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3 **Full Title:** ADHD, Financial Distress, and Suicide in Adulthood: A Population Study

4 **Short Title:** ADHD, Financial Distress, and Suicide

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26

27 **Abstract:**

28 Attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) exerts lifelong impairment, including difficulty
29 sustaining employment, poor credit, and suicide risk. To date, however, most studies have
30 assessed selected samples, often via self-report. Using mental health data from the entire Swedish
31 population ($N=11.55$ million) and a random sample of credit and defaults ($N=189,267$), we
32 provide the first study of objective financial outcomes among adults with ADHD, including
33 associations with suicide. Controlling for psychiatric comorbidities, substance use, education, and
34 income, those with ADHD start adulthood with normal credit demand and default rates. However,
35 in middle-age their default rates grow exponentially, yielding poor default risk scores and
36 diminished credit access despite high demand. Sympathomimetic prescriptions are unassociated
37 with improved financial behaviors. Finally, financial distress is associated with fourfold higher
38 risk of suicide among those with ADHD. For men but not women with ADHD who suicide,
39 outstanding debt increases in the three years prior. No such pattern was found for others who
40 suicide.

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42 INTRODUCTION

43 Those who are diagnosed with attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (1) show
44 strong biases toward immediate rewards over larger, delayed rewards (2) and are prospectively
45 vulnerable to a variety of adverse behavioral and mental health outcomes across their lifespans
46 (3). In childhood, these outcomes include academic underachievement, grade retention, and social
47 rejection (4). In adulthood, they include higher college drop-out rates, poorer job performance,
48 difficulty sustaining employment, and lower wages than peers of similar intelligence (5,6).
49 Children, adolescents, and adults who are diagnosed with ADHD also engage in more high-risk,
50 impulsive behaviors, including substance abuse, self-injury, and suicide attempts (7,8). These
51 outcomes are often observed even among those who received evidence-based treatment for
52 ADHD in childhood (9,10).

53 Daily routines in Western societies require people to pay bills on time, make rent and
54 mortgage payments, and keep track of investments and savings. Yet despite awareness that adults
55 with ADHD face difficulties managing these and other financials, the extent of such difficulties
56 and their associations with individual wellbeing have not been evaluated with objective data.
57 According to self-reports, adults with ADHD are more financially dependent on family members,
58 face more difficulties paying bills, open fewer savings accounts, use credit cards more
59 compulsively, and are more likely to use very high interest rate borrowing, such as pawnshops
60 and payday loans, than others in the population (5,8,11,12). To date, however, most data derive
61 from adults who were followed-up after being treated for ADHD in childhood, or recruited via
62 self-selected convenience sampling (e.g., Amazon Mechanical Turk). These recruitment strategies
63 suffer from inherent limitations, including greater severity of ADHD for those enrolled in child
64 treatment studies, systematic biases in self-reported credit and other financial outcomes, and small
65 to modest sample sizes. Thus, the economic magnitude of population-wide effects of ADHD on
66 objective financial outcomes is unknown. Improved understanding of relations among ADHD,

67 financial behaviors, and suicide may have important implications for prevention and intervention.

68 In this article, we provide new findings regarding financial behaviors and suicide among
69 adults with ADHD at the population level. We include analyses of changes in financial behaviors
70 in the months and years preceding suicide. These analyses follow from ‘ideation-to-action’
71 accounts of suicide, such as *three-step theory* (13). According to these models, many more people
72 are capable of engaging in suicidal behaviors than attempt or die by suicide. Those who are
73 capable *and* attempt are often motivated by psychological pain and hopelessness (14). Thus,
74 three-step theory predicts reduced sense of purpose and increased psychological distress *prior* to
75 suicide. For some, worsening financials may contribute to psychological distress whereas for
76 others, psychological distress may contribute to worsening financials. Either way, any prospective
77 association between worsening financials and later suicide among adults with ADHD could aid in
78 identifying those at highest risk, and serve as a springboard for additional research.

79 Using mental health data collected from the full Swedish population ($N=11.55$ million)
80 (15,16) and a random sample of data on credit and defaults ($N=189,267$) (17) for the period
81 spanning 2002-2015, we evaluate financial outcomes across adulthood—including associations
82 with suicide—among those ages 18 years and older with and without diagnoses of ADHD. These
83 data yield the largest such sample reported to date. Given the very large sample and associated
84 likelihood of identifying trivial effects as significant at any given time, we focus readers’ attention
85 on 95% confidence intervals (CIs) across time, which are presented in graphs to follow. These
86 95% CIs include statistical adjustments for physical and mental health covariates. Details
87 regarding regression equations and statistical controls including propensity score matching appear
88 in the [Methods](#) section and in [Supplementary Materials, Sections A to C](#).

89 **RESULTS**

90 **Lifetime prevalence of ADHD**

91 In Sweden, all community care providers report *International Classification of Diseases* (1)

92 diagnostic codes for all physical and mental health conditions to the National Board of Health and
93 Welfare (Socialstyrelsen; <http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/english>) (15). Between 2002 and 2015,
94 full population registry data obtained from Statistics Sweden (16) revealed an ADHD lifetime
95 prevalence of .015 based on ICD codes reported by physicians. This figure, which includes all
96 individuals ever diagnosed with ADHD (61.3% male, 38.7% female), is well below the estimated
97 lifetime prevalence of ADHD in the U.S. (18), consistent with lower rates of diagnosis in Europe
98 than in North America (19). More conservative diagnostic practices in Sweden than in the U.S.
99 make over-diagnosis in community settings an unlikely confounding explanation for any effects
100 (20), and should be considered before generalizing to U.S. samples. Note that precise control over
101 diagnostic practices is not possible in a population-based study.

102 Our analyses reveal that rates of *new* diagnoses rose considerably from 2002 to 2015, with
103 increases observed at all ages (Fig. 1A and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)) (15). As a result,
104 the rate of first-time diagnoses among 20- to 30-year-olds between 2010 and 2015 was higher
105 than the rate of first-time diagnoses among 10- to 20-year-olds before 2006 (Fig. 1B and
106 [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). Nevertheless, *within* each biennium, most new cases of
107 ADHD were diagnosed before age 20.

108 **ADHD, credit, and financial behaviors**

109 Associations between ADHD and various financial metrics and behaviors appear in Fig. 2. All
110 graphs depict data on credit and defaults for a random sample of Swedes (17) ($N=189,267$) for
111 adults diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$) and those without ADHD ($n=187,297$) across four years
112 spanning 2010-2013. Analyses control for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities
113 (anxiety disorders, depression, substance use disorders, autism spectrum disorder), and available
114 physical health indicators (asthma, respiratory infections). We also ran analyses using propensity
115 score matching on age, income, and education and found no significant changes in our findings.

116 Credit and default data reveal that those diagnosed with ADHD show only a slightly elevated

117 demand for credit compared to the general population before age 30. At later ages, however, their
118 demand for credit continues to grow at a time when the rest of the population lowers its demand
119 (Fig. 2A and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). This gap in demand stems from credit requests
120 by individuals with ADHD being rejected. Hence, their high credit demand does not translate into
121 greater credit access (Fig. 2B and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). In fact, despite requesting
122 more credit, those diagnosed with ADHD are granted less new consumer credit than the general
123 population until about age 50.

124 Limited credit access for individuals with ADHD can be explained by poor debt repayment
125 behavior. The Swedish National Enforcement Agency (Kronofogden) (21) enforces both public
126 unpaid claims and claims by private collection agencies that are unsuccessfully collected.
127 Kronofogden records shows that adults with ADHD are more likely to incur new arrears than
128 those without ADHD (Fig. 2C and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). By age 40, their default
129 risk peaks at over six times that of the general population.

130 Examining arrears records reveals that adults with ADHD have higher rates of missed
131 payments than others in every category of unpaid claims (Fig. 2D and [Supplementary Materials,](#)
132 [Section C](#)). The largest differences are observed for misuse of bank accounts (e.g., overdrafts),
133 unpaid alimony, unpaid educational support, impounded property, and unpaid road taxes. In each
134 of these categories, adults with ADHD are over four times more likely to incur arrears. However,
135 many unpaid claims involve relatively small items (e.g., unpaid parking tickets).

136 Collectively, arrears have serious effects on individuals' credit reports as increasingly more
137 entities check credit records. In fact, each additional year with an arrear on one's credit record
138 causally reduces employment by 3 percentage points and wage earnings by \$1,000 for the most
139 vulnerable members of Swedish society (22). Default risk among those diagnosed with ADHD is
140 a long-term problem, as indicated by their over-representation among those more than a decade in
141 continuous default (Fig. 2E and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)).

142 Given their poor credit history, adults with ADHD are over-represented in higher default risk
143 bins, which reflect poorer credit quality (Fig. 2F and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). In
144 fact, the percentage of individuals diagnosed with ADHD increases exponentially with default
145 risk. Compared with the general population, ADHD diagnoses are associated with a much lower
146 likelihood of populating the lowest default risk bin (odds ratio=0.14) and a much higher
147 likelihood of populating the highest default risk bin (odds ratio=3.49).

148 **Associations between medication and arrears**

149 Socialstyrelsen data also allowed us to explore associations between sympathomimetic
150 prescriptions for ADHD (e.g., methylphenidate, atomoxetine, amphetamine, dextroamphetamine)
151 (23) and financial outcomes. Fig. 3 (and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)) summarizes these
152 prescription data across the population (15), and presents associations between prescriptions and
153 financial behaviors for the random sample of Swedes for whom we observe credit and default
154 data (17). Across all biennia, prescriptions were most common for those between ages 10 and 20
155 years (Fig. 3A and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). Nevertheless, rates of prescriptions rose
156 roughly fourfold between 2006 and 2015 for all age groups. Yet despite increased access to
157 medication, there is no association between prescriptions and new arrears (Fig. 3B and
158 [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). Rather, similar rates of new arrears are observed in the two
159 years before and after prescription. These data raise obvious questions about relations between
160 medication adherence and financial outcomes given that almost half of adults with ADHD report
161 less than full medication adherence, and given that nonadherence correlates with ADHD severity
162 (24). Thus, it is possible that prescription medications were helpful for those who were fully
163 medication compliant. Unfortunately, we do not have adherence data to analyze, so causal
164 conclusions should not be inferred.

165 **Associations between finances and suicide**

166 Finally, we explore associations between financial outcomes and suicide. Our interest was to

167 understand whether there is an interaction between financial condition and likelihood of suicide.
168 To address this question, we obtained population statistics on suicide as a cause of death from the
169 National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) (15). The sample period is 2002-2015
170 ([Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)). For analyses using suicide as outcome, we controlled for
171 education, income, sex, age, physical health, anxiety disorders, substance use disorders, and
172 autism spectrum disorder. We conducted two sets of analyses. In the first, we did not control for
173 depression given (a) expected increases in depression prior to suicide (25), (b) common neural
174 vulnerability to unipolar depression and ADHD in brain regions implicated in anhedonia and
175 reward processing (26,27), and (c) similar deficits in performance on delay discounting tasks
176 among those with ADHD and those with depression (28). Collectively, these findings suggest
177 common (transdiagnostic) etiological mechanisms across disorders (26). Under such
178 circumstances, covarying depression removes variance attributable to shared vulnerability, a
179 practice that has been criticized in the psychopathology literature because it creates statistical
180 entities that distort etiology (29,30). Nevertheless, we conducted a second set of analyses
181 including depression as a covariate given likely interest among readers. Of note, propensity score
182 matching did not change results for either set of analyses.

183 Results are reported in Fig. 4 (Panels A-C). For the sample as a whole (Fig. 4A), those
184 diagnosed with ADHD are more likely to die by suicide than those without ADHD at almost all
185 ages below 60 years, consistent with previous research (31,32). As shown in Figs. 4B and 4C,
186 nearly identical results were obtained for men and women. Importantly, we also document an
187 interaction effect between ADHD and financial distress on suicide. Based on credit and default
188 data covering 2010 to 2013 (17), disparities in death by suicide are much larger for those
189 diagnosed with ADHD who are at high default risk (Fig. 4D and [Supplementary Materials,](#)
190 [Section C](#)). In fact, those with ADHD who fall in the highest default risk bins (Bins 3-4) suicide
191 at three times the rate of those with ADHD in low default risk bins (Bins 1-2). Although effect

192 sizes were reduced when depression was entered in the regression equations ([Supplementary](#)
193 [Materials, Section C](#)), both men and women diagnosed with ADHD were still more likely to die
194 by suicide at almost all ages below 60 years. Furthermore, high rates of suicide among those with
195 ADHD and especially poor credit (Bins 3-4) were unchanged.

196 Next, we explore potential changes in financial pressure prior to suicide for those ever
197 diagnosed with ADHD ($n=190$) versus those never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=2,120$) using a
198 January 2018 snapshot of everyone registered at the Enforcement Agency (Kronofogden) (21).
199 Figs. 5A and 5B (and [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#)) depict outstanding debt in the 36
200 months leading up to suicide for men vs. women, respectively, in this group, controlling for
201 education, income, physical health, anxiety disorders, substance use disorders, and autism
202 spectrum disorder. Arrear frequency increases significantly in the three years prior to suicide for
203 men diagnosed with ADHD, but not for men without ADHD (Fig. 5A). In contrast, neither
204 women diagnosed with ADHD nor women without ADHD show growth in arrears in the three
205 years prior to suicide (Fig. 5B). Adding depression into the regression equation had no effect on
206 growth in arrears in the three years prior to suicide for men or women diagnosed with ADHD.
207 Although we do not infer a causal relationship between financial distress and suicide for men
208 from these data, findings underscore extreme impairment associated with ADHD across the
209 lifespan, increased chaos in the years immediately preceding suicide, and likely need for targeted
210 intervention.

211 **DISCUSSION**

212 These results provide the first population-based, objective assessment of financial
213 disadvantage faced by individuals diagnosed with ADHD, including associations with suicide.
214 Previous studies documenting financial difficulties of people diagnosed with ADHD derive
215 almost exclusively from self-reports collected from small- to modest-sized treatment-seeking or
216 convenience samples. Such studies indicate overuse and misuse of credit cards, excessive and

217 very high-interest rate borrowing, and financial dependence on family members and welfare
218 among adults diagnosed with ADHD (11,12).

219 In a very large population sample, we measure the extent of financial distress and hardship
220 among adults diagnosed with ADHD. Adjusting for income, education, psychiatric and health
221 comorbidities, and substance use, problems with debt repayment and continuous default penetrate
222 well into mid-life, effects that are likely to become magnified as currently diagnosed young adults
223 age. Because few adults were diagnosed in previous generations (Fig. 1B), assessing effects of
224 persistent ADHD into late life is not yet possible in the Swedish population.

225 New sympathomimetic prescriptions for ADHD were unassociated with financial outcomes.
226 Arrears per month remained constant in the two years preceding and following new prescriptions.
227 These findings are consistent with recent longitudinal studies indicating modest effects of
228 medication on *functional* outcomes among those with ADHD (9,33), despite significant
229 concurrent and long-term reductions in core ADHD symptoms such as hyperactivity and
230 inattention (34,35). Of note, although reduced criminal behavior has been reported among adults
231 diagnosed with ADHD who receive pharmacological treatment (36), other studies find limited
232 effectiveness of stimulants on work productivity and other functional and occupational outcomes
233 (9,37,38). As we note above, however, many adults who receive prescriptions for ADHD do not
234 refill them, and proper dosing is important to achieve clinical benefit (39). It is therefore possible
235 that medications are more helpful for those who comply with treatment. Unfortunately, we do not
236 have data on adherence, exposure periods, medication possession ratios, or doses.

237 Although direct causes of financial distress among adults with ADHD remain to be
238 elucidated, a number of plausible mechanisms are suggested by the literature. As reviewed in our
239 introductory paragraphs, adolescents and adults with ADHD suffer from persistent, pervasive
240 functional impairment, as indexed by academic and vocational underachievement, high college
241 drop-out rates, poor job performance, difficulty sustaining employment, and lower wages than

242 their peers (4,5,6). Young adults with ADHD are also more reliant financially on both their
243 parents and social services, and earn almost \$600,000 less (U.S.) across their lifetimes than those
244 without ADHD (11). Moreover, self-reported hyperactive and impulsive (but not inattentive)
245 symptoms of ADHD in adulthood are associated with debt burden, high interest rate borrowing,
246 late payments, and present bias in monetary delay discounting tasks, as expressed by preference
247 for smaller, immediate rewards over larger, delayed rewards (12). Taken together, these findings
248 indicate that compared to others in the population, adults with ADHD (a) have fewer resources at
249 their disposal, which likely contributes to demand for credit; and (b) are less able to make short-
250 term decisions that translate into long-term financial benefits.

251 Regardless of mechanisms, our findings indicate that financial distress is associated with
252 suicide among adults with ADHD. Previous reports reveal higher-than-normal rates of suicide
253 among adolescents and adults diagnosed with ADHD in both treatment-seeking and population-
254 based studies (31,32,40). However, findings of prospective associations between financial distress
255 and suicide risk are new. Participants diagnosed with ADHD whose credit fell in highest default
256 risk bins were 3-4 times more likely to die by suicide than both (a) those with ADHD who were at
257 low risk of default, and (b) those without ADHD who had poor credit.

258 For those diagnosed with ADHD who suicided, men but not women experienced increasing
259 financial distress in the three years beforehand. This is a new finding that will require future
260 research to explain. For men, the finding is consistent with interpersonal and ideation-to-action
261 frameworks whereby those who are capable to suicide are more likely to attempt when confronted
262 with psychological pain and hopelessness (13,14)—both of which are associated with financial
263 distress (see immediately below). We wish to emphasize, however, that given the descriptive
264 nature of our study, we are unable to identify specific mechanisms or disentangle directions of
265 causality. Thus, we do not know if financial distress contributes directly to suicidal ideation and
266 suicide for men, if both are influenced by unmeasured third variables, or, more likely, some

267 combination of factors. Future work should address these important questions. Nevertheless, our
268 findings indicate objective associations between ADHD and a wide range of financial outcomes,
269 with implications for wellbeing of affected individuals as they move into middle and old age.

270 Based on data we present, many who are diagnosed with ADHD suffer from significant financial
271 distress throughout adulthood, with likely implications for physical and psychological wellbeing.

272 Speculating about specific psychological mechanisms of suicide among those with ADHD
273 and poor financials is even more difficult given no literature base to draw from. One possibility is
274 that poor financials mark more general distress brought about by functional impairment and poor
275 social adjustment, both of which are well documented among adults with ADHD. Relatedly,
276 unemployment, underemployment, and low wages could compromise sense of purpose among
277 those with ADHD. For men, such feelings may be more acute and difficult to deal with given
278 traditional gender roles, increasingly poor financials may eventually induce a sense of
279 hopelessness that worsens over time as debt accrues and dependence on others becomes
280 entrenched. In turn, low self-worth and feelings of failure may eventually contribute to suicidal
281 behaviors. Testing such notions and devising targeted interventions is a potentially important
282 avenue for future research. Such research will require careful planning to evaluate psychological
283 outcomes, including those that may differ for men vs. women. Such studies will be challenging
284 given how difficult precise measurement of psychological outcomes is with large, longitudinal
285 samples. Future research might also include financial data in attempts to predict suicide with
286 machine learning algorithms. If successful, such work could identify prospective
287 vulnerability/risk, an important forerunner to developing effective prevention programs.

288 Overall, our findings add to a growing literature indicating widespread and persistent
289 functional impairment among adults diagnosed with ADHD, and highlight the need for more
290 effective treatments across the lifespan. As noted above, previous research suggests benefits of
291 pharmacologic treatment on quality of life and other outcomes (36,38). However, many such

292 studies focus on tests of statistical significance and do not consider clinical or economic
293 significance. Effect sizes on functional outcomes are often modest and smaller than effect sizes
294 for core symptoms (see above) (34). Furthermore, medications rarely remediate symptoms fully
295 (36,38). Our findings show that new prescriptions are unassociated with changes in a first-order
296 financial behavior—debt repayment. Thus, simply obtaining a prescription is unlikely to address
297 the severe financial distress associated with ADHD in adulthood. Future studies should address
298 important questions regarding medication adherence, financial behaviors, and their associations
299 with suicide in order to determine (1) whether sympathomimetic prescriptions are helpful for
300 those who take them as prescribed, and (2) whether such medications are more vs. less helpful for
301 some individuals with ADHD than others.

302 **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

303 Data on ADHD and suicide for the period 2002-2015 were available for all adults in Sweden who
304 were over age 18 years ($N=11,549,190$). Registry data from the entire population were provided
305 by Statistics Sweden (<https://www.scb.se/en/>) (16). These data include all individuals ever
306 diagnosed with ADHD ($n=177,336$) and never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=11,371,854$). No
307 exclusion criteria were used. In Sweden, physicians are required to report ICD (1) diagnostic
308 codes for all physical and mental health conditions, World Health Organization (WHO)
309 Anatomical Therapeutic Chemical codes (1) for all prescription medications, and ICD codes for
310 cause of death to the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen;
311 <http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/english>) (15). We obtained ICD codes for ADHD, WHO codes for
312 centrally acting sympathomimetics (including dose, purchase date, and prescription date), and
313 ICD codes for suicide as a cause of death. In addition, we obtained credit and default data for a
314 random sample (17) for $N=189,267$ participants, including ($n=1,970$) ever diagnosed with ADHD
315 and $n=187,297$ never diagnosed with ADHD. These data include consumer credit from 2010 to
316 2013 and credit inquiries and arrears from 2007 to 2013 and the Swedish National Enforcement

317 Agency (Kronofogden; <https://www.kronofogden.se/InEnglish.html>) (21). Descriptive statistics
318 for all variables, including statistical control variables (education, income, sex, psychiatric
319 comorbidities, physical health), appear in [Supplementary Materials, Section B, Table S1](#), for the
320 full sample and [Supplementary Materials, Section B, Table S2](#) for the credit and default sample.
321 Technical details for Figs. 1–5, including regression equations, control variables, and propensity
322 score analyses, are presented in [Supplementary Materials, Section C](#).

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Figures

Fig. 1. Rates of ADHD diagnoses in the Swedish population ($N=11,549,190$), including $n=177,336$ ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=11,371,854$ never diagnosed with ADHD (15). (A) Rates of new diagnoses per capita for biennia spanning 2002-2015. (B) Rates of new diagnoses per capita by age (years) across biennia spanning 2002-2015.

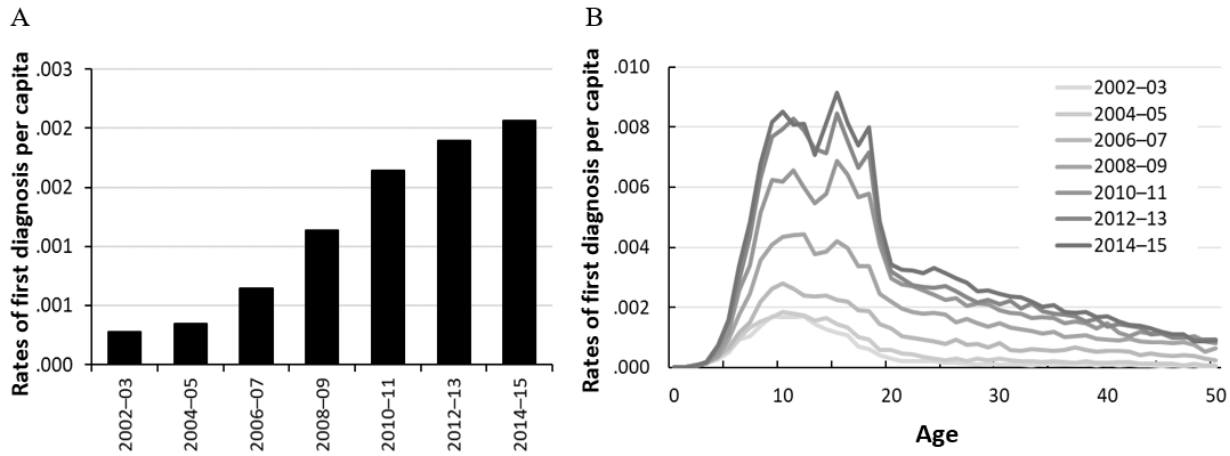


Fig. 2. Associations between ADHD and financial behaviors. Data on credit and defaults for a random sample of Swedes (17), including $n=1,970$ individuals ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=187,297$ individuals never diagnosed with ADHD from 2010 to 2013. (A) Credit requests (e.g., credit cards, credit lines) per month by age (years) and ADHD status. Credit request values are estimated, adjusting for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health (see text). Widening 95% confidence intervals at older ages indicate fewer ADHD cases. (B) New consumer credits per month (estimated, adjusting for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health) by age (years) and ADHD status. (C) New arrears incurred per month (estimated, adjusting for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health) by age (years) and ADHD status. (D) Percentage elevation in arrear type for those with ADHD compared with the population, sorted from top to bottom by frequency of arrear type in the general population. Panel 2D is based on a January 2018 snapshot of everyone registered at the Enforcement Agency (21) including $n=5,736$ ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=63,216$ never diagnosed with ADHD. (E) Percentage of people with unpaid claims diagnosed with ADHD by number of years delinquent. The hatched horizontal line represents the base rate of ADHD in the population (.015). (F) Percentage of people in successive default risk bins diagnosed with ADHD. Default risk is plotted along the x -axis, with increasing scores indicating higher likelihood of default. Proportions of the overall population and percentage default risk in each bin are as follows: Bin 1 (.47; 0-0.1%), Bin 2 (.11; 0.1-0.2%), Bin 3 (.07; 0.2-0.3%), Bin 4 (.05; 0.3-0.4%), Bin 5 (.03; 0.4-0.5%), Bin 6 (.02; 0.5-0.6%), Bin 7 (.05; 0.6-0.9%), Bin 8 (.05; 0.9-1.4%), Bin 9 (.05; 1.4-2.7%), Bin 10 (.05; 2.7-30.9%), and Bin 11 (.05; 30.9-97.7%). The hatched horizontal line represents the base rate of ADHD in the population (.015).

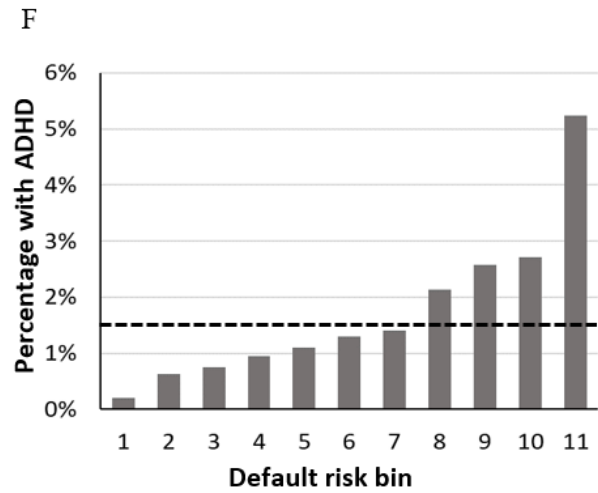
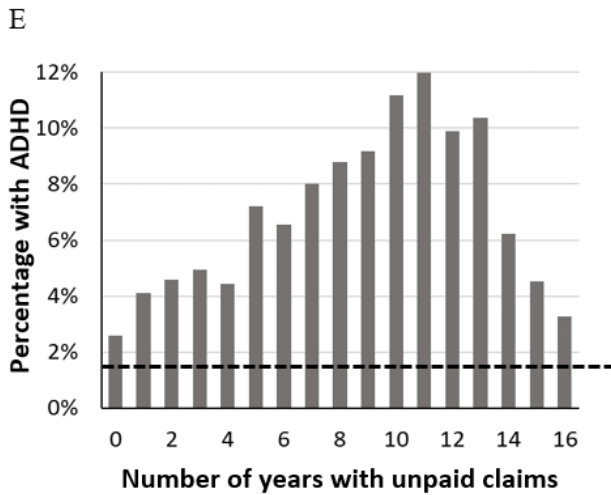
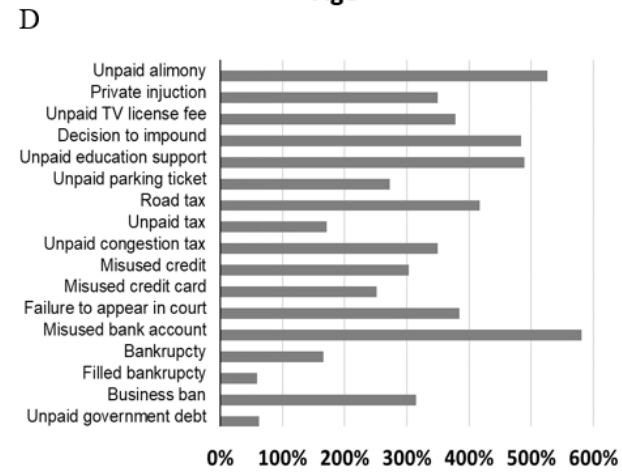
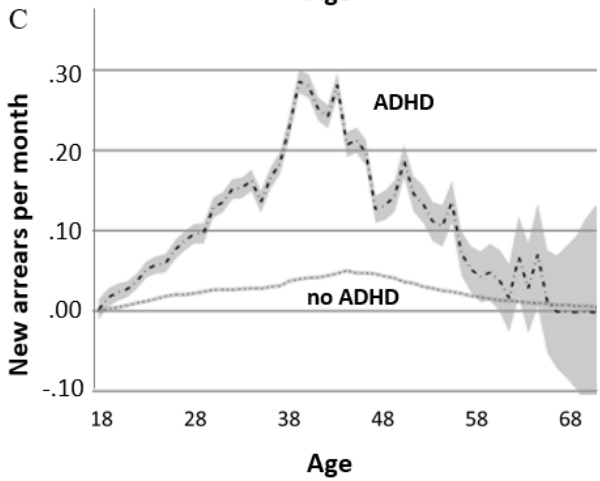
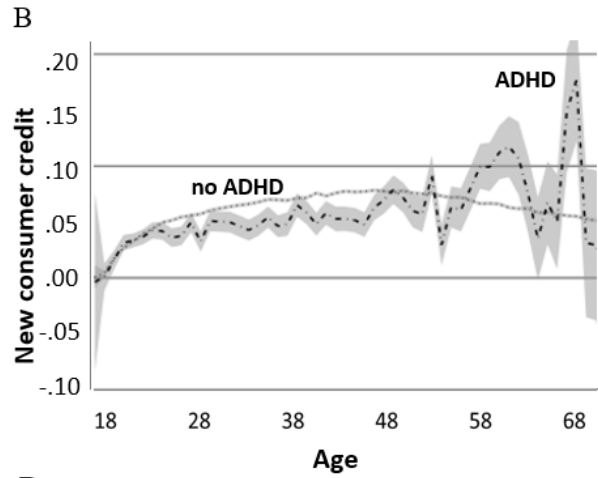
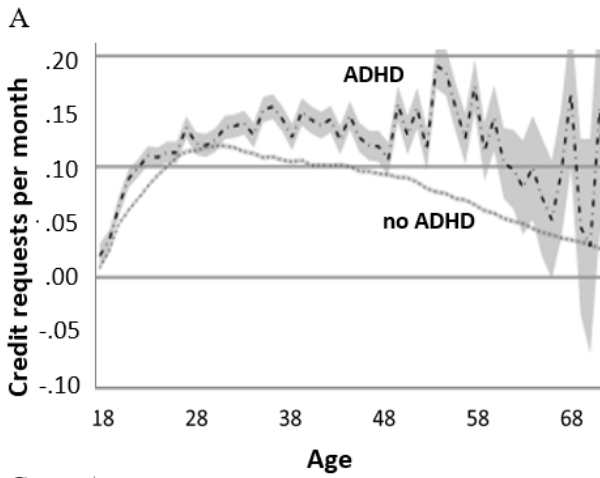


Fig. 3. Prescriptions for ADHD and associations between new prescriptions and arrears. (A) Prescriptions per capita for the entire population, by age (years), across biennia spanning 2006-2015. Data are from the full Swedish population, including $n=177,336$ individuals ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=11,371,854$ never diagnosed with ADHD (15). (B) Average number of new arrears in the two years preceding and following prescriptions for ADHD. No differences were found when data were analyzed separately for men versus women. Data are from the random sample on credit and defaults (17), including $n=1,970$ individuals ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=187,297$ never diagnosed with ADHD. Arrears are residualized, adjusting for education, income, sex, age, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health, and can extend below zero.

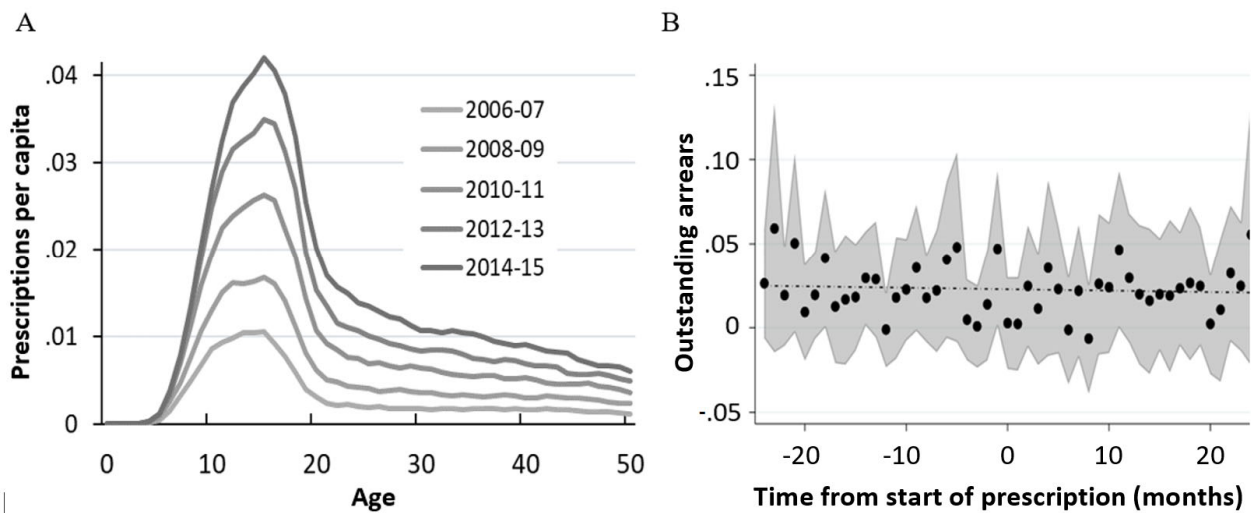


Fig. 4. Suicide outcomes by ADHD status. (A) Probability of suicide during the study observation period for all people diagnosed with ADHD and all people without ADHD from ages 18 through 70 (values are estimated, controlling for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health, and can therefore extend below zero). (B) Probability of suicide during the study observation period for men diagnosed with ADHD and men without ADHD from ages 18 through 70 (values are estimated, controlling for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health, and can therefore extend below zero). (C) Probability of suicide during the study observation period for women diagnosed with ADHD and women without ADHD from ages 18 through 70 (values are estimated, controlling for education, income, sex, psychiatric comorbidities, and physical health, and can therefore extend below zero). No differences were found between men and women. Data are from the full Swedish population from 2002 to 2015, including $n=177,336$ individuals ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=11,371,854$ individuals never diagnosed with ADHD (15). Widening confidence intervals above age 60 result from fewer ADHD cases. (D) Disparities in suicide rates for those with and without an ADHD diagnosis by default risk bin. Data are from a random sample of Swedes (17), collected between 2010 and 2013, including $n=1,970$ ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=187,297$ never diagnosed with ADHD. Increasing scores along x indicate higher likelihood of default. We collapsed into 4 default risk bins to obtain stable estimates of suicide given comparatively low base rates. Proportions of the overall population and percentage default risk in each bin are as follows: Bin 1 (.47; 0-0.1%), Bin 2 (.18; 0.1-0.3%), Bin 3 (.15; 0.3-0.9%), and Bin 4 (.20; 0.9-97.7%).

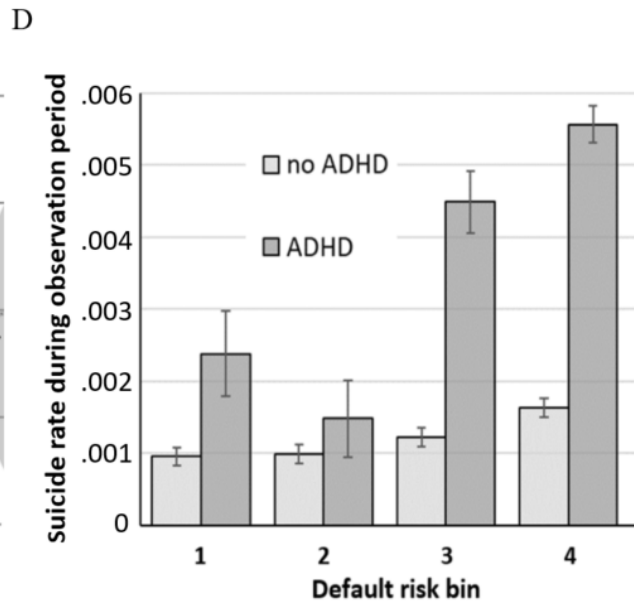
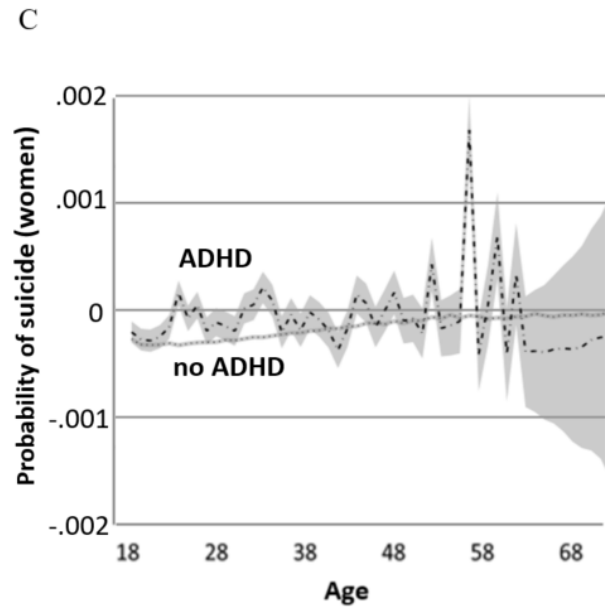
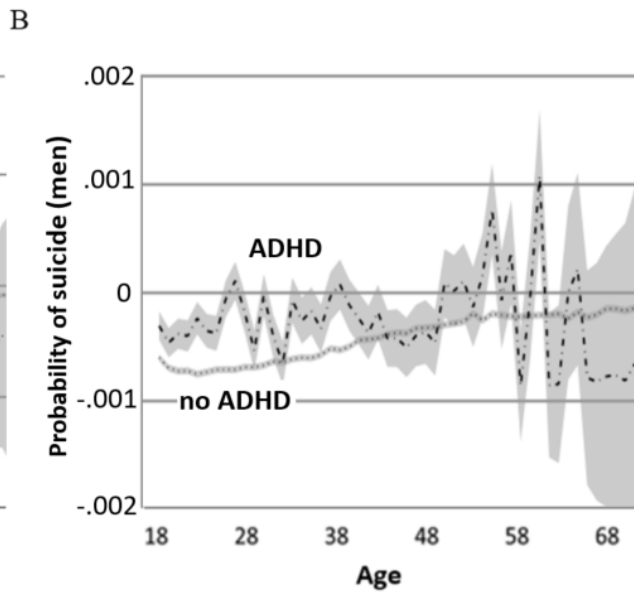
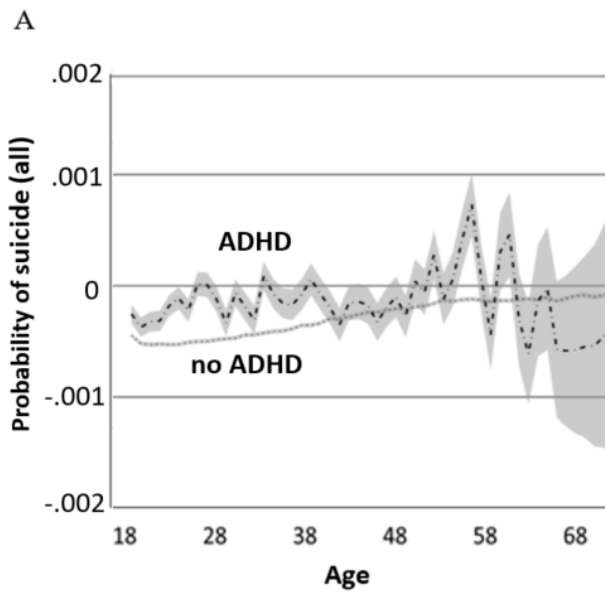
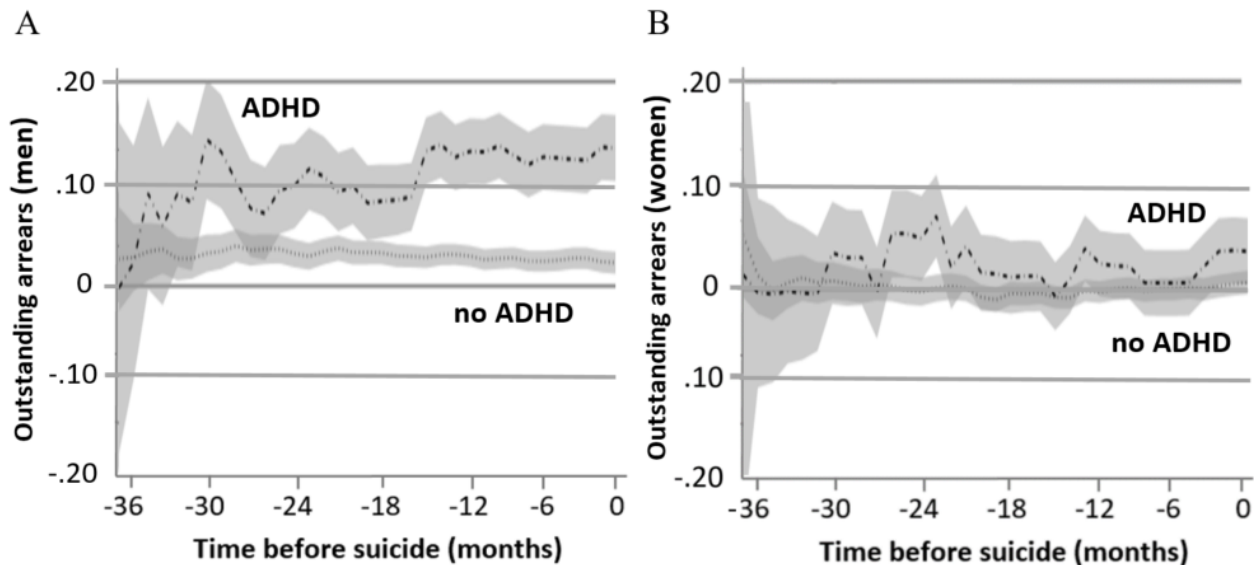


Fig. 5. Growth in debt in the 36 months preceding suicide for those diagnosed with ADHD and those without ADHD. Suicide data for the full Swedish population are merged with credit data obtained from the Swedish National Enforcement Agency (Kronofogden) mål database (41). Time to event (suicide) is indicated in months. (A) Estimated growth in debt (with 95% confidence intervals) for men diagnosed with ADHD who suicided ($n=131$) versus men diagnosed with ADHD who did not suicide ($n=1496$). (B) Estimated growth in debt (with 95% confidence intervals) for women diagnosed with ADHD who suicided ($n=59$) versus women diagnosed with ADHD who did not suicide ($n=620$). Regressions use data from a January 2018 snapshot of everyone registered at the Enforcement Agency who died by suicide, including $n=190$ ever diagnosed with ADHD and $n=2,120$ never diagnosed with ADHD (21).



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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

Section A

External databases:

- S1: Socialstyrelsen (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare). <http://www.socialstyrelsen.se/english> (2018).
- S2: Statistics Sweden <https://www.scb.se/en/> (2018).
- S3: Random credit registry sample (2018).
- S4: Kronofogden Swedish Enforcement Authority. <https://www.kronofogden.se/InEnglish.html> (2018).

Variables used for analysis of credit:

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Description</u>
Default risk (%)	A number in the interval 0–100 indicating estimated probability of future default (0 = zero probability of default in next 12 months)
Age	Age at end of the year
Credit arrears	Number of flags of unpaid debt in last three years visible in the credit registry system
Credit requests last 12 months	Number of inquiries to credit registry for individual during the last 12 months
# credit cards	Number of credit cards
# installment loans	Number of installment loans
# credit lines	Number of credit lines
Years of education	Years of education
Labor income (SEK)	Filed labor income on tax return
Diagnosed with ADHD	1 if the individual ever has an F90 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Anxiety	1 if the individual ever has an F40 or F41 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Substance	1 if the individual ever has an F10 or F19 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise

Depression	1 if the individual ever has an F32 or F33 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Autism	1 if the individual ever has an F84 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Respiratory infection	1 if the individual ever has an J069 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Asthma	1 if the individual ever has an F459 code in the diagnosis data; zero otherwise
Suicide (Self-intentional death)	1 if individual died and the cause of death was in the interval X60–X84; 0 if other cause of death; missing if individual has not died
Sympathomimetic ADHD medication prescriptions	1 if individual is prescribed a central acting sympathomimetic (ICD category N06BA); 0 otherwise
Years in continuous default	1 if individual appears in Kronofogden data in year y (debt can have originated earlier); 0 otherwise
New diagnosis of ADHD	1 if individual received a diagnosis that year; 0 otherwise
New arrears	1 if individual received an arrear that month; 0 otherwise

Section B

Table S1

Means and standard deviations of study variables across the full population, by ADHD status.

Study variable	Participants with ADHD		Control participants	
	full sample (<i>n</i> = 177,336) ^a	> age 18, 2010-13 only (<i>n</i> =104,976) ^b	full sample (<i>n</i> = 11,371,854) ^a	> age 18, 2010-13 only (<i>n</i> =7,962,751) ^b
Demographics				
Age	19.64 (13.42)	<i>30.96 (11.27)</i>	40.86 (23.58)	<i>49.06 (19.07)</i>
Male	61.29%	<i>56.84%</i>	49.55%	<i>49.38%</i>
Years of education	10.65 (1.87)	<i>10.84 (1.90)</i>	11.80 (2.40)	<i>12.01 (2.40)</i>
Income	(SEK)70,133 (11,956)	<i>(SEK)83,117 (23,666)</i>	(SEK)163,382 (222,902)	<i>(SEK)183,764 (237,430)</i>
Suicides within sample period (%)	0.33%	<i>0.40%</i>	0.15%	<i>0.08%</i>
Psychiatric comorbidities (lifetime %)				
Alcohol/substance use disorder	19.10%	<i>29.73%</i>	3.03%	<i>3.37%</i>
Anxiety	32.99%	<i>45.63%</i>	4.58%	<i>5.07%</i>
Autism	18.58%	<i>16.02%</i>	0.46%	<i>0.34%</i>
Depression	30.97%	<i>44.41%</i>	5.30%	<i>5.91%</i>
Sympathomimetic prescriptions	73.26%	<i>50.86%</i>	3.16%	<i>1.66%</i>
Physical health outcomes (lifetime %)				
Asthma	9.70%	<i>4.69%</i>	4.15%	<i>2.33%</i>
Respiratory infection	8.96%	<i>6.78%</i>	3.83%	<i>3.10%</i>

^aNon-italicized columns include all in the Swedish population, including those below age 18 years.

^bItalicized columns include only those who were age 18 years or older between 2010 and 2013. This matches the Swedish Credit and default sample (see text and Table S2 below).

Notes. See text and Supplementary Materials Section A for full descriptions of study variables. Given the very large sample size and broad age range, we do not report confidence intervals or *p*-values in this table. Readers are referred to figures that appear throughout, which include 95% confidence intervals by age.

Table S2

Means and standard deviations of study variables for Swedish credit and default sample, by ADHD status.

Study variable	Participants with ADHD (<i>n</i> = 1,970)		Control participants (<i>n</i> = 187,297)	
	mean	<i>SD</i>	mean	<i>SD</i>
Demographics				
Age	33.03	(11.08)	50.22	(18.43)
Male	55.96%	-	49.05%	-
Years of education	11.14	(1.97)	12.07	(2.40)
Income	(SEK)105,261	(143,603)	(SEK)191,775	(244,829)
Credit data				
Default risk score (%)	17.32	(26.30)	3.66	(13.05)
Credit arrears	4.02	(11.35)	0.79	(6.14)
Credit inquiries (last 12 months)	1.54	2.60	1.00	(1.81)
New arrears (last month)	0.06	(0.24)	0.01	(0.11)
Number of credit cards	0.90	(1.50)	1.52	(1.82)
Number of installment loans	0.05	(0.23)	0.08	(0.30)
Number of credit lines	0.36	(0.77)	0.38	(0.82)
Credit card limit	(SEK)11,713	(23,260)	(SEK)21,626	(34,728)
Installment loan limit	(SEK)3,489	(23,519)	(SEK)6,786	(39,378)
Credit line limit	(SEK)23,289	(74,249)	(SEK)27,701	(162,280)
Credit card balances	(SEK)3,522	(10,895)	(SEK)4,665	(15,128)
Installment loan balances	(SEK)3,471	(23,414)	(SEK)6,764	(39,267)
Credit line balances	(SEK)22,362	(72,590)	(SEK)25,921	(159,585)
Suicides within sample period (%)	0.046%	-	0.0079%	-
Psychiatric comorbidities (lifetime %)				
Alcohol/substance use disorder	28.45%	-	3.29%	-
Anxiety	46.45%	-	5.02%	-
Autism	15.0%	-	0.31%	-
Depression	47.41%	-	6.00%	-
Sympathomimetic prescriptions	49.46%	-	0.02%	-
Physical health outcomes (lifetime %)				
Asthma	6.25%	-	3.10%	-
Respiratory infection	4.63%	-	2.27%	-

Notes. See text and Appendix Section A for full descriptions of study variables. Given the very large sample size and broad age range, we do not report confidence intervals or *p*-values in this table. Readers are referred to figures that appear throughout, which include 95% confidence intervals by age.

Section C

Technical details including regression equations for analyses depicted in Figs. 1–5:

Figure 1A. Rates of new diagnoses per capita for biennia spanning 2002-2015

Plotted: bar graph of the number of new diagnoses per capita

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Socialstyrelsen (15) for medical data and Statistics Sweden (16) for numbers of people in each cohort

Sample: full Swedish population ($N=11,549,190$)

Years: 2002-2015

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=177,336$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=11,371,854$)

Figure 1B. Rates of new diagnoses per capita by age

Plotted: number of first diagnosis of ADHD from ages 0–50 years, by biennia, from 2002 to 2015

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Socialstyrelsen (15) for medical data and Statistics Sweden (16) for numbers of people in each cohort

Sample: full Swedish population ($N=11,549,190$)

Years: 2002-2015

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=177,336$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=11,371,854$)

Figure 2A. Credit requests (e.g., credit cards, credit lines) per month by age (years) and ADHD status

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Credit requests} = & \beta_i * \text{month} + \hat{\beta}_i * \text{age ADHD} + \hat{\beta}_i * \text{age noADHD} + \\ & + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} + \beta_i * \text{autism} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{depression} + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{income bin} + \beta_i * \text{education level} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\hat{\beta}_i$ for each age with 95% confidence intervals

Data source: Credit and default data (17) matched with Statistics Sweden (16) data

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults *Years:* 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 2B. New consumer credits per month by age (years) and ADHD status

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{New consumer credit} = & \beta_i * \text{month} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{age ADHD} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{agenoADHD} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} + \beta_i * \text{autism} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{depression} + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\widehat{\beta}_i$ over age with 95% confidence intervals

Data source: Credit and default sample (17) matched with Statistics Sweden (16) data

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults Years: 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 2C. New arrears incurred per month by age (years) and ADHD status

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{New arrears} = & \beta_i * \text{month} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{age ADHD} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{agenoADHD} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} + \beta_i * \text{autism} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{depression} + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\widehat{\beta}_i$ over age with 95% confidence intervals

Data source: Credit and default data (17) matched with Statistics Sweden (16) data

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults

Years: 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 2D. Elevation in arrear type for those diagnosed with ADHD compared with the full population

Plotted: bar graph of percentage of people ever diagnosed with ADHD for respective score bin

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Credit and default sample (17) matched with Socialstyrelsen (15)

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults

Years: 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 2E. Percentage of people with unpaid claims who are diagnosed with ADHD

Plotted: percentage of people with unpaid claims who are diagnosed with ADHD, by number of years in continued delinquency

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Kronofogden Swedish Enforcement Authority (22)

Sample: full adult (age 18 and over) Swedish population ($N=9.85$ million)

Years: cross-sectional snapshot of everyone registered in January 2018

Figure 2F. Percentage of people in successive default risk bins with ADHD

Plotted: bar graph of percentage of people ever diagnosed with ADHD across increasing default risk bins (larger bin values reflect worse credit)

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Swedish Credit and default sample (17) matched with Socialstyrelsen (15)

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults

Years: 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 3A. Rates of new prescriptions per capita by age

Plotted: percentage of population receiving medications for ADHD (24), by biennia, from 2006 to 2015

Estimation method: none (raw data)

Data source: Socialstyrelsen (15) for medical data and Statistics Sweden (16) for number of individuals in each cohort

Sample: full Swedish population ($N=11,549,190$)

Years: 2006-2015

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=177,336$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=11,371,854$)

Figure 3B. Prescription event time and new arrears

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{New arrears} = & \beta_i * \text{month} + \hat{\beta}_i * \text{eventtime ADHD} + \hat{\beta}_i * \text{eventtiemnoADHD} + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} + \beta_i * \text{autism} + \beta_i * \text{depression} + \\ & + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\hat{\beta}_i$ over age with 95% confidence intervals, over event time t , where $t = 0$ when the individual first receives a prescription for ADHD (17)

Data source: Swedish Credit and default sample (17) matched with Socialstyrelsen (15)

Sample: random sample ($N=189,267$) of adults *Years:* 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,970$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=187,297$)

Figure 4A. Suicide rate by age and ADHD status

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Suicide} = & \beta_i * \text{year} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{age ADHD} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{agenoADHD} + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{autism} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\widehat{\beta}_i$, with 95% confidence intervals over age

Data source: Socialstyrelsen (15) and Statistics Sweden (16)

Sample: full Swedish population ($N=11.44$ million)

Years: 2002 to 2015

Figures 4B and 4C replicate analyses for Figure 4A among only men and only women, respectively (see immediately above).

Figure 4D. Suicide rates by default risk score bins and ADHD status

Estimation method: linear regression

Estimation equation:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Suicide} = & \beta_i * \text{month} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{scorebinADHD} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{scorebinnoADHD} + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{autism} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\widehat{\beta}_i$, with 95% confidence intervals, over default risk score bins

Data source: Credit and default sample (17) matched with Socialstyrelsen (15)

Sample: random sample ($N=192,043,189,267$) of adults Years: 2010-2013

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=1,763,197$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=190,280,187,297$)

Figures 5A and 5B. Growth in debt in the 36 months preceding suicide for those with and without ADHD, run separately for men (5A) and women (5B).

Estimation method: linear regression

$$\begin{aligned} 1(\text{Active debt kronofogden} > 0) = & \beta_i * \text{year} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{eventtime ADHD} + \widehat{\beta}_i * \text{eventtimenoADHD} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{anxiety} + \beta_i * \text{substance} + \beta_i * \text{autism} + \beta_i * \text{respiratory infection} \\ & + \beta_i * \text{astma} + \beta_i * \text{incomebin} + \beta_i * \text{educationlevel} + \varepsilon \end{aligned}$$

Plotted: $\widehat{\beta}_i$ over event time with 95% confidence intervals

Boolean starting from the existence of aktiv = 1 in a month until aktiv = 0 for the same individual or the time period ends

Data source: medical records from Socialstyrelsen (15) matched with the Kronofogden (22) active debt dataset

Sample: all individuals with suicide as registry cause of death (codes X59–X85)

Years: 2014-2016

of unique individuals: ever diagnosed with ADHD ($n=190$), never diagnosed with ADHD ($n=2,120$); All individuals suicided.