Socioeconomic inequalities in molecular risk for chronic diseases observed in young adulthood

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Many common chronic diseases of aging are negatively associated with socioeconomic status (SES). This study examines whether inequalities can already be observed in the molecular underpinnings of such diseases in the 30s, before many of them become prevalent. Data come from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a large, nationally representative sample of US subjects who were followed for over two decades beginning in adolescence. We now have transcriptomic data (mRNA-seq) from a random subset of 4,543 of these young adults. SES in the household-of-origin and in young adulthood were examined as covariates of a priori defined mRNA-based disease signatures and of specific gene transcripts identified \textit{de novo}. An SES composite from young adulthood predicted many disease signatures, as did income and subjective status. Analyses highlighted SES-based inequalities in immune, inflammatory, ribosomal, and metabolic pathways, several of which play central roles in senescence. Many genes are also involved in transcription, translation, and diverse signaling mechanisms. Average causal-mediated effect models suggest that body mass index plays a key role in accounting for these relationships. Overall, the results reveal inequalities in molecular risk factors for chronic diseases often decades before diagnoses and suggest future directions for social signal transduction models that trace how social circumstances regulate the human genome.

social inequality | social genomics | biodemography | life-span development | social epidemiology

Contemporary cohorts of Americans in early adulthood, spanning the third and fourth decades of life, are generally disease-free but notably at risk for debilitating conditions in the years to follow (1). Indeed, the prevalence of many common chronic conditions that characterize older adults—including cardiovascular disease (CVD), rheumatoid arthritis, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), and Alzheimer’s disease—increase markedly from the 40s onward (2–7). By age 65, almost seven in ten Americans have two or more such diagnoses (8). This health pattern of aging, reflecting the development of precursor risk in young adulthood and later diagnosis, illustrates how decades of social and biological wear and tear can eventuate in chronic disease states (9, 10).

Such wear and tear, however, involving diverse forms of stressors, is not randomly distributed in the population. Indeed, common adult diseases are characterized by a socioeconomic status (SES) gradient, comprising health differences by education, income, occupation, and subjective social status (11–17). In studies of older adults (typically 50–70 y old), increasing childhood and adult SES are negatively associated with mechanisms that drive many diseases of adulthood and that are indicated by gene expression patterns in circulating peripheral blood. Pro-inflammatory action is most commonly observed among people with low SES backgrounds (18–23), with additional evidence for suppressed antiviral response (24). This pattern of gene regulation has been described as a “conserved transcriptional response to adversity” (CTRA), a characteristic cross-species reaction to sudden stressors (25) that, if activated for prolonged periods, negatively impacts health (26).

Among young adults, low SES in the household-of-origin has been linked to a “defensive phenotype” characterized by up-regulated transcription of genes controlled by the CREB/ATF and nuclear factor κB (NF-κB) transcription control pathways and down-regulated activity of genes controlled by the glucocorticoid receptor, indicating pro-inflammatory action (18) that is consistent with the CTRA model. Whole-genome studies also observe associations between adult SES and a wide range of other disease-generating mechanisms, including extracellular signaling and cellular differentiation (23, 27). However, little is known about socioeconomic inequalities in the molecular precursors of late-life diseases in early adulthood, before those diseases become prevalent (see (18) for an initial, targeted analysis). In the present study, we used a combination of disease-based hypothesis-testing and unbiased discovery to map socioeconomic variations

Significance

The analysis of gene expression in peripheral whole blood of US young adults in their late 30s revealed socioeconomic status-based inequalities in the molecular underpinnings of the most common chronic conditions of aging. Associations involved immune, inflammatory, ribosomal, and metabolic pathways, and extra- and intra-cellular signaling. Body mass index was a plausible, sizable mediator of many associations. Results point to new ways of thinking about how social inequalities “get under the skin” and also call for renewed efforts to prevent chronic conditions of aging decades before diagnoses.

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in the molecular precursors to the common chronic diseases in a well-powered sample of young adults in the United States. These analyses provide an unprecedented opportunity to discover the molecular pathways through which socioeconomic disparities in health in later life are structured by socioeconomic influences on molecular function decades earlier.

We draw on multiple indicators of SES in both the household-of-origin and in young adulthood and mRNA-based signatures of these chronic conditions in a sample of 4,543 young adults participating in the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) (28). The data are derived from the largest nationally-representative study of young adults with blood transcriptomic data. The signatures reflect mRNA abundance levels of genes that have been empirically identified as markers of common, chronic adult diseases in genome-wide and genome-wide expression studies. Thus, the signatures describe the functional genomic action of diverse biological precursors to chronic conditions in a sentinel tissue.

The analyses focus on three descriptive tasks: 1) examining associations between standard indicators of SES in the household-of-origin and in young adulthood and a priori-defined disease signatures; 2) identifying, de novo, genes that are differentially expressed (DE) as a function of SES, as well as their biological significance; and 3) considering whether associations observed in steps (1) and (2) may be explained by key risk factors in the young adult population of the United States (body mass index [BMI], current smoking status, alcohol consumption, general perceived stress, difficulty paying bills, and health insurance). Previous research was insufficiently powered to test for putative mechanisms linking SES to gene expression profiles. Knowledge of such mechanisms may sharpen our understanding of life course patterns of molecular risk.

**Results**

**Young Adult SES and Later Adult Disease Signatures.** We begin by testing the hypothesis that at least one gene in a signature is significantly associated with indicators of SES (Fig. 1A) and then identify gene sets within signatures that are associated with SES, preserving the distinction between up- and down-regulation (Fig. 1B). In addition to the disease signatures, we also examined a signature for inflammation (designated “1KI”) (29). Neither the household-of-origin SES composite nor any of its indicators were associated with any disease signature, and so parental SES is not considered further. Showing the results for adult SES among respondents who have not been diagnosed with these diseases, Fig. 1A reveals that, first, as expected, the 1KI was associated with the adult SES composite ($t = -8.73, P = 5.42 \times 10^{-14}$) and with education ($t = -5.77, P = 6.16 \times 10^{-7}$), income ($t = -6.73, P = 2.16 \times 10^{-7}$), subjective status ($t = -4.68, P = 6.16 \times 10^{-7}$), and occupation ($t = -6.26, P = 6.20 \times 10^{-6}$). Second, the adult SES composite was associated with all disease signatures: Alzheimer’s ($t = -5.29, P = 2.01 \times 10^{-3}$) asthma ($t = -5.85, P = 3.92 \times 10^{-5}$), chronic kidney disease (CKD, $t = -7.21, P = 1.07 \times 10^{-9}$), COPD ($t = -5.93, P = 9.14 \times 10^{-7}$), CVD ($t = -4.62, P = 3.35 \times 10^{-4}$), depression ($t = -8.73, P = 5.42 \times 10^{-14}$), diabetes type 2 ($t = -3.82, P = 6.16 \times 10^{-3}$), hypertension ($t = -5.70, P = 5.60 \times 10^{-6}$), and rheumatoid arthritis ($t = -5.51, P = 7.57 \times 10^{-6}$). Finally, the young adult SES composite, income, occupation, and subjective status were the predominant correlates of the signatures.

![Fig. 1.](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2103088119) Associations between SES and disease signatures. (A) Omnibus statistical significance ($P$ on the $–\log_{10}$ scale) for associations between adult SES and disease signatures. The omnibus $P$ values were calculated as the minimum (across all genes in the disease sets) FDR-corrected $P$ value derived from a whole-genome (limma) linear regression for the association between SES and each gene in the signature with full controls. The reported significance thus indicates whether at least one gene in the disease set is predicted by SES, with type I errors corrected for the whole genome. (B) Number of up- and down-regulated clusters of genes associated with SES. The entire genome was clustered using WGCNA to identify clusters (25 in total). For each disease signature, its constituent genes were matched to the whole genome clusters and, within these clusters, to the up- or down-regulated subset. Within these groups, abundance levels were averaged. For example, 101 genes in the Alzheimer’s signature belonged to 18 of the 25 whole genome clusters; of these 18, the SES composite was associated with the down-regulated portion of four clusters. Specific genes in these four clusters are reported in Dataset S1 (for further details, see SI Appendix, Fig. S12B).
Fig. 2. Pathway enrichment of the de novo differentially expressed genes by adult SES. Significantly enriched Reactome pathways (with parent nodes reported to the Right, child nodes to the Left) for the differentially expressed genes by indicators of young adult SES, excluding genes from disease and 1KI signatures from Fig. 1. The size of the circle signifies the number of genes that contribute to the significant enrichment in a pathway and the color of the circle indicates Cramer’s V, a measure of the magnitude of association.
shown in Fig. 2—including cellular response to stress, nervous system development, infectious disease, translation, nonsense-mediated decay, and rRNA processing—reflect a core of DE genes related to ribosomes and translation (a large number of RPL- and RPS-genes). These same genes figure prominently as part of a ribosomal subnetwork of a previously-identified senescence signature (30). The infectious disease pathway reflects genes induced by viral infections (e.g., influenza).

Genes associated with metabolism are prominent. Genes involved in the citric acid cycle (TCA) and respiratory electron transport chain are DE by the SES composite, income, and subjective social status. These pathways include genes encoding protein subunits essential for the proper functioning of mitochondrial oxidative phosphorylation. Dysregulation of the aerobic metabolism is accompanied by disruptions in the amino acid metabolism, predominantly by several genes involved in translation (RPL- and RPS-genes). Metabolic disruption, particularly in aerobic energy generation (TCA cycle and electron transport chain), is associated with a wide variety of diseases and may act as a primary source of age-related disorders (31, 32).

**Risk Factors Associated with SES and Disease Signatures.** Having examined SES correlates of mRNA signatures defined *a priori* as disease and 1K signatures and DE genes identified *de novo*, we asked whether commonly studied behavioral risk factors—BMI, current smoking status, alcohol consumption, general perceived stress, difficulty paying bills, and access to health insurance—could explain the observed associations. BMI most consistently accounted for a substantial part of the associations reported in Fig. 1B and also the *de novo* genes. Fig. 3 reports the proportion mediated by BMI for the significantly predicted clusters derived from the weighted correlation network analysis (WGCNA) of the whole genome (see Fig. 1B and SI Appendix, Fig. S12B). The proportion of mediation ranged from 8.1% (education and up-regulated diabetes) to 90.3% (SES composite and rheumatoid arthritis). In addition to the patterns involving BMI, we found that current smoker status emerged as a possible mediator between the SES composite and income and many disease signatures (SI Appendix, Fig. S5B). We then calculated the joint ratio of mediation (joint mediated effect/total effect) accounted for by all mediators simultaneously (using R package *multimediate*) for each cluster that significantly accounted for an SES-disease association (e.g., the percent of all mediators across three clusters that account for the SES composite-Alzheimer’s). The results, reported in SI Appendix, Fig. S6, show that many of the percentages increase appreciably, although some results are no longer significant (reflecting a *P* value based on the joint mediation of all mediators).

The *de novo* genes were clustered in the same manner used with the signatures (Fig. 1B), resulting in 21 clusters that categorized the 121 DE genes. SI Appendix, Fig. S7 reports the meditational results for BMI, and SI Appendix, Fig. S8 reports the multiple mediator results. Patterns suggest that BMI could explain much of the associations between indicators of SES and SES-based clusters of *de novo* genes, but that the other mediators often increase the median proportion mediated considerably.

Finally, we examined e-values for the meditational models (see SI Appendix, Table S2) and results suggest that patterns involving the SES composite and occupation are relatively sensitive to unmeasured confounds.

![Fig. 3. Meditational models for BMI and significant clusters associated with disease signatures. Median percent mediated ratio (ACME/total effect) (superimposed number): average expression of significant clusters in Fig. 1B were used for meditational models. *P* values are corrected within column and significant meditational results for each signature combined using Fisher’s method. The color scheme is the same as that in Fig. 1B. Negative values suggest a suppression pattern.](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2103088119)
Discussion

The analyses revealed socioeconomic inequalities in young adults’ molecular risk profiles for common chronic conditions of later adulthood in the United States and, additionally, in gene expression profiles associated with aging. Decades before these diseases are commonly observed in the population, their gene expression indicators show clear social status gradients, especially with respect to the young adult SES composite, income, and subjective status. These associations were generally observed regardless of the inclusion of genes in the 1KI inflammation signature, which is a proxy for key inflammation-related genes. These analyses also identified de novo SES gradients in gene sets extending beyond the traditionally emphasized functional pathways of inflammation and immunity. As such, the present results are consistent with prior research linking inflammation and immune regulation to social adversity (25, 33, 34), but they also identify additional biological domains through which SES might potentially impact health. Evidence suggested that SES-related differences in BMI contribute to many associations between SES and the signatures and genes identified de novo.

The chief commonalities with previous studies include the prediction of the a priori-defined 1KI inflammatory signature by SES and evidence showing the sensitivity of pathways involving MAPK, TLR, IRF, and IL genes (18, 35, 36), among others. The present study also identified unique sets of status-graded genes and pathways. With respect to inflammation and immunity, human leukocyte antigen (HLA) genes and RIPK genes, for example, were prominent. Additional biological pathways associated with SES included genes central to the metabolism of RNA (RPL and RPS genes), and genes involved in metabolism (e.g., ALOX, PTG, and CSNK). Given that genes typically have diverse functions, these pathways are interpretive but we have emphasized patterns. Among the functions of many of these genes are diverse intra- and extracellular signaling mechanisms (23, 27), suggesting that SES may be involved in key aspects of social signal transduction.

Two functional pathways are especially noteworthy: the ribosomal protein-encoding genes and genes associated with metabolism, both because of their central role in senescence and diseases of aging. These pathways have not previously been noted as a correlate of SES, and further study of overlap between genes related to SES and senescence is warranted. Intriguingly, reduced expression of these ribosomal genes characterizes a transcriptomic aging signature (30). In the present case, we observed down-regulation of ribosomal protein genes (although not the same specific genes in the Peters senescence network) with increasing SES, a dysregulative pattern that calls for further study but that may stem from an association between low SES and increased ribosome metabolic activity associated with increased BMI. Relatedly, several of the associations are inverse to what might be expected. The abundance levels of composite scores and specific genes are best interpreted as indicators of disease-related gene activity. That is, we find SES-graded differential expression in genes that have been specified a priori but in some instances the direction of association may be not as expected or the expected direction may not be known (e.g., if the genes were identified by genetic polymorphism associations with disease in the absence of transcript abundance measures). Future research will be required to identify the specific genes involved in specific disease etiologies at different points in life.

The results also depart from previous research insofar as they show little evidence that SES in the household-of-origin predicted disease expression profiles. Previous studies have reported relationships between household SES and inflammation/immunity, although in different national contexts (Canada, Italy, and Switzerland) and with different measures of parental SES (18, 19). We recoded our household occupational data to examine manual versus nonmanual paternal occupation (19), but the null findings with respect to occupation and disease signatures were robust. Most prior research on SES and molecular risk draws on social signal transduction models based on stress biology (26, 37, 38), which suggests that social gradients in health stem at least in part from differential exposures and vulnerabilities to stressors (predominantly chronic psychosocial stressors). Although the present findings are consistent with this hypothesis in some respects (see SI Appendix, Fig. S5C), our research suggests additional transducing paths. Some of the associations between SES and disease-related gene expression may not involve stressors per se but rather income, education, and prestige as “flexible resources” that influence health in myriad ways beyond stress (39). Educational and financial resources are often needed to maintain one’s health via, for example, health literacy, access to fresh foods and preventive medical care, housing in areas with relatively low levels of toxicants, ready access to green spaces for exercise, and inclusion in social networks of people with resources (40).

Indeed, the observed SES gradients were most consistently accounted for by BMI, which likely reflects the widespread damaging effects of subcutaneous adipose tissue on physiology, including inflammation (41, 42). Although stress likely contributes to adiposity (e.g., via “stress eating”), other SES-graded social and environmental mechanisms (e.g., food ecologies, etc.) also play substantial roles, possibly including a conserved response to status involving appetite (33). An expansion of current social signal transduction models beyond stressors to include other mechanistic pathways, especially obesogenic ones, is warranted.

Our study is unique for its large, diverse, and representative sample that includes standard measures of SES in the household-of-origin and in young adulthood and mRNA abundance levels from circulating whole blood. However, several limitations should be noted. First, experimental studies of rhesus macaques, a species that lives in social hierarchies and is closely related to humans, have shown that the distinct cell populations that constitute peripheral blood mononuclear cells condition gene expression (34). The sensitivity of specific cell types (e.g., natural killer cells) to status needs to be mapped out with greater precision in humans. Second, while the data allow for multivariate descriptive conclusions, the basis for causal inference is circumscribed, and the results should be construed in descriptive terms (see SI Appendix, Fig. S11 for major assumptions needed for causal inference). Although strategies exist to identify the effects of income, education, and occupation individually, such approaches are often limited in terms of their external validity. Third, although our measures of SES are standard operationalizations, they do not fully account for the complexity of SES, which likely includes compositional effects (that directly reflect inequality) and intersectional patterns involving sex, race, and ethnicity. The study of such nuances will require larger samples. Additionally, our study design does not allow us to disentangle the importance of young adulthood from that of recency, which is perfectly confounded in this sample. The repeated collection of mRNA in a large, diverse panel study—beginning earlier in the life course—would facilitate a better understanding of the origins of these forms of molecular risk. Finally, individual mRNA molecules are highly
Materials and Methods

Data. The data for this study are from Add Health, a representative study of US adolescents in grades 7–12 in 1994–1995 (age range, 12–18; mean age, 15.3; SD = 1.6) who were followed into adulthood over five waves of data collection (28). Participants in Wave V of Add Health consented to provide an intravenous blood sample in PAXgene RNA tubes. These samples were collected in 2016–2017 (44). The data for the present study include 4,543 transcriptional profiles (based on mRNA-seq data; age range, 33–43; mean age, 37.33; SD = 1.85). Assuming an average 1.1-fold change among 20% DE genes (80% assumed not DE), an analysis of power (using R package sizeRNA) indicated that a sample of 971 would be sufficient to attain average power of 0.8 while controlling FDR to 0.05 over the genome. SI Appendix, Fig. S9 shows how the analytic sample was derived, and SI Appendix, Table S3 documents representativeness relative to the Wave V total sample (n = 7,769). The mRNA sample is somewhat more female and higher on SES (reflecting education and occupation).

Measures. Transcriptional profiles were derived by 3′ end sequencing whole blood polyadenylated RNA (for a full description, see SI Appendix, Study Protocol). The resulting mRNA abundance levels from circulating whole blood were then used to compute composite scores based on previously defined disease signatures. SI Appendix, Table S4 presents the sources and properties of the empirically-derived disease signatures, and the list of signatures is shown in Fig. 14. Given the central role of inflammation in many chronic diseases and its prominence in past social genomic research, we also included the 1K inflammation signature (1K) (29). Analyses were conducted with and without the 1K gene set, and differences between analyses are a heuristic approximation of the relative importance of central, inflammation-related genes. There was very little overlap between the ten disease signatures in terms of their constituent genes, but there was some overlap with the 1K signature. Average correlations among disease signatures ranged from r = 0.14–0.29 but were much smaller in magnitude with the exclusion of 1K genes from them.

Socioeconomic status composites, for both young adults and their parents, represent the sum of the standardized indicators. Education represents the highest self-reported completed years of education (averaged in cases of two parents). Income is the gross household income, log-transformed (for parents) and reported on an ordinal scale (for young adults) with values representing midpoints of categories and the highest value equaling the lowest value for that category ($200,000). Occupation represents the socioeconomic index score of parents’ jobs (highest of two parents) and young adult’s current job (45, 46). Subjective status in young adulthood was assessed using the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status, which asks respondents to view a ten-rung ladder as representative of education, prestige, and money and to pick the step that shows where they think they currently stand relative to other people in the United States (47). The Wave V young adult SES composites with and without subjective status were highly correlated (r = 0.96). Correlations between indicators and composites of SES are shown in SI Appendix, Fig. S10.

Models. We examined quantitative variations in the abundance levels of genes in these signatures as a linear function of 1) socioeconomic composites from the household-of-origin or young adulthood and their constituent indicators (education, income, occupational education, and subjective status [assessed in young adulthood only]) and 2) covariates that are likely to influence mRNA abundance levels, including sex, race, age, pregnancy status, plate, number of hours fasting before blood sampling, use of anti-inflammatory medications in the past 4 wk (e.g., NSAIDs, Cox-2 inhibitors, inhaled corticosteroids), count of common subclinical symptoms in the past 4 wk (e.g., colds, flu, fever), and count of common infectious or inflammatory diseases in the past 4 wk (e.g., active infection, seasonal allergy), with correction for batch using ComBat. A directed acyclic graph depicting the generalized linear model is presented in SI Appendix, Fig. S11. The final models were assessed with and without the inclusion of people with self-reported diagnosed diseases, with the latter results reported in the main text (because this specification avoids collider bias) and the former reported in SI Appendix, Fig. S1.

We examined associations between indicators of SES and subsets of disease signatures that preserve the distinction between up- and down-regulated genes. The entire genome was clustered using WGCNA to identify clusters of co-expressed networks of genes (25 in total) (48). For each disease signature, we linked each of its genes to whole-genome clusters and, within each cluster, to its up- or down-regulated subset (i.e., 50 in total). We then averaged the abundance levels of genes for each subset. For further detail, see SI Appendix, Fig. S12. Such a classification enabled us to find significant direction-specific gene sets for each disease signature that were associated with indicators of SES. This analytic strategy identifies the functional clusters across the genome in the sample and the relationships among these whole-genome clusters and genes in the disease signatures. An alternative strategy, which defines clusters within disease signatures, yielded similar results but is less readily interpretable because the number of clusters per signature varied considerably. Reliable coexpression networks cannot be identified within some disease signatures given their small size and the lack of other gene transcripts beyond the signature.

Finally, we performed a differential expression analysis for those genes not contained in the signatures. The functional significance of subsets of signatures and the DE genes was examined with pathway enrichment using Reactome. We also examined possible mediators of relationships that were observed between Wave V SES and disease signatures using a counterfactual mediational framework (49). The candidate mediators included commonly studied health risks: BMI, computed from measured height and weight; current smoking status (self-reported); alcoholic drinks on days drank over past 30 d [0 drinks, 1–2 drinks, and 3–5 drinks per occasion, more than 5, which is similar to a coding scheme that has been used in other papers (50)]; perceived stress, based on the short version of Cohen’s Perceived Stress Scale (51); and financial stress, assessed by asking responders whether they had difficulty paying bills (see SI Appendix, Fig. S7 for correlation matrix) and access to health insurance (1 in case the respondent did not have health insurance because not offered, considered too expensive, or they did not want it, 0 otherwise). The average causal mediated effect (ACME) was estimated for each possible mediator. Viewed in causal terms, however, these models are premised on strong assumptions (see SI Appendix, Fig. S11), and thus the results are construed as multivariate descriptions that are hypothesis-generating.

A summary of the analytic pipeline is shown in SI Appendix, Fig. S12A. All analyses were conducted using R software, especially the Bioconductor suite (52), unless noted.

Data, Materials, and Software Availability. Add Health transcriptomic data are available via a restricted data contract. Additional information and applications for the restricted-use data can be accessed through the Carolina
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