persisted in fully-adjusted models (i.e., trajectory 3: OR: 1.18, 95% CI: 1.09-1.29;
225	trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic
225 226	trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16-
225 226 227	trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16- 1.37; trajectory 4: OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.14-1.35). In fully-adjusted models, odds of either outcome
225 226 227 228	trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16- 1.37; trajectory 4: OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.14-1.35). In fully-adjusted models, odds of either outcome were ameliorated in the 'strong' and 'moderately' upward mobility trajectories (Table 2), with the
225 226 227 228 229	 trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16- 1.37; trajectory 4: OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.14-1.35). In fully-adjusted models, odds of either outcome were ameliorated in the 'strong' and 'moderately' upward mobility trajectories (Table 2), with the strongest amelioration in the 'strong upward mobility' group for both psychotic disorders (OR: 1.01,
225 226 227 228 229 230	 trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16- 1.37; trajectory 4: OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.14-1.35). In fully-adjusted models, odds of either outcome were ameliorated in the 'strong' and 'moderately' upward mobility trajectories (Table 2), with the strongest amelioration in the 'strong upward mobility' group for both psychotic disorders (OR: 1.01, 95% CI: 0.91-1.12) and non-psychotic bipolar disorder (OR: 1.08, 95% CI: 0.97-1.19).
225 226 227 228 229 230 231	trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.11-1.31). A similar relationship was observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder (i.e., trajectory 2: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.06-1.24; trajectory 3: OR: 1.26, 95% CI: 1.16- 1.37; trajectory 4: OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.14-1.35). In fully-adjusted models, odds of either outcome were ameliorated in the 'strong' and 'moderately' upward mobility trajectories (Table 2), with the strongest amelioration in the 'strong upward mobility' group for both psychotic disorders (OR: 1.01, 95% CI: 0.91-1.12) and non-psychotic bipolar disorder (OR: 1.08, 95% CI: 0.97-1.19).

233 (i.e., trajectory 3: OR: 1.17, 95% CI: 1.05-1.31; trajectory 4: OR: 1.21, 95% CI: 1.08-1.34; trajectory 5:

234	OR: 1.49, 95% CI: 1.34-1.66; Table 2), but not non-psychotic bipolar disorder. Those in the 'urban-
235	rural movement' trajectory had increased odds of psychotic disorder (OR: 1.29, 95% CI: 1.13-1.47)
236	and non-psychotic bipolar disorder (OR: 1.24, 95% CI: 1.09-1.41).
237	
238	Post-diagnosis
239	Following diagnosis, cases of both psychotic disorders (trajectory 4: OR: 1.19, 95% CI: 1.09-130;
240	trajectory 5: OR: 1.36, 95% CI: 1.24-1.48) and non-psychotic bipolar disorder (trajectory 4: OR: 1.21,
241	95% CI: 1.11-1.32; trajectory 5: OR: 1.39, 95% CI: 1.28-1.51) were at greater odds of living in more
242	deprived trajectories relative to controls (Table 3). Cases with psychotic disorder were also more
243	likely to belong to the ' <i>downward drift</i> ' trajectory than controls (OR: 1.38; 95% CI: 1.16-1.65), but
244	not cases with non-psychotic bipolar disorder. 'Upward mobility' was not associated with either
245	outcome.
246	
247	People with psychotic disorder were more likely to live in more densely populated post-diagnosis
248	trajectories than controls, though no dose-response pattern was evident (trajectory 2: OR: 1.21, 95%
249	CI: 1.10-1.32; trajectory 3: OR: 1.27, 95% CI: 1.18-1.38; trajectory 4: OR: 1.15, 95% CI: 1.07-1.25;
250	Table 3). There was no association between the 'urban-rural movement' trajectory and psychotic
251	disorder, or between post-diagnosis population density trajectories and non-psychotic bipolar
252	disorder.
253	
254	Post-hoc analyses
255	Individuals with psychotic disorder were more likely to be in more deprived trajectories following
256	diagnosis than in the 'upward mobility' trajectory relative to controls (trajectory 4: OR: 1.30, 95% CI:

- 257 1.06-1.60; trajectory 5: OR: 1.49, 95% CI: 1.21-1.83; eTable 5), indicative of relative social immobility
- amongst people with a psychotic disorder. This was not observed for non-psychotic bipolar disorder,

259 nor for either outcome regarding population density with *'urban-rural movement'* as the reference
260 category (eTable 5).

261

262 Discussion

263 Principal findings

From birth until early adolescence, we observed strong gradients between living in more deprived and densely populated areas and future odds of psychosis, congruent with social causation. These odds were ameliorated in proportion with the degree of upward mobility experienced during upbringing. Similar findings were observed with respect to deprivation, but not population density for non-psychotic bipolar disorder.

269

270 Following diagnosis, people with psychotic disorder were more likely than controls to drift

downwards into more deprived areas, though this was only experienced by 2.7% of those with

272 psychotic disorder. Relative social immobility was a bigger driver of exposure to deprivation

following diagnosis than social drift, with people with SMI disproportionately remaining in the most

deprived trajectory quintile.

275

276 Meaning of the findings

Our findings are consistent with research that shows elevated incidence of psychosis in those who are born or reside in deprived and densely populated areas prior to diagnosis.^{3,8,46,47} Whilst early residential mobility may increase psychosis risk through disruption to social networks,^{39,48} our findings show that upward mobility reduces future SMI risk, consistent with work from Denmark where children who moved to less urban areas during upbringing had a reduced schizophrenia risk.³ We extend that work by showing this effect appears specific to deprivation, and was evident in early childhood for both psychotic disorders and non-psychotic bipolar disorder. Further, our trajectory

284 modelling approach suggests that social deprivation is a modifiable risk factor for SMI: the earlier 285 participants experienced upward mobility, the lower their subsequent SMI risk. Potential 286 mechanisms include both a critical window of susceptibility to deprivation in childhood, or a 287 cumulative exposure hypothesis. It is also possible that threshold effects also exist. In our analyses, 288 exposure to deprivation during childhood only increased the odds of psychosis in the two highest quintiles of persistent exposure to deprivation, consistent with earlier research.^{49,50} Alternatively, a 289 290 non-causal explanation would arise if cases and controls who experienced upward mobility were 291 systematically different on unobserved confounders, including genetic liability to SMI, to those who 292 remained in more deprived trajectories during upbringing. Nonetheless, we controlled for several 293 covariates, including parental history of SMI, lending credence to a causal interpretation. If causal, 294 our results indicate that socioeconomic interventions which lift people out of more deprived 295 environments earlier in childhood will mitigate future SMI risk. Recent research provides potential 296 clues, including evidence that children exposed to greater deprivation have lower total brain 297 volumes and other structural brain differences,⁵¹ that greater deprivation is associated with 298 biomarkers of allostatic load,⁵² and that cognition partially mediates the effect of deprivation on 299 non-affective psychosis.²¹

300

301 We also identified gradients between population density during upbringing and later risk of 302 psychotic disorders, as previously observed.^{3,8,46} This was less evident for non-psychotic bipolar disorders, consistent with previous evidence.²³ Interestingly, we observed that those moving from 303 304 more urban to rural areas remained at increased SMI risk, suggesting that early exposure to factors 305 related to population density can have lasting impacts on mental health. Marcelis et al⁵³ also 306 reported stronger effects of urban birth than later residency on schizophrenia risk. These findings 307 suggest that deprivation and population density may have different critical windows or may operate 308 differently to impact SMI risk. Further theoretical development and empirical studies are required to 309 disentangle these potentially causal explanations.

310

311	Our study adds to the evidence base that limited social drift occurs following SMI diagnosis. ^{20,22} A
312	recent Welsh study also did not observe such a process over a ten-year period, ²⁶ but could not
313	exclude relative social immobility (termed "passive social drift" in their paper), which has been
314	demonstrated to be a more predominant social process in our study and in others. ²⁰ People with
315	psychotic disorders, but not non-psychotic bipolar disorder were more likely to live in more urban
316	areas after diagnosis, but no dose-response relationship was observed; any urban area may offer
317	better access to mental healthcare services than the most rural communities in our analyses.
318	
319	Strengths and limitations
320	Using registry data, our sample was largely representative of the Swedish-born population, with a
321	low likelihood of selection bias given minimal missing data (2.5%). Our exposures were well
322	validated and prospectively measured, minimising recall bias. ^{21,40} Registry-based diagnostic codes
323	have good concurrent validity with SMI diagnoses. ⁵⁴ Using trajectory modelling allowed us to
324	identify distinct longitudinal patterns of neighborhood-level exposures. While all participants had
325	complete data on pre-diagnosis trajectories until age 14, our post-diagnosis trajectories included
326	differential lengths of follow-up data, which became sparser beyond 15 years (Figure 2). Modelling
327	quintile data may have captured less variability than possible through continuous data.
328	
329	We controlled for several potential confounders, including age-period-cohort and sex effects by
330	design, as well as parental migrant status, number of residential moves, and parental history of SMI.
331	The latter, a marker of shared familial liability, did not substantively confound our findings. However,
332	direct measures of genetic liability such as PRS for schizophrenia were unavailable. These have
333	previously been associated with residence in more urban environments, ²⁸ and thus intergenerational
334	selection may explain our results. ²⁹ Nonetheless, we believe this is unlikely as associations between

neighborhood deprivation/urbanicity and psychosis have remained in several studies after

controlling for different genetic risk indices.³¹⁻³³ We also did not have data on other potential
 confounders such as individual-level socioeconomic status, birth order or adverse childhood
 experiences.⁵⁵⁻⁵⁸

339

340 Implications for policy, practice, and future research

For policymakers, our results highlight which population groups are most likely to experience psychotic disorders and non-psychotic bipolar disorders for the first time. We also observed that people with SMI tend to disproportionately remain living in the most deprived quintiles up to 20 years following diagnosis, and for people with psychotic disorders, in the most densely populated environments also. This can inform both provisions of early intervention for psychosis services and of healthcare resources in these communities, building on existing efforts to translate psychiatric epidemiology into effective resource allocation models.⁵⁹

348

349 For public mental health, our results should guide prevention efforts that are preferentially located 350 in more deprived and densely populated areas and linked with socioeconomic support. 351 Social deprivation appears to have its strongest influence on SMI risk in childhood and early 352 adolescence, but our results crucially suggest its impact is modifiable through upward mobility. This 353 provides vital clues for intervention research, and suggests that ambitious trials are now warranted 354 to investigate whether moving people out of more deprived environments can ameliorate SMI risk. 355 To our knowledge, no trial has tested such interventions regarding SMI, though the Moving to 356 Opportunity trial has shown evidence that moving to higher quality neighbourhoods resulted in lower psychological distress in adolescence, ⁶⁰ although this may also have introduced unintended 357 358 harms for some groups, including increased mental health risks for boys.⁶¹ 359

Our results also have implications for etiological research. We support calls for more interdisciplinary
 approaches to understand and target potential environmental risk factors that link early life

exposure to deprivation and urbanicity with later SMI risk.⁶² Future studies should also investigate 362 363 these trajectories in more diverse samples, including immigrant communities and settings outside 364 the Global North, where emerging evidence suggests that the greater concentration of psychosis in urban areas may not hold.⁶³ We also need to better understand whether trajectories of exposure 365 366 immediately prior to diagnosis are influenced by drift processes before onset. Whether SMI risk 367 associated with exposure to different trajectories applies to all individuals, or may be stronger or 368 weaker for some groups (such as by income, migrant, or ethnic status) also requires further 369 investigation. Finally, future studies could investigate functional and clinical outcomes within each 370 trajectory to identify those in greatest need of support. 371

372 Social causation and relative social immobility appear to play distinct roles in the onset and

373 subsequent exposure to more deprived and urban environments for people with SMI. Importantly,

374 our findings suggest upward social mobility may mitigate the impact of early life deprivation.

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- 380 JBK had full access to all the data in the study and take responsibility for the integrity of the data and
- the accuracy of the data analysis.
- 382

383 **Declarations of Interest**

384 The authors have no conflicts of interest to declare.

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	Control N (%)	Cases N (%)		χ ²	df	P-
	(26,729; 50.0%)	(26,729; 50.0%)				value
		Psychotic	Non-psychotic			
		disorder	bipolar disorder			
Demographic characteristics		(12,947; 48.4%)	(13,782; 51.6%)			
Sex						
Male	11,356 (42.5%)	7,417 (57.3%)	3,939 (28.6%)	2251.4	1	<.001
Female	15,373 (57.5%)	5,530 (42.7%)	9,843 (71.4%)			
Parental migrant status						
Swedish born	22,324 (83.5%)	9,724 (75.1%)	11,241 (81.6%)	405.0	2	<.001
Migrant	4,405 (16.5%)	3,223 (24.9%)	2,541 (18.4%)			
Other Europe	1,894 (7.1%)	1,313 (10.1%)	1,308 (9.5%)	_		
Asia	134 (0.5%)	68 (0.5%)	22 (0.2%)			
N. Africa & Middle East	628 (2.4%)	375 (2.9%)	115 (0.8%)			
Sub-Saharan Africa	93 (0.4%)	130 (1.0%)	12 (0.1%)	_		
Mixed	1,570 (5.9%)	1,279 (9.9%)	1,043 (7.6%)			
Other	8.6 (0.3%)	58 (0.5%)	41 (0.3%)			
Parental history of SMI						
None	25,827 (96.6%)	11,418 (88.2%)	11,952 (86.7%)	1559.9	2	<.001
One	787 (2.9%)	1,312 (10.1%)	1,573 (11.4%)			
Both	115 (0.4%)	217 (1.7%)	257 (1.9%)			
Parental disposable income at birth						
1 (Lowest quintile)	4,814 (18.0%)	3,137 (24.2%)	2,967 (21.5%)	286.4	8	<.001
2	5,469 (20.5%)	2,730 (21.2%)	3,013 (21.9%)			
3	5,534 (20.7%)	2,370 (18.3%)	2,818 (20.5%)			
4	5,554 (20.8%)	2,423 (18.7%)	2,477 (18.0%)			
5 (Highest quintile)	5,358 (20.1%)	2,287 (17.7%)	2,507 (18.2%)			
Deprivation at birth						
1 (Lowest quintile)	4,464 (16.7%)	1,894 (14.6%)	2,016 (14.6%)	239.2	8	<.001
2	5,362 (20.1%)	2,291 (17.7%)	2,536 (18.4%)			
3	5,708 (21.4%)	2,546 (19.7%)	2,813 (20.4%)			
4	5,581 (20.9%)	2,696 (20.8%)	2,997 (21.8%)			
5 (Highest quintile)	5,614 (21.0%)	3,520 (27.2%)	3,420 (24.8%)			
Population density at birth						
1 (Lowest quintile)	2,703 (10.1%)	1,025 (7.9%)	1,357 (9.9%)	311.6	8	<.001
2	3,719 (13.9%)	1,462 (11.3%)	1,806 (13.1%)			
3	4,940 (18.5%)	2,120 (16.4%)	2,295 (16.7%)			
4	7,114 (26.6%)	3,259 (25.2%)	3,584 (26.0%)			
5 (Highest quintile)	8,253 (30.9%)	5,081 (39.2%)	4,740 (34.4%)			
Moves (birth year to 14 th year of						
follow-up)						
0	11,761 (44.0%)	4,435 (33.6%)	4,502 (32.7%)	842.8	4	<.001
1 to 4	14,141 (52.9%)	7,825 (60.4%)	8,387 (60.9%)			
5 or more	827 (3.1%)	777 (6.0%)	893 (6.5%)			

Table 1. Sample Characteristics by Case Status.

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	Control N (%)	Cases	χ²	df	P-	
	(26,729; 50.0%)	(26,729; 50.0%)				value
		Psychotic disorder (12,947; 48.4%)	Non-psychotic bipolar disorder (13,782; 51.6%)			
Moves (diagnosis year until end of follow-up)						
0	12,889 (48.2%)	6,441 (49.8%)	6,530 (47.4%)	39.1	4	<.001
1 to 4	13,125 (49.1%)	6,067 (46.9%)	6,879 (49.9%)			
5 or more	715 (2.7%)	439 (3.4%)	373 (2.7%)			
Clinical characteristics						
Diagnosis (ICD-10)						
Schizophrenia (F20) or schizoaffective disorders (F25)	-	2,942 (22.7%)	-	NA	NA	NA
Affective psychosis (F30-33)	-	3,369 (26.0%)	-			
Bipolar psychosis (F30-31)	-	1,153 (8.9%)	-			
Depressive psychosis (F32-33)	-	2,216 (17.1%)	-			
Other non-affective psychosis (F2X)	-	6,636 (51.3%)	-			
Bipolar/Mania w/o psychosis	-	-	13,782 (100%)			

Table 1. Sample Characteristics by Case Status. (continued).

Abbreviations: *df*, degrees of freedom; NA, not applicable; SMI, severe mental illness; N. Africa, North Africa.

Note: Data are presented as n/N (%) for categorical variables, where n is the number of participants within that category and N is the total number for whom data is available for that particular characteristic.

	OR (95% CI)					
	Psychotic Disorder			Non-psychotic Bipolar Disorder		
Exposures	Univariable Model	Bivariable Model ^a	Multivariable Model ^b	Univariable Model	Bivariable Model ^a	Multivariable Model ^ь
Deprivation Index						
Trajectory 1 (least deprived)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Trajectory 2	1.10 (1.02-1.19)	1.16 (1.07-1.25)	1.03 (0.95-1.12)	1.21 (1.13-1.30)	1.26 (1.17-1.36)	1.14 (1.06-1.24)
Trajectory 3	1.38 (1.27-1.49)	1.45 (1.34-1.57)	1.17 (1.06-1.26)	1.42 (1.32-1.53)	1.51 (1.40-1.63)	1.25 (1.16-1.36)
Trajectory 4 (most deprived)	1.62 (1.50-1.75)	1.56 (1.43-1.69)	1.17 (1.08-1.28)	1.42 (1.32-1.53)	1.50 (1.39-1.63)	1.23 (1.13-1.34)
Trajectory 5 (strong upward mobility)	1.25 (1.12-1.38)	1.22 (1.10-1.35)	1.01 (0.91-1.12)	1.29 (1.17-1.42)	1.26 (1.14-1.39)	1.08 (0.97-1.19)
Trajectory 6 (moderate upward mobility)	1.46 (1.33-1.60)	1.46 (1.33-1.60)	1.11 (1.01-1.23)	1.50 (1.38-1.64)	1.53 (1.40-1.68)	1.21 (1.10-1.33)
Population Density						
Trajectory 1 (least densely populated)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Trajectory 2	1.14 (1.02-1.28)	1.22 (1.09-1.36)	1.08 (0.96-1.21)	1.13 (1.02-1.26)	1.19 (1.07-1.32)	1.07 (0.97-1.19)
Trajectory 3	1.26 (1.14-1.40)	1.42 (1.28-1.58)	1.17 (1.05-1.31)	1.12 (1.01-1.23)	1.25 (1.13-1.38)	1.06 (0.96-1.18)
Trajectory 4	1.36 (1.23-1.50)	1.55 (140-1.71)	1.21 (1.08-1.34)	1.23 (1.12-1.35)	1.41 (1.28-1.55)	1.16 (1.05-1.28)
Trajectory 5 (most densely populated)	1.96 (1.77-2.16)	1.98 (1.79-2.19)	1.49 (1.34-1.66)	1.23 (1.12-1.36)	1.27 (1.15-1.41)	1.08 (0.97-1.20)
Trajectory 6 (urban-rural movement)	1.69 (1.49-1.91)	1.82 (1.60-2.06)	1.29 (1.13-1.47)	1.58 (1.40-1.78)	1.69 (1.49-1.90)	1.24 (1.09-1.41)
Parental migrant status	1.73 (1.63-1.84)	-	1.43 (1.33-1.52)	1.12 (1.05-1.19)	-	1.02 (0.96-1.09)
Parental history of SMI	3.94 (3.52-4.40)	-	3.44 (3.08-3.85)	4.28 (3.86-4.75)	-	3.87 (3.48-4.30)
Parental disposable income at birth						
1 (Lowest quintile)	(ref)	-	(ref)	(ref)	-	(ref)
2	0.72 (0.67-0.78)	-	0.83 (0.77-0.90)	0.95 (0.88-1.02)	-	1.05 (0.97-1.14)
3	0.64 (0.59-0.69)	-	0.80 (0.74-0.87)	0.85 (0.79-0.91)	-	0.99 (0.92-1.07)
4	0.66 (0.61-0.71)	-	0.86 (0.79-0.93)	0.73 (0.68-0.79)	-	0.90 (0.83-0.97)
5 (Highest quintile)	0.63 (0.58-0.68)	-	0.83 (0.76-0.90)	0.79 (0.73-0.85)	-	1.01 (0.93-1.10)
Moves (birth to 14 th year)	1.21 (1.19-1.24)	-	1.16 (1.14-1.18)	1.21 (1.19-1.23)	-	1.16 (1.14-1.18)

Table 2. Pre-diagnosis Logistic Regress	on Models for Psychotic	c Disorder and Non-psyc	hotic Bipolar Disorder.

Abbreviation: ORs, odds ratios; ref, reference category; SMI, severe mental illness.

^a = Adjusting for deprivation index and population density trajectory membership. We also controlled for birth year and sex by matching cases and controls.

^b = Adjusting as above, and for parental migrant status, parental history of SMI, parental disposable income at birth, and number of moves (birth to 14th year).

	OR (95% CI)					
	Psychotic Disorder		•	Non-psychotic Bipolar Disorder		
Exposures	Univariable	Bivariable	Multivariable	Univariable Model	Bivariable	Multivariable
	Model	Model ^a	Model ^b		Model ^a	Model ^b
Deprivation Index						
Trajectory 1 (least deprived)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Trajectory 2	1.00 (0.91-1.09)	1.03 (0.94-1.12)	1.02 (0.93-1.12)	1.04 (0.96-1.13)	1.04 (0.96-1.14)	1.04 (0.95-1.14)
Trajectory 3	1.03 (0.94-1.12)	1.07 (0.98-1.17)	1.04 (0.95-1.14)	1.16 (1.06-1.26)	1.16 (1.07-1.26)	1.11 (1.02-1.21)
Trajectory 4	1.23 (1.13-1.34)	1.27 (1.16-1.38)	1.19 (1.09-1.30)	1.28 (1.18-1.39)	1.29 (1.19-1.40)	1.21 (1.11-1.32)
Trajectory 5 (most deprived)	1.55 (1.43-1.69)	1.57 (1.44-1.70)	1.36 (1.24-1.48)	1.51 (1.39-1.64)	1.52 (1.40-1.65)	1.39 (1.28-1.51)
Trajectory 6 (downward drift)	1.29 (1.09-1.53)	1.28 (1.08-1.51)	1.38 (1.16-1.65)	1.28 (1.03-1.57)	1.28 (1.04-1.58)	1.06 (0.85-1.33)
Trajectory 7 (upward mobility)	0.85 (0.80-0.91)	0.86 (0.70-1.06)	0.91 (0.74-1.13)	1.29 (1.01-1.65)	1.30 (1.01-1.67)	1.11 (0.86-1.44)
Population Density						
Trajectory 1 (least densely populated)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
Trajectory 2	1.25 (1.14-1.36)	1.25 (1.14-1.36)	1.21 (1.10-1.32)	1.03 (0.95-1.11)	1.03 (0.95-1.12)	1.02 (0.93-1.11)
Trajectory 3	1.34 (1.24-1.45)	1.33 (1.23-1.44)	1.27 (1.18-1.38)	1.02 (0.95-1.09)	1.02 (0.95-1.10)	0.99 (0.91-1.07)
Trajectory 4 (most densely populated)	1.35 (1.26-1.45)	1.26 (1.17-1.36)	1.15 (1.07-1.25)	1.06 (0.99-1.14)	1.01 (0.94-1.08)	0.97 (0.90-1.04)
Trajectory 5 (urban-rural movement)	1.15 (0.94-1.40)	1.13 (0.93-1.39)	1.15 (0.93-1.42)	1.06 (0.85-1.32)	0.99 (0.79-1.24)	0.87 (0.69-1.10)
Parental migrant status	1.73 (1.63-1.84)	-	1.51 (1.41-1.61)	1.12 (1.05-1.19)	-	1.03 (0.97-1.10)
Parental history of SMI	3.94 (3.52-4.40)	-	3.47 (3.10-3.88)	4.28 (3.86-4.75)	-	3.86 (3.47-4.29)
Parental disposable income at birth						
1 (Lowest quintile)	(ref)	-	(ref)	(ref)	-	(ref)
2	0.72 (0.67-0.78)	-	0.82 (0.76-0.89)	0.95 (0.88-1.02)	-	1.05 (0.97-1.13)
3	0.64 (0.59-0.69)	-	0.79 (0.73-0.86)	0.85 (0.79-0.91)	-	0.99 (0.92-1.07)
4	0.66 (0.61-0.71)	-	0.85 (0.78-0.92)	0.73 (0.68-0.79)	-	0.90 (0.83-0.97)
5 (Highest quintile)	0.63 (0.58-0.68)	-	0.83 (0.76-0.90)	0.79 (0.73-0.85)	-	1.01 (0.93-1.10)
Moves (birth to 14 th year)	1.21 (1.19-1.24)	-	1.17 (1.15-1.19)	1.21 (1.19-1.23)	-	1.17 (1.15-1.19)
Moves (diagnosis to end of follow-up)	0.97 (0.95-0.99)	-	0.95 (0.94-0.97)	1.08 (1.06-1.09)	-	1.06 (1.04-1.08)

Table 3. Post-diagnosis Logistic Regression Models for Psychotic Disorder and Non-psychotic Bipolar Disorder.

Abbreviation: ORs, odds ratios; ref, reference category; SMI, severe mental illness.

^a = Adjusting for deprivation index and population density trajectory membership. We also controlled for birth year and sex by matching cases and controls.

^b = Adjusting as above, and for parental migrant status, parental history of SMI, parental disposable income at birth, number of moves (birth to 14th year), and number of moves (diagnosis to end of follow-up).