Higher prevalence of mental disorders in socioeconomically deprived urban areas in the Netherlands: community or personal disadvantage?

Sijmen A Reijneveld, Aart H Schene

Abstract

Objective—Major mental disorders occur more frequently in deprived urban areas. This study examines whether this occurs for all mental disorders, including less serious ones. It further assesses whether such a concentration can be explained by the socioeconomic status (SES) of the residents concerned or that a cumulative problem in deprived areas reinforces their occurrence.

Design—Mental disorders were assessed by means of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) among 4892 residents. Additional data were obtained on area deprivation, and on individual SES. Multilevel logistic regression models were used to take the hierarchical structure of the data into account, residents being nested in boroughs.

Setting—General population of the city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

Main outcome measure—Prevalence of an increased (≥ 2) score on the GHQ, 12 item version.

Results—Mental disorders occur more frequently in deprived areas but this can be explained by the lower SES of the residents concerned.

Conclusions—The cumulative prevalence of mental disorders in deprived urban areas is mainly a result of a concentration of low SES people in these areas. Contextual factors of deprived urban areas give hardly any additional risk above that resulting from a low individual SES.

(Mental disorders seem to occur more frequently in socioeconomically deprived urban areas. Early work of Faris and Dunham (1939) showed that first admissions for schizophrenia concentrated in the inner city of Chicago. Many studies since then have supported this finding, both with regard to psychiatric treatment rates and with regard to the occurrence rates of major mental disorders like schizophrenia. Furthermore, mental disorders in general occur more frequently in urban areas, but this may mainly hold for treated mental disorders. The concentration of mental disorders in deprived urban areas has been explained in two ways. Firstly, low socioeconomic status (SES) people concentrate in these deprived areas. Among them mental disorders occur more frequently. The socioeconomic composition of the population of deprived areas thus leads to a corresponding concentration of mental disorders in these areas. In this explanation, there is no factor at area level, apart from its population composition, which contributes to the occurrence of mental disorders. Secondly, however, (other) factors at area level—that is, contextual factors—may contribute to the occurrence of mental disorders, in addition to the aforementioned contribution of individual SES. If so, the prevalence of mental disorders in deprived urban areas will be higher than is to be expected on the basis of the socioeconomic composition of these areas alone.

The effect of contextual factors in deprived areas on mental health may occur via two area related processes—that is, selective migration and causation. Selective migration can consist of a selective drift of mentally diseased people to deprived areas or a selective retention of them in these areas. In both cases, these people can keep their ground more easily in deprived areas than elsewhere, for instance because of a looser social structure and cheaper housing. The socioeconomic context of deprived areas may also cause mental disorders among residents, again irrespective of their SES. These causal contextual factors may concern social factors in the deprived community, like the existence of a specific culture and the poor reputation of these areas. In addition, physical aspects of the deprived area, like the quality of housing, buildings, and public spaces, may contribute, as well as a poor provision of health care and other services in these areas. All contextual effects of area deprivation on mental health can only be studied properly after adjustment for the socioeconomic composition of the population of the concerned areas. The available evidence on area differences in mental health within cities is incomplete, because of two reasons. Firstly, evidence mainly applies to major disorders and treated mental disorders, and not to less serious disorders, which in terms of point prevalence constitute most of all mental disorders. With regard to the less serious disorders, two analyses on the UK 1984–85 health and lifestyle survey provide some, although conflicting, evidence. Blaxter studied area differences in “psychosocial” health, measured by two questions on mental complaints in this survey. She found some indications for local area effects, after adjustment for age, sex, and social class, but failed to present an overall comparison. Duncan et al found no differences at the level of regions and electoral wards, using the General
Health Questionnaire, 30 item version, as measure of mental health.27 The power of this analysis was low, because only a small part of the 6500 respondents in this survey lived in highly urbanised areas.

Secondly, most studies on within city differences in mental health did not properly assess area effects. In such studies it is implicitly assumed that residents of the same area are more similar to each other than they are to residents of other areas, because characteristics of the area have an impact on all its residents. This implies that the variability of their responses is smaller than if it were completely random. A proper analysis should take this hierarchy of residents within areas into account, as is the case for multilevel techniques.29 Only Duncan and coworkers used these techniques in their study on area effects on mental disorders.28 This study examines the distribution of mental disorders among residents of boroughs with varying degrees of deprivation in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. It further assesses whether this distribution can be explained by the socioeconomic position of residents entirely or that additional differences exist between areas of varying deprivation, because of either selective migration or causation. In the analyses, multilevel techniques are used to take the hierarchical nature of the data into account, people being nested within urban areas.28 29

**Methods**

Data on mental health, individual SES, and area deprivation were collected on Amsterdam, the Dutch capital with about 700 000 inhabitants. Amsterdam is a highly urbanised city. Mental health services have been organised in five regions within the city.

**INDIVIDUAL DATA**

Respondents came from a random sample of the Amsterdam municipal population register (n = 8335), stratified by age (16–34, 35–64, and 65+ years) and borough. Registration of residents in this register is obligatory. Trained interviewers were able to interview 5121 of them (61.4%) about their mental and physical health, and their socioeconomic background. Details of the survey have been reported elsewhere.10 11

**Mental disorders**

These were assessed by the GHQ, 12 item version (GHQ-12).32–34 The GHQ is a self report questionnaire aiming at the detection of functional psychiatric disorders among residents in community settings.35 36 Its questions refer to the occurrence of unusual and unpleasant mental phenomena and to the impairment of normal functioning. The 12 item version was chosen because it can easily be used among lower educated people and because it is rather insensitive for somatic disorders.32 34 These have already been shown to concentrate in deprived Amsterdam boroughs.35 36

The prevalence of mental disorders was defined as the percentage of respondents who gave one of the two least favourable answers to two or more GHQ 12 items. This is the usual cut off point in community surveys.32–34 Hodiamont and coauthors report a sensitivity and specificity for psychiatric “caseness” of the Dutch GHQ-12 of 68% and 74% respectively, using this cut off point.33 They confirmed and eliminated caseness by the Present State Examination, a standardised psychiatric interview.37 In the following sections, “mental disorders” will be used as the equivalent of an increased GHQ-12 score.

**SES of respondents**

This was measured by its traditional indicators, income, occupational status, and educational level.39 Income concerned household income, adapted for the number of persons who depended on it. Occupational status concerned the present occupational level of people,39 60 or, if none, their main activity. A similar coding was previously used by Joshi and Sloggett in their study on mortality differences in England and Wales.41 Educational level concerned the highest degree earned.42 In addition, we assessed whether other individual socioeconomic and demographic characteristics jointly explained the area differences in mental health. These were derived from a study of Lewis and Booth on UK regional differences in mental health,43 with small adaptations to the data available: occupational level, family type, employment status, and presence of any chronic physical limitation.

**AREA DATA**

Composite measures of area deprivation, like the British Jarman index,44 are not available in the Netherlands. Moreover, we wanted to examine the additional effect of living in a deprived area, above individual SES. This means that the socioeconomic measures at the individual and area level should cover similar domains. Otherwise, residual area effects could simply be caused by different underlying concepts.45 We further wanted to focus on material aspects of area deprivation because these probably have the largest impact on the health of a community.46 Therefore, area deprivation was assessed by means of three established indicators that focus on income, and work: registered income,47–49 household income below minimum,50 and unemployment

**KEY POINTS**

- Mental disorders have a higher prevalence in deprived urban areas and among people of low socioeconomic status (SES).
- Explanations for this higher area prevalence may be negative contextual effects or a concentration of low SES people.
- This study shows little evidence for contextual effects resulting in a poor mental health in deprived urban areas.
- The concentration of people of low socioeconomic status with mental disorders in deprived areas indicates a higher need for mental health services.
rate. Registered income is the mean income after taxation in 1989, for persons aged 25–64 years. Household income below minimum concerns the proportion of people reporting an income at the Dutch social minimum or below. This indicator has previously been shown to represent the main principal component from a factor analysis on a number of measures of area deprivation in Amsterdam. Unemployment concerns the proportion of people aged 16–64 years and available for work, who were looking for work. The last two indicators are aggregated measures from the survey mentioned above. In addition to measures of material deprivation, we used the standardised mortality rate as a general measure of their health consequences. This concerned the overall mortality among residents aged 1–64 years, in the period 1986–1991. All indicators were collected for 22 socioeconomically homogeneous parts (boroughs) of the city of Amsterdam and standardised for age and sex, to obtain unbiased estimates.

ANALYSIS

We analysed whether the prevalence of mental disorders in deprived urban areas, as defined by the GHQ-12, was higher and whether this higher prevalence could be explained by the individual SES of the residents concerned. Firstly, we computed the prevalence of mental disorders for three groups of boroughs with increasing deprivation (least/intermediate/most), crude and adjusted for age, sex, and their interactions (14 categories). Next, we assessed whether individual SES explained these area differences in the prevalence of mental disorders. We therefore added the measures of individual SES to logistic models that already contained age, sex, and their interactions and a measure of area deprivation.

The analyses were all performed using multilevel techniques, because of the hierarchical nature of the data: residents are nested within areas, which are assumed to have an impact on the mental health of their residents. Multilevel models account for this clustering of individual data by area. Furthermore, cross level interactions were assessed—that is, variations by area deprivation in the relations between mental health and individual characteristics. For instance, the cumulation of socioeconomic problems in a deprived urban area might have an additional negative impact on mental health for people of low SES but not for people of high SES.

In all multilevel logistic regression models used, the random components of variances were assessed both at the individual and at the area level. The size of the area level random variance (between borough variation) is expressed relative to the overall random variance, as is necessary in such logistic models. Random variances at the individual level were assumed to be approximately binomially distributed; no evidence of extrabinomial variance at this level was found. The equality of the random variance at area level by area deprivation was separately checked by inspection of covariances between the area level intercept and the indicators of area deprivation. Models were fitted using the most accurate procedure available,—that is, using a predictive quasi-likelihood procedure in combination with a second order Taylor expansion series.

The analyses were repeated excluding those born outside the Netherlands (987 respondents; mainly Surinamese, 25.2%; Moroccans, 18.3%; and Turks, 12.0%) to control for potential cross cultural biases concerning the GHQ-12. Subjects with missing values on an independent variable were retained in all analyses by creating an indicator variable for each missing value category.

Results

A total of 4892 respondents completed the GHQ; these were divided almost equally over the three tertiles of area deprivation. Of these respondents, 32.3% had an increased GHQ-12 score (95% confidence intervals (CI): 31.0, 33.6). (Adjusted for the stratified sampling scheme by a weighting to the Amsterdam population, this prevalence is 33.0%.) Concerning all measures of area deprivation, the prevalence of mental disorders was higher in the more deprived parts of the city, with statistical significance (p<0.05). Differences are largest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure of area deprivation</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>(Percentage in population)</th>
<th>Increased score on GHQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Crude (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least deprived</td>
<td>1315</td>
<td>(30.2)</td>
<td>30.6‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>(35.8)</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most deprived</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td>(34.0)</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income below minimum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least deprived</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>(30.2)</td>
<td>28.1***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>(37.0)</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most deprived</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>(32.9)</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least deprived</td>
<td>1407</td>
<td>(31.1)</td>
<td>29.6‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>1669</td>
<td>(34.9)</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most deprived</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>(34.0)</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standardised mortality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least deprived</td>
<td>1647</td>
<td>(31.3)</td>
<td>29.0‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>(37.5)</td>
<td>34.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most deprived</td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>(31.2)</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance levels χ² statistic): ‡p<0.05; †p<0.005; ***p<0.001. Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding up.

1Adjusted for age and sex to the Amsterdam population.
The least deprived tertile of boroughs is used as the reference category in all models.

Discussion

Hypothesis that contextual factors of socio-economically deprived urban areas contribute to the occurrence of mental disorders is mainly confirmed. The results of our study give hardly any support to such an hypothesis. Based on the differences in the prevalence of mental disorders between the tertiles of area deprivation, but these can partially be explained by contextual factors (table 2). These factors include education, living conditions, and occupation.

For the tertile comparison, the odds ratios are 1.09 (95% CI: 0.81, 1.46) and 1.18 (95% CI: 0.91, 1.30) for the intermediate and most deprived tertiles, respectively. Adjusted ORs (95% CI) for the intermediate and most deprived tertiles are 1.17 (95% CI: 1.05, 1.32) and 1.22 (95% CI: 1.08, 1.38), respectively. These ORs are slightly larger than the crude ORs (1.12 and 1.22, respectively).

The results from the logistic regression analysis confirm the existence of statistically significant area differences in the prevalence of mental disorders. The area level explains a substantial part of the variance in mental disorders, as indicated by the odds ratios for the intermediate and most deprived tertiles (1.17 and 1.22, respectively).

The discussion section will provide further details on the results and implications.
Table 3  Occurrence of an increased GHQ-12 score by household income level, and odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals (OR, 95% CI) predicting an increased score, for men and women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number* (%)*†</th>
<th>Crude OR (95% CI)</th>
<th>Adjusted for age/sex‡</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dfl1400, 1 person</td>
<td>654 (13.9)</td>
<td>3.13 (2.35, 4.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl2750–4000, 1 person</td>
<td>750 (15.5)</td>
<td>1.53 (1.15, 2.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl4000, 1 person</td>
<td>568 (13.1)</td>
<td>1.49 (1.10, 1.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl1900–2750, 1 person</td>
<td>385 (10.0)</td>
<td>1.17 (0.82, 1.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl1400–1900, 1 person</td>
<td>299 (8.2)</td>
<td>2.05 (1.45, 2.89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl4000, 1 person</td>
<td>312 (9.8)</td>
<td>2.50 (1.79, 3.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl1900–2750, 2 persons</td>
<td>286 (7.6)</td>
<td>1.90 (1.34, 2.70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl2750–4000, 2 persons</td>
<td>324 (8.9)</td>
<td>1.53 (1.09, 2.16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dfl1400–1900, 2 persons</td>
<td>299 (8.2)</td>
<td>1.17 (0.82, 1.68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Number of interviewed people; income was unknown on 582 respondents.
†Adjusted for age, sex, and their interactions.
‡Adjusted for age/sex.
the Amsterdam population: 2.2% and 3.7%, respectively). Thus, area differences could be even slightly larger without such an unequal utilisation of care (which is not accounted for in the Dutch renumeration system). Secondly, however, relative differences by degree of deprivation are much larger for treated mental disorders than for untreated mental disorders. This may also apply to urban-rural differences in general.15

As far as we know, our study is the first large one that entirely focuses on urban differences in mental health including less serious mental disorders. Therefore, its results need confirmation, especially from other urban areas with a similarly large socioeconomic variation between areas, to allow the assessment of any mental health effects resulting from living in a socioeconomically deprived urban area.

We wish to thank Professor I. J. Gunnung-Scheper, Academic Medical Center, University of Amsterdam, and A. H. Leyland, PhD, Public Health Research Unit, University of Glasgow for their valuable advice.

Funding: this study was financially supported by various agencies of the city of Amsterdam (the Municipal Coordinating Committee on Research KKO, the Municipal Health Department, the Municipal Health Service, and eight submunicipal Authorities) and the Amsterdam Social Health Insurance Company ZAO.

Conflicts of interest: none.

21 Netherland Social Bureau on Statistics (NCBS). Regional Income Statistics 1989; file Amsterdam, no 2.
35 Netherland Social Bureau on Statistics (NCBS). Regional Income Statistics 1989; file Amsterdam, no 2.
Higher prevalence of mental disorders in socioeconomically deprived urban areas in The Netherlands: community or personal disadvantage?
S A Reijneveld and A H Schene

J Epidemiol Community Health 1998 52: 2-7
doi: 10.1136/jech.52.1.2

Updated information and services can be found at:
http://jech.bmj.com/content/52/1/2

These include:

Email alerting service
Receive free email alerts when new articles cite this article. Sign up in the box at the top right corner of the online article.

Notes

To request permissions go to:
http://group.bmj.com/group/rights-licensing/permissions

To order reprints go to:
http://journals.bmj.com/cgi/reprintform

To subscribe to BMJ go to:
http://group.bmj.com/subscribe/