
Consistency of immigrant and country-of-birth suicide rates: A meta-analysis

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Background

- Suicidal behavior: complex phenotype
- Psychological, psychiatric, social risk factors for a long time highlighted
- Pathways: multifaceted and intricate
- Also include genetic risk factors – increasingly recognized and investigated, most directly through molecular genetic studies

Background

- But also through classic behavior-genetic study formats (family, twin, and adoption studies)
- As well as through less conclusive (i.e., merely suggestive), less direct, „exotic“, but nevertheless interesting and informative study designs (e.g., surname, geographic, and MIGRANT studies)
- Totality of evidence from these distinctly different genetically informative research strategies suggests genetic risk factors for suicide
- Such convergent evidence from very different approaches is corroborative, allows triangulation of probable truth

Family studies of suicide

- Background: design cannot disentangle (i.e., confounds) environmental and genetic effects
- Key finding (e.g., Baldessarini & Hennen, 2004, meta-analysis): suicidal behavior is highly familial ($RR = \text{approx. } 5$)
- Effect stronger for completed than for attempted suicide
- Effect largely independent (disassociated) from transmission patterns of major psychiatric disorders

Twin studies of suicide

- Background: best known and most widely applied classic design of behavior genetics
- Evidence (Voracek & Loibl, 2007, systematic review and meta-analysis): identical (monozygotic) twins much more concordant than fraternal (dizygotic) twins for suicide (concordance rates: 24% vs. 3%; $OR > 5$)
- Heritability (h^2) estimates: 30-55% (for broader phenotype of suicidal behavior)

Adoption studies of suicide

- Background: a powerful, classic design of behavior genetics to disentangle the contributions of heredity and environment (focusing on environmental influences)
- Evidence (Voracek, 2007, meta-analysis): suicide runs in the biological families of suicided adoptees, but not in those of demographically matched healthy control adoptees alive (rates: 4.0% vs. 0.3%; $RR > 8$)

Surname studies of suicide

- Background: surnames carry information about genetic relatedness vs. distance
- In patrilineal surname systems, a substitute for markers of haplotypes on the Y chromosome
- Surnames behave like a single Y-linked gene with numerous alleles
- Surname studies conceivable as macro-level family studies

Surname studies of suicide

- Design is common in population genetics, but only quite recently introduced to suicidology (by Marusic et al., 2006)
- Rationale: if suicidal behavior runs in families partly due to genetic factors, this should add up and be detectable on the aggregate (societal) level as well
- Key findings so far: different surnames have different suicide risk (Slovenia: Marusic et al., 2006); differences in regional suicide rates correspond to the intranational genetic population structure, as ascertained from surname similarity across regions (Austria: Voracek & Sonneck, 2007)

Geographic studies of suicide

- Background: rankings of national (and regional) suicide rates are conspicuously stable over time (100+ yrs.)
- Cross-national (and regional) variability of suicide rates is large
- These patterns seem not fully or sufficiently accounted for by ascertainment bias, socioeconomic factors, etc.
- There are known geographic (cross-national) differences in frequencies of risk alleles (5-HTTLPR, TPH1, etc.)

Geographic studies of suicide

- So – „*Could genetic risk factors partly account for these differences?*“ (Kondrichin, 1995; so-called „Finno-Ugrian Suicide Hypothesis“; inter alia, much work due to Andrej Marusic)
- Key findings (studies by Marusic, Farmer, Lester, Voracek, and others): spatial patterns (gradients) of suicide rates across Europe correspond to known gradients of the population genetic landscape of Europe

Migrant study design

- Background: yet another genetically informative design (conceivable as macro-level adoption study, i.e., naturally occurring „adoption“ of adults on a societal level)
- In genetic epidemiology: used to investigate genetic vs. environmental contributions to cancer, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, and other complex, chronic diseases
- In suicide research: underused, undervalued design

Migrant study design: its rationale

- Migrants bring with them specific genetic make-up (including nationally varying genetic risk configurations for diseases and certain behaviors, e.g., suicidality) and environmental factors (homeland culture, personal experiences)
- Homeland culture influence may fade over time spent in host country, but genetic factors do not fade
- Migrants may well have been less ingrained in their homeland culture (at any rate, they emigrated)

Migrant study design: its rationale

- Migrants are exposed to host country culture and prevailing environmental factors there
- Eventually, migrants reproduce – importantly, endogamy (marriage among own group) is strong
- Hence, original genetic make-up (including genetic risk factors) more preserved in 2nd generation than expected by chance (i.e., with random mating)
- Conversely, homeland culture influence may well attenuate among 2nd-generation immigrants

Migrant studies: their interpretation

- All of the above has obvious implications for evaluating disease frequencies in immigrants:
- Stable disease frequencies in various immigrant groups, continuing to resemble those of their home countries: suggest (albeit not conclusively) possible role of genetic risk factors
- Whereas changing disease frequencies, converging from those seen in home countries to the one of the host country: support environmental factors
- Clearly, test more conclusive when based on 2nd-generation immigrants

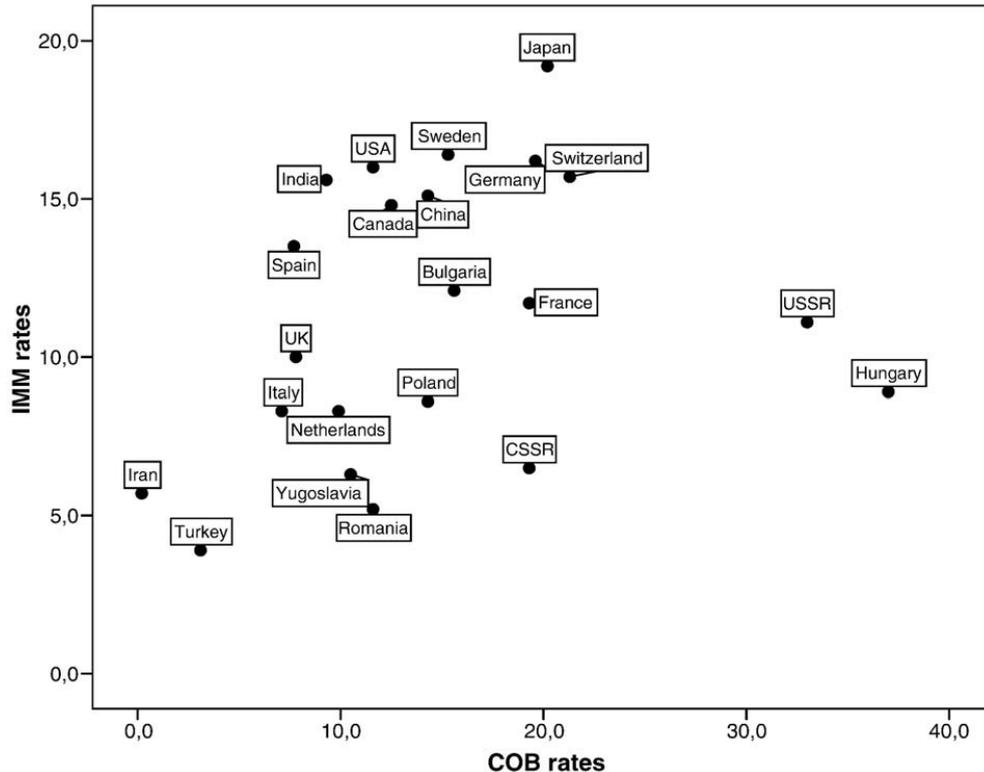
Migrant studies of suicide: past & present

- Early studies assessing the resemblance of country-of-birth (COB) and immigrant suicide rates: have originally been designed to demonstrate veridicality/validity of national differences in suicide rates (e.g., Sainsbury & Barraclough, 1968; Lester, 1972)
- Logic (and above interpretation) of migrant study design brought to suicidology by Ferrada-Noli (1997) and Sher (1999)
- We did the first migrant study of suicide for Austria (Voracek, Loibl, Dervic, Kapusta, Niederkrotenthaler, & Sonneck, 2009, *Psychiatry Research*)
- and did the first meta-analysis of migrant studies of suicide (Voracek & Loibl, 2008; *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*)

Austrian migrant study of suicide: Database

- All registered suicides in Austria 1970-2006 ($n = 65206$)
- 2.6% of these ($n = 1724$) were by non-citizens
- Omitted: suicides of stateless persons, cases with unidentified or unclear nationality, and nationalities with <4 cases during study period
- Included: 1439 cases (2.2% of all), from 31 countries
- Successor states of CSSR, USSR, Yugoslavia merged (for clarity and according to suicide rate data availability)
- Available for analysis: 22 immigrant nationalities

Austrian migrant study of suicide: Results



- Correspondence of COB suicide rates with immigrant suicide rates:
- $r_s = +.45$ (2-tailed $p = .03$)
- $r_s = +.48$ ($p = .04$), with controls for:
 - Average age of suicide victims,
 - Size of immigrant group,
 - National pride,
 - Quality of human conditions (QHC) index in homeland

Meta-analysis of migrant studies of suicide

- Study goal: systematic quantitative synthesis of the world literature on the association of immigrant and COB suicide rates
- Literature search strategies:
- Essential electronic databases (PubMed, Web of Science, PsycInfo, UMI Dissertations)
- Ref lists of retrieved studies searched
- Cited ref search of key papers in Web of Science

Meta-analysis: Methods

- Study inclusion criteria:
 - Non-English reports eligible
 - Unpublished accounts eligible
 - Any study reporting data on suicide rates of at least $n = 4$ immigrant groups in a host country eligible (because: SE of Fisher z -transformed r undefined when $n < 4$)
 - Independent data (i.e., reports with overlap of study period not included)
- Search yielded:
 - 32 datasets suitable for inclusion (13 in journal articles, 15 in books, 4 in an unpublished dissertation)

Meta-analysis: Methods

- Summary statistics of studies:
- Literature corpus published between 1921 and 2006
- Study periods cover almost entire 20th century: midpoint yr. from early 1910s to late 1990s
- Number of immigrant groups reported in studies: 4 to 29
- Total: about 50 different immigrant nationalities
- 7 host countries: Australia, Austria, Canada, Netherlands, Sweden, UK, USA

Meta-analysis: Study details

Table 1. Summary of immigrant studies of suicide

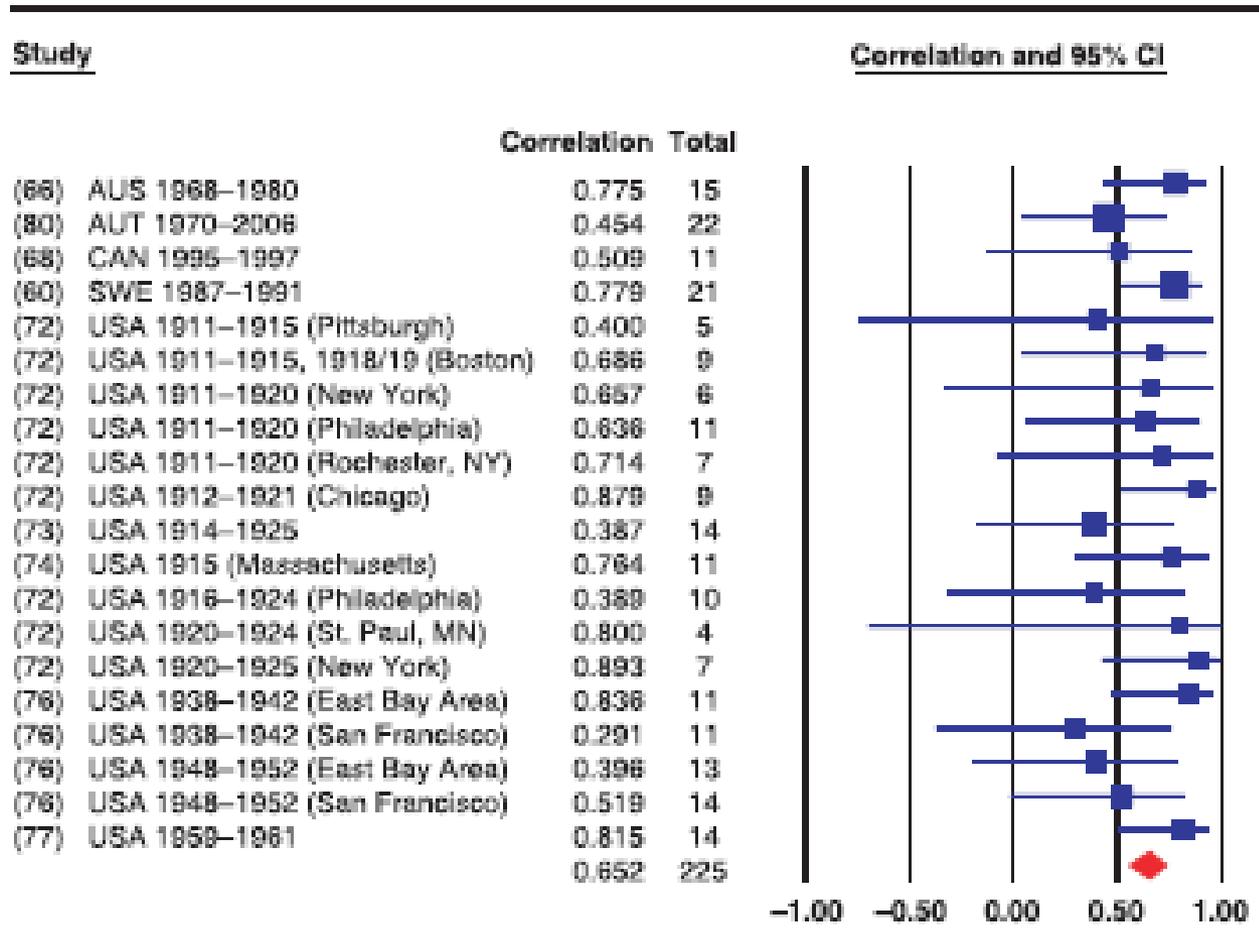
| Study | Country | Pub type | Period | Mid-point | r_s | | | n | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|----|----|
| | | | | | T | M | F | T | M | F |
| Burvill et al. (58)* | Australia | J | 1962–1966 | 1964 | 0.809 | 0.741 | | 14 | 14 | |
| Burvill et al. (64) | Australia | J | 1962–1971 | 1966.5 | 0.841 | 0.832 | | 16 | 16 | |
| Whitlock (65)* | Australia | J | 1965–1967 | 1966 | 0.767 | 0.791 | | 16 | 16 | |
| Hassan (66) | Australia | B | 1968–1980 | 1974 | 0.775 | 0.742 | 0.611 | 15 | 13 | 13 |
| Burvill (67) | Australia | J | 1979–1990 | 1984.5 | 0.802 | 0.709 | | 11 | 11 | |
| Vorsock et al. (68) | Austria | U | 1970–2006 | 1988 | 0.453 | | | 22 | | |
| Kliewer & Ward (59) | Canada | J | 1969–1973 | 1971 | 0.519 | 0.505 | | 29 | 29 | |
| Malenfant (68) | Canada | J | 1995–1997 | 1996 | 0.509 | | | 11 | | |
| Marmot et al. (69) | England | B | 1970–1972 | 1971 | 0.586 | 0.699 | | 15 | 15 | |
| Raleigh & Bakarajan (61) | England | J | 1979–1983 | 1981 | 0.907 | 0.604 | | 15 | 15 | |
| Garsen et al. (79) | The Netherlands | J | 1996–2004 | 2000 | 0.382 | 0.516 | | 22 | 22 | |
| Johansson et al. (70) | Sweden | J | 1986–1989 | 1987.5 | 0.214 | 0.286 | | 8 | 8 | |
| Ferrada-Nelli (60) | Sweden | J | 1987–1991 | 1989 | 0.779 | | | 21 | | |
| Westman et al. (71) | Sweden | J | 1994–1999 | 1996.5 | 0.750 | 0.786 | | 7 | 7 | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Pittsburgh) | B | 1911–1915 | 1913 | 0.400 | | | 5 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Boston) | B | 1911–1915, 1916–1919 | 1914.6 | 0.686 | | | 9 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (New York) | B | 1911–1920 | 1915.5 | 0.657 | | | 6 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Philadelphia) | B | 1911–1920 | 1915.5 | 0.636 | | | 11 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Rochester, NY) | B | 1911–1920 | 1915.5 | 0.714 | | | 7 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Chicago) | B | 1912–1921 | 1916.5 | 0.879 | | | 9 | | |
| Schmid (73) | USA | B | 1914–1925 | 1919.5 | 0.387 | | | 14 | | |
| Stearns (74) | USA (Massachusetts) | J | 1915 | 1915 | 0.764 | | | 11 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (Philadelphia) | B | 1916–1924 | 1920 | 0.389 | | | 10 | | |
| Caven (75)* | USA (Chicago) | B | 1919–1921 | 1920 | 0.687 | | | 13 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (St. Paul, MN) | B | 1920–1924 | 1922 | 0.800 | | | 4 | | |
| Freney (72) | USA (New York) | B | 1920–1925 | 1922.5 | 0.893 | | | 7 | | |
| Wendling (76) | USA (East Bay region) | D | 1936–1942 | 1940 | 0.836 | | | 11 | | |
| Wendling (76) | USA (San Francisco) | D | 1936–1942 | 1940 | 0.291 | | | 11 | | |
| Wendling (76) | USA (East Bay region) | D | 1946–1952 | 1950 | 0.396 | | | 13 | | |
| Wendling (76) | USA (San Francisco) | D | 1946–1952 | 1950 | 0.519 | | | 14 | | |
| Dublin (57)* | USA | B | 1959 | 1959 | 0.909 | 0.952 | 0.559 | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| Kramer et al. (77) | USA | B | 1958–1961 | 1960 | 0.815 | 0.861 | 0.676 | 14 | 12 | 12 |
| Lester (78)† | USA | J | 1980 | 1980 | 0.866 | 1.000 | 1.000 | 3 | 3 | 3 |

Country, host country; pub type, publication type (J, journal article; B, book; U, unpublished data; D, unpublished dissertation); period, study period; mid-point, mid-point (year) of study period; r_s , rank-order correlation coefficient for the association of immigrant and country-of-birth suicide rates; n , number of immigrant nationalities (countries) included in the study; T, M, F, total, male, female suicide rates (or nationalities) on which the analysis of an individual study is based.

*Study not included in the meta-analysis (complete overlap of study period with another study).

†Study not included in the meta-analysis (r_s based on too few immigrant nationalities, $n < 4$).

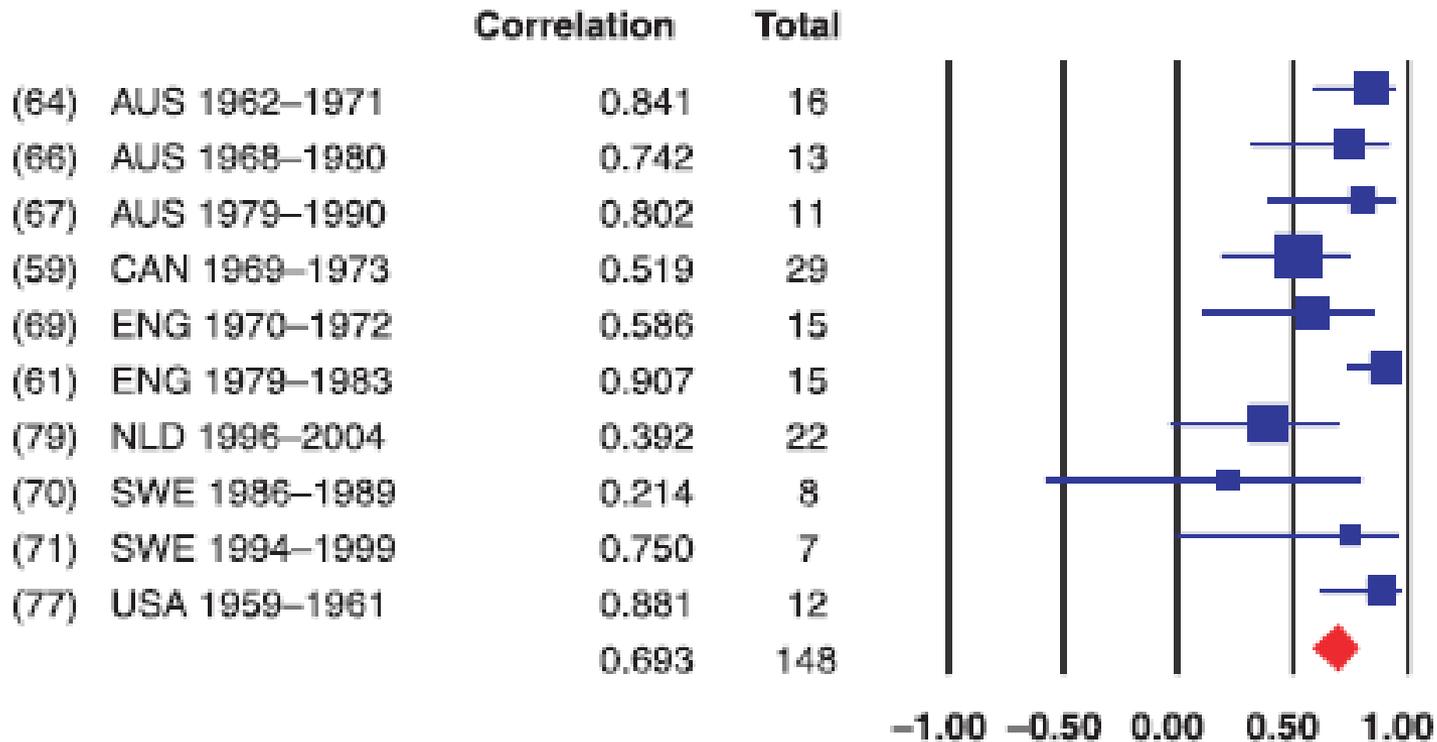
Forest plot: Total suicide rates ($r_s = +.65, p < 10^{-9}$)



Forest plot: Male suicide rates ($r_s = +.69, p < 10^{-9}$)

Study

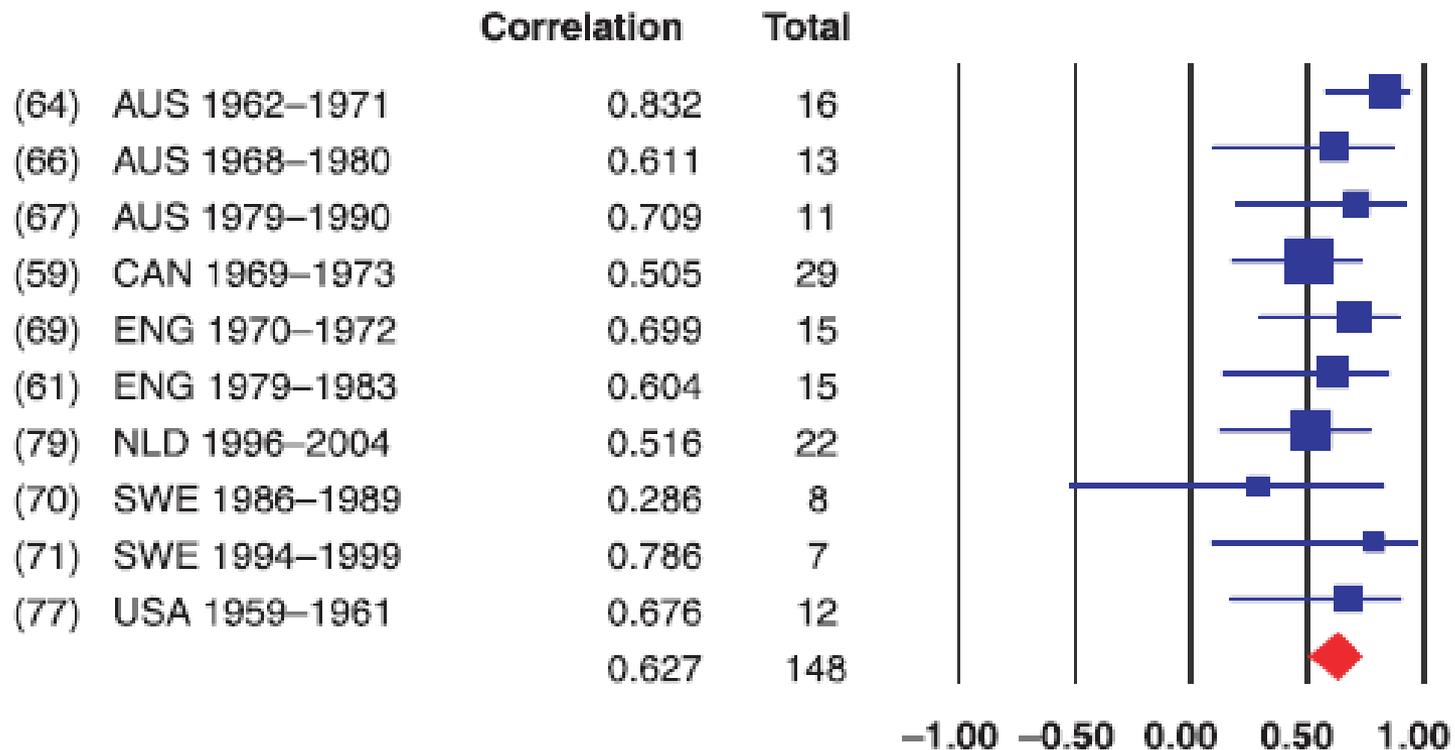
Correlation and 95% CI



Forest plot: Female suicide rates ($r_s = +.63, p < 10^{-9}$)

Study

Correlation and 95% CI



Evaluation of meta-analytic findings

- Fixed-effect model of meta-analysis: justified (cross-study effect heterogeneity neither substantial nor significant)
- Subgroup analysis: no effect heterogeneity across publication types
- Sensitivity analysis: no study influential for overall effect (still highly significant when removing one study at a time from the model)
- Cumulative meta-analysis: effect already significant from earliest studies onwards, and stable later on)
- Publication bias tests: no signs thereof
- Effect robustness (Fail-safe N): 100s of additional („missed“) studies with zero effect (never observed) necessary to bring observed overall effect to insignificance (very unlikely; so effect is robust)

Effect generalizability across space and time

Table 2. Association of immigrant and country-of-birth suicide rates: generalizability across space and time

| IMM rates | Predictor | β | t | P | r | r_p | r_{sp} |
|--|------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|--------|----------|
| Total | [Constant] | — | 0.106 | 0.915 | — | — | — |
| | COB rates | 0.642 | 13.512 | < 0.001 | 0.642 | 0.642 | 0.642 |
| | Dummy AUS | -0.005 | -0.089 | 0.929 | -0.003 | -0.006 | -0.004 |
| | Dummy AUT | -0.007 | -0.086 | 0.924 | -0.004 | -0.006 | -0.005 |
| | Dummy CAN | -0.005 | -0.079 | 0.937 | -0.003 | -0.005 | -0.004 |
| | Dummy ENG | na | na | na | na | na | na |
| | Dummy NLD | na | na | na | na | na | na |
| | Dummy SWE | 0.006 | 0.087 | 0.931 | 0.009 | 0.005 | 0.004 |
| | Period | 0.004 | 0.044 | 0.965 | 0.001 | 0.003 | 0.002 |
| Model summary: $F(8,260) = 30.438, r^2 = 0.413, P < 0.001$ | | | | | | | |
| Males | [Constant] | — | -0.156 | 0.799 | — | — | — |
| | COB rates | 0.683 | 12.585 | < 0.001 | 0.681 | 0.681 | 0.681 |
| | Dummy AUS | 0.086 | 0.463 | 0.644 | 0.017 | 0.034 | 0.025 |
| | Dummy AUT | na | na | na | na | na | na |
| | Dummy CAN | 0.002 | 0.010 | 0.992 | -0.027 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
| | Dummy ENG | 0.080 | 0.337 | 0.737 | 0.009 | 0.025 | 0.018 |
| | Dummy NLD | 0.076 | 0.179 | 0.858 | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.010 |
| | Dummy SWE | 0.082 | 0.222 | 0.824 | 0.011 | 0.016 | 0.012 |
| | Period | 0.001 | 0.064 | 0.933 | 0.024 | 0.006 | 0.005 |
| Model summary: $F(7,183) = 22.718, r^2 = 0.465, P < 0.001$ | | | | | | | |
| Females | [Constant] | — | -0.212 | 0.740 | — | — | — |
| | COB rates | 0.643 | 11.388 | < 0.001 | 0.643 | 0.644 | 0.643 |
| | Dummy AUS | 0.091 | 0.473 | 0.637 | 0.001 | 0.035 | 0.027 |
| | Dummy AUT | na | na | na | na | na | na |
| | Dummy CAN | 0.118 | 0.525 | 0.600 | 0.012 | 0.039 | 0.030 |
| | Dummy ENG | 0.102 | 0.415 | 0.679 | 0.009 | 0.031 | 0.023 |
| | Dummy NLD | 0.081 | 0.185 | 0.853 | 0.001 | 0.014 | 0.010 |
| | Dummy SWE | 0.092 | 0.239 | 0.811 | 0.009 | 0.018 | 0.014 |
| | Period | 0.001 | 0.131 | 0.896 | 0.027 | 0.010 | 0.007 |
| Model summary: $F(7,183) = 18.611, r^2 = 0.416, P < 0.001$ | | | | | | | |

IMM rates, immigrant suicide rates (dependent variable in regression models); [Constant], intercept of regression models; COB rates, country-of-birth suicide rates; Dummy AUS, AUT, CAN, ENG, NLD, SWE, dummy-coded host country (USA coded with zeros on all dummy variables); na, host country not available for analysis; Period, mid-point of study period; β , standardized regression coefficient for predictor; t respective t -statistic; P , respective P -value; r , r_p , r_{sp} , zero-order, partial and semipartial correlation coefficient between predictor and dependent variable; F respective F -statistic for regression model; r^2 , variance explained by regression model.

- Regression (individual datapoints pooled across all studies) of immigrant suicide rates simultaneously on COB suicide rates, dummy-coded host countries, and study period midpoint yr.
- Regression models throughout significant
- only significant predictor: COB rates
- nil effects of host country and study period

Limitations of available evidence (many...)

- Migrant study findings are only suggestive, not conclusive
- Specifically, migrant studies cannot narrow down the kinds of genetic factors they indicate
- The effect is entirely ecologic (i.a., a group-level finding)
- The effect (correlational) says nothing about increases (on the absolute level) in suicide risk among immigrant groups
- As with other observational designs in epidemiology, many variables beyond investigational control and thus potential confounders (here: time of residence, demographic composition, suicide methods, etc.)

Limitations of available evidence (many...)

- Nationality is a fallible person variable – blurs ethnic and population genetic boundaries
- Migrants are self-selected group, demographically biased, not representative of home country population
- Existing literature covers classic major immigration countries (Australia, Canada, UK, USA), but no evidence for important further ones (Denmark, Germany, Israel, New Zealand, etc.)
- By geographic location, some countries investigated (Australia, Canada, USA) almost exclusively host overseas immigrants, whereas others (Austria, Sweden, UK) not

Further gaps in the literature – future directions

- Variant of migrant study design: investigate patterns of suicide prevalence in repatriates (e.g., in the USA)
- Fusion of migrant and adoption study designs: investigate suicide risk of international adoptees (now feasible for some countries, e.g., Sweden)

Conclusions

- Key finding: immigrants appear to carry their (relative) risk of suicide from their homelands to the host country
- This by itself is an intriguing finding (e.g., meta-analysis already cited in a highly-cited review paper on suicide in *Lancet*, by Hawton & van Heeringen, 2009)
- Applying logic of migrant study design of genetic epidemiology, this effect (correspondence) is consistent with assumption of population differences in prevalence of genetic risk factors for suicide

Conclusions

- Effect apparently of some generality (meta-analytically based on 50 immigrant nationalities in 7 major host countries located on 3 continents, and study periods spanning entire 20th century)
- This refutes previous speculations of allegedly narrow effect (e.g., specific to certain birth cohorts or certain host country characteristics)
- Also interesting: effect unchanged, although direction of global migration significantly changed (1st-half 20th century: mainly from Europe to Anglo-American sphere; vs. 2nd-half 20th century: mainly from threshold and developing countries to European and Anglo-American countries)

Conclusions

- Interesting: effect shows up despite known sources of unreliability working against it: e.g., small immigrant groups yield unstable suicide rates, cross-national and cross-temporal quality differences in suicide ascertainment
- Further surprising: studies reporting zero or even negative correlations between immigrant and COB suicide rates are unknown (very different from similar studies of other outcomes: homicide rates, mortality from motor vehicle accidents, all other violent deaths)
- Finally, so far one study shows effect extends to 2nd-generation immigrants (Sweden: Hjern & Allebeck, 2002)

THANK YOU! – And: questions, please!
