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ADVERSE PERINATAL CONDITIONS INCREASE THE RISK OF USING DISABILITY PENSION EARLY IN LIFE

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32 Key words: Birth defect, disability insurance, disability pension, perinatal health

3334 Acknowledgment

- 35 This study is part of a project headed by Lotta Vikström that has received funding from the
- 36 European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and
- innovation program, Grant Agreement No. 647125, "DISLIFE Liveable Disabilities: Life
- courses and opportunity structures across time," 2016–2021. This study is also part of a
- 39 project led by Lotta Vikström and financed by the Wallenberg Foundation (*Stiftelsen Marcus*
- 40 och Amalia Wallenbergs Minnesfond, MAW 2012.0141). The Umeå SIMSAM Lab data
- 41 infrastructure used in this study was developed with support from the Swedish Research
- 42 Council, and with strategic funds from Umeå University.

ABSTRACT

Objective: The number of young adults on disability pension is increasing in European raising questions on the related risk factors. This study aims to investigate whether adverse perinatal conditions are associated with receiving a disability pension early in life.

Methods: The study consisted of 453,223 individuals born in Sweden in 1973–1977,

observed at ages 16–37 from 1991 through 2010. Statistics Sweden provided linked data on

the children and their parents. We used logistic regression to assess the association between perinatal health conditions and receiving a disability pension, adjusting for maternal education

- and the sex of the child.

Results: New recipients of disability pension were significantly more likely to have a birth defect (Adjusted Odds Ratio [AOR] 6.63, 95% CI: 5.98 -7.34), and be small for gestational age (AOR 2.24, 95% CI: 2.17–2.85). Apgar score was significantly associated with starting to receive a disability pension at ages 16 through 18 and 19 through 29, but not at ages 30 to 33. Women had lower odds of receiving a disability pension at ages 16 to 18, however, this reversed from age 19 and upwards. Persons with higher maternal education were less likely to receive a disability pension compared to persons with <=9 years of maternal education level. Overall, the effects of the studied perinatal health conditions were strongest in those 16 to 18 years at disability pension, but reduced as age increased.

Conclusion: Having a birth defect was the strongest indicator of receiving a disability pension during early adulthood, followed by small for gestational age, and low Apgar score. Our findings suggest that policies and programs geared at promoting optimal health at birth might improve overall health over the lifespan, contributing to a reduction in receiving early

- disability pensions, and dependence on health services and social welfare.

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91 **INTRODUCTION**

Over the past few decades, Europe has witnessed an increase in the number of people 92 receiving disability pensions, [1, 2] with several countries reporting an increase in the number 93 of young adults as new recipients. [2] Disability pensions are a social security scheme that 94 provides income support to people of working age with long-term limitations in their working 95 capacity due to ill health. [3, 4] Disability pension is an important part of the public support 96 97 programs for people with disabilities in Sweden. [3, 4] Receiving a disability pension has also 98 been viewed as an indicator of long-term ill health, and once on disability pension, very few recipients return to active work. [1] This trend of early exit from the labor force via disability 99 pension is highly unsustainable over time, as it increases financial pressures on the 100 government, and aggravates the anticipated future labor force shortage due to the aging 101 102 population. [2]

103 Several studies have attempted to understand the factors associated with the risk of utilizing a disability pension. A growing body of research has identified several socio-economic and 104 health factors associated with the receipt of disability pensions. [2, 5] Some of these identified 105 106 adulthood socio-demographic risk factors included education, occupation, civil status, family 107 structure, and place of residence.[6-12] Individuals receiving disability pensions also have more adverse health outcomes, such as poor self-rated health, alcohol use, frequent use of 108 109 primary health care, and noted genetic differences. [7, 10, 13-15]

A few studies using the life course critical model [16] have also investigated the link between 110 childhood conditions and receiving a disability pension later in life. The critical model 111

suggests that suboptimal perinatal conditions cause long-lasting changes in the developing 112 113 organ structures, and in the functioning of biological systems, which in turn places an individual at an increased risk of chronic diseases during adulthood. [16] Additionally, a 114 handful of studies established a link between childhood socio-economic position and the risk 115 116 of having a disability later in life. [17, 18] Some studies noted that receiving a disability pension during adulthood was higher among persons with low birth weight, [19, 20] and 117 118 among those born small for gestational age. [11] However, this evidence on the linkage between perinatal health and the receipt of a disability pension during early adulthood is still 119 insufficient. 120

From our literature search, we identified no single study that has investigated the association 121 122 between receiving a disability pension and having a birth defect, and a low Apgar score. We think that these associations are worthy of further investigation, as some evidence suggests 123 that persons with birth defects are more likely to report a developmental disability later in life. 124 [21-23] Some studies have reported a link between a low Apgar score at five-minutes and 125 minor disabilities at school age. [24] A low Apgar score was also associated with a neurologic 126 127 disability in early adulthood. [25, 26] Factors associated with an increased risk of any form of disability affect one's overall quality of health, and as such, are likely to increase the risk of a 128 work disability that leads to receiving a disability pension. Thus, we hypothesize that having a 129 130 birth defect and a low Apgar score is associated with receiving a disability pension. To test this hypothesis, we followed the birth cohort of 1973–1977 from ages 16 to 37, with the aim 131 of investigating the association between perinatal health factors, as measured by birth defects, 132 133 Apgar score, and being small for gestational age, and the receipt of a Swedish disability pension during early adulthood. 134

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136 MATERIALS AND METHODS

137 The study population consisted of 453,223 individuals belonging to five complete birth-year

138 cohorts from 1973 to 1977, who were in Sweden between ages 16–37, during the study period

of 1991 to 2010. Initially, we had identified 693,247 individuals belonging to this birth

140 cohort, but 240,024 were excluded, as some were born outside of Sweden, some died, and

141 others emigrated either before or during the study period (details in Figure 1).

142 (Figure 1 here)

The Swedish Medical Birth Register provided information on the total newborn population, 143 144 and their perinatal health outcomes. This register also collects information on all congenital anomalies observed during the first year of life. [27] We obtained information on sex, 145 mother's education level, and receipt of disability benefits from the Longitudinal Integration 146 147 Database for Health Insurance and Labour Market Studies (LISA database). Statistics Sweden linked the index person's data and the data of their mother obtained from these two data 148 sources, using the unique Swedish personal identity number (PIN). After data linkage, 149 150 Statistics Sweden made the data anonymous before delivering it to the Swedish Initiative for Research on Microdata in Social and Medical Sciences (Umeå SIMSAM Lab), [28] where we 151 152 performed all analyses.

153 Study variables

Receiving a disability pension: This outcome variable was measured when the individuals were between the ages of 16 to 37. Sweden uses a systematic medical examination, as codified by Swedish social security legislation, to measure diminished health and work capacity when assessing eligibility to receive this financial benefit. [3-5] However, Swedish disability pension legislation has frequently changed. From 1991–2002, individuals were

eligible to receive a disability pension if they were between ages 16–64, with medical 159 160 evidence confirming their inability to work due to chronic ill health. [3, 4] From 2003 onwards, the basis for granting this financial security remained the same, but the minimum 161 age limit was raised to age 19, and the term disability pension was replaced with activity 162 compensation, which is payable to persons aged 19–29, and sickness compensation, payable 163 to persons aged 30–64. In this paper, we use the term disability pension as an umbrella term 164 165 that includes disability pension, activity compensation, and sickness compensation. We recorded individuals as having received a disability pension from their first year of receiving 166 the benefit, "yes" for those who received a disability pension and "no" for those who did not. 167 168 When selecting explanatory variables, we included perinatal health indicators because previous research suggests a link, [19–23] and/or because we considered them plausible risk 169 factors for receiving a disability pension. We obtained the variable birth defect from the 170 Medical Birth Register, already coded in the register as yes and no. The variable Apgar score 171 at five minutes measures the physical condition of the newborn at 5 minutes after birth on a 172 173 scale of 0–10. [29] We categorized this variable according to existing criteria, which considers a total score of less than 7 as a low Apgar score, while a score within a range of 7 to 174 10 is considered normal. [29, 30] The variable gestational age was pre-categorized into two 175 176 groups, based on the Swedish growth standards that account for both birth weight for gestational age and sex. The 5th percentile (z-score below -1.64) was the threshold, individuals 177 below this were pre-categorized as small for gestational age, and those above considered 178 appropriate for gestational age. We categorize sex as either man or woman, and maternal 179 education is categorized into ≤ 9 years of school (reference category), upper secondary 180 181 education, and university education.

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183 Statistical analyses

In the descriptive analysis, we used cross tabulation to compare the explanatory variables 184 between individuals who received a disability pension, and those who did not (Table 1). We 185 examined bivariable correlation between birth defect and all other independent variables, and 186 found no evidence of a strong correlation; thus, we chose to keep all of the independent 187 variables. We conducted logistic regression to assess whether any of the perinatal conditions 188 were associated with the odds of receiving a disability pension between the ages of 16–37. 189 190 We examined the independent association between each of the variables, and the odds of 191 receiving a disability pension (see Bivariable results column in Table 2). In Table 2, Models 1-3, we assessed changes in the odds of receiving a disability pension by adjusting for 192 193 covariates. In Model 1, we included all perinatal health variables; in Model 2, we added sex and maternal education to Model 1, and in Model 3, we checked for the interactions between 194 195 sex and all other explanatory variables.

Furthermore, we performed logistic regression analyses to account for the different ages 196 beginning to receive a disability pension (See Table 3). We created separate models using an 197 individual's age at the start of their receiving a disability pension, taking into consideration 198 199 the changes in the national legislation on disability pensions, i.e. ages 16–18, 19–29, and 30– 33. Model 4 measured the odds of receiving a disability pension at ages 16–18, Model 5 200 estimated the odds of receiving a disability pension at ages 19–29, and Model 6 assessed the 201 202 odds of receiving a disability pension at ages 30–33. In further analyses, (See Table 4, 203 appendix) we introduced all explanatory variables and interaction terms simultaneously for 204 each of the above that was presented in Table 3. We assessed multi-collinearity for all 205 adjusted models by calculating the variance inflation factor (VIF), regressing each independent variable on all the other independent variables, and found no strong evidence of 206

- multi-collinearity. Using Anova, we evaluated the overall fitness of the model. Odds ratios 207
- 208 (ORs) with 95% confidence intervals (CIs) are reported. Statistical significance was attained
- 209 with a p<0.05. We performed our statistical analyses using the R software.

210 RESULTS

We present the differences in the study population's characteristics in Table 1. The total 211 212 number of people that began receiving a disability pension between ages 16-37 years, during the duration of the follow-up, was 18,854 (4% of the 453,223 participants). The proportion of 213 individuals with birth defects who received a disability pension was twice as large when 214 215 compared to individuals without birth defects (8% vs. 4%, respectively). Disability pension 216 reception was more common among females than males, 5% versus 3%, respectively. The 217 prevalence of disability pension reception was highest among those with maternal education 218 less <=9 years of schooling (5%), however, the prevalence was similar among those with mothers with upper secondary or university education (3%). 219

Description	No Disability Pension		Disability Pension	
-	N=434,369 (96%)	(%)	N=18,854 (4%)	%
Birth defect				
No	411,498	(96)	16,939	(4)
Yes	19,523	(92)	1,739	(8)
Data Missing	3,348	(95)	176	(5)
Apgar at 5 minutes				
≥ 7	311, 306	(96)	13,159	(4)
<7	4,406	(91)	428	(9)
Data Missing	118,657	(96)	5,267	(4)
Small gestational age				
No	403,644	(96)	16,767	(4)
Yes	18,516	(93)	1,422	(7)
Data Missing	12,209	(95)	665	(5)
Sex				
Male	226,431	(97)	7,941	(3)
Female	207,938	(95)	10,913	(5)
Mother's education				
<9 years	178,468	(95)	8,675	(5)
Upper secondary	159,993	(97)	5,628	(3)
University	32,717	(97)	966	(3)
Data Missing	63,191	(95)	3,585	(5)

220 Table 1. Perinatal characteristics of the birth cohort of 1973–1977 by disability pension status (n=453,223)

In Table 2, all of the bivariable results showed significant associations. Individuals with a 221 222 birth defect were at higher odds of receiving a disability pension, compared with their counterparts without a birth defect (OR 2.16, 95% CI: 2.05-2.28). Those with low Apgar 223 224 scores were more likely to receive disability pensions compared to those with Apgar scores of 7-10 (OR 2.29, 95% CI: 2.08-2.54). Persons who were small for gestational age were more 225 likely to receive a disability pension compared to those that were not. Females had higher 226 227 odds of receiving a disability pension compared to males (OR 1.85, 95% CI: 1.75–1.95). Using <=9 years of maternal schooling as the reference category, those born to mothers with a 228 high level of education were less likely to use the disability pension. 229

230 In Model 1, simultaneous adjusting for the three perinatal health variables confirmed 231 significantly increased odds of receiving a disability pension among persons with birth defects, a low Apgar score and who were small for gestational age. In Model 2, we added sex 232 and maternal education to the previous model, and noted that birth defects, low Apgar score, 233 being small for gestational age, and being a woman remained significantly associated with 234 higher odds of receiving a disability pension, while high maternal education was significantly 235 236 associated with lower odds of receiving a disability pension. In Model 3, we added interaction terms to the previous model (Model 2), the main effect remained significant and in similar 237 direction as observed in the previous model. Model 3 also revealed an interaction between 238 239 birth effect and sex and an interaction between birth effect and small for gestation age. Using Anova, we evaluated the overall fitness of the models, and found significant evidence of the 240 overall effects of all independent variables on the dependent variable. 241

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Table 2. The unadjusted and adjusted associations between perinatal factors and the receipt of a disability pension

Perinatal factors	Bivariable results		Multivariable results	
	OR (95% CI)	Model 1: (n=322,464) OR (95% CI)	Model 2: (n=273,708) OR (95% CI)	Model 3: (n=273,708) OR (95% CI)
Birth defect No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	2.16 (2.05–2.28) ***	2.31 (2.18–2.45) ***	2.52 (2.36-2.69) ***	2.74 (2.49-3.00)***
Apgar score	2.10 (2.03 2.20)	2.51 (2.10 2.45)	2.52 (2.50 2.07)	2.74 (2.4) 5.00)
7-10	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
<7	2.29 (2.08-2.54) ***	2.12 (1.91-2.35)***	2.19 (1.95-2.47)***	2.12 (1.77-2.52)***
Small for gestational age No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	1.85 (1.75–1.95)***	1.84 (1.72–1.96) ***	1.73 (1.61–1.86) ***	1.73 (1.54–1.94)***
Sex	1.05 (1.75 1.75)	1.04 (1.72 1.90)	1.75 (1.01 1.00)	1.75 (1.54 1.54)
Male	1.00		1.00	1.00
Female	1.49 (1.45-1.54)***		1.54 (1.48-1.59)***	1.55 (1.46-1.64)***
<i>Mother's education</i> <9 years	1.00		1.00	1.00
Upper secondary	0.72 (069-0.75) ***		0.76 (0.73-0.79)***	0.74 (0.69-0.79)***
University	0.61 (0.57-0.65)***		0.63 (0.58-0.68)***	0.67 (0.59-0.75)***
Birth defect*sex	0.01 (0.57 0.05)		0.05 (0.58 0.08)	0.07 (0.59 0.75)
Male: No birth defect				1.00
Female: birth defect				0.85 (0.78-1.02)
Sex*Apgar score Male: Apgar 7-10				1.00
<i>Female: Apgar <7</i>				1.07 (0.84–1.35)
Sex*Gestational age				1.07 (0.84–1.55)
Male: not SGA				1.00
Female: SGA				1.00 (0.86-1.16)
Mother's education*sex Male: <9 years				1.00
Female: Upper secondary				1.04 (0.96–1.13)
Female: University				
Birth defect*Apgar score				0.90 (0.77-1.06)
Birth defect No*Apgar score 7-10				1.00
Birth defect Yes*Apgar score <7				1.26 (0.89-1.76)
Birth defect *SGA				1.00
Birth defect No*SGA No Birth defect Yes*SGA Yes				1.00
SGA*Apgar score				1.39 (1.12-1.74)*
SGA No*Apgar score 7-10				1.00
SG Yes*Apgar score <7				0.86 (0.63-1.16)

247 Model 1 contains perinatal health variables, Model 2 adds sex and mother's education level to model 1, Model 3
248 extends Model 2 by including interaction effects. *** indicates p-value <0.001, * p-value<0.05

In Table 3, we present our investigation of the association between perinatal conditions and

the odds of receiving a disability pension in three different age groups. Among those who

started receiving a disability pension between ages 16–18 (Model 4), the new recipients were

significantly more likely to have a birth defect, a low Apgar score, and to be small for

253 gestational age. Model 5 shows the increased odds of receiving a disability pension between

ages 19–29 among those with a birth defect, a low Apgar score, who were small for
gestational age, and women. In Model 6, starting to receive a disability pension between ages
30–33 was associated with having a birth defect and being small for gestational age, but not
with a low Apgar score. High maternal education was associated with lower odds of receiving
a disability pension for all age groups presented in Table 3.

Table 3 shows the associations between perinatal factors and disability pension reception in the 1973–1977 birth cohort, stratified by age at the start of receiving disability pension and adding all possible interactions

	Model 4: Age 16- 18 years OR (95% CI) (n=)	Model 5: 19- 29 years OR (95% CI) (n=269,716)	Model 6: 30-33 years OR (95% CI) (n=)
Birth defect			
No	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	5.89 (5.06–6.84)***	1.49 (1.24–1.79)***	1.39 (1.08-1.78)**
Apgar score	1.00	1.00	1.00
7-10 <7	1.00	1.00	1.00
	4.25 (3.12-5.66)***	1.53 (1.41-1.67)*	1.25 (0.75–1.97)
Small for gestational age No	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	2.15 (1.69-2.69)**	1.49 (1.22–1.80)***	1.43 (1.09–1.84)***
Sex			
Male Female	1.00	1.00	1.00
	0.73 (0.64–0.85)***	1.53 (1.41-1.67)***	2.16 (1.95-2.40) ***
<i>Mother's education</i> <9 years	1.00	1.00	1.00
<pre>> years Upper secondary</pre>	0.75 (0.66-0.85)***	0.71 (0.65–0.79)***	0.72 (0.64–0.82)***
University			
Interaction terms	0.76 (0.59-0.96)*	0.66 (0.54-0.79)***	0.56 (0.43-0.73)***
Birth defect*sex			
Male: No birth defect	1.00	1.00	1.00
Female: birth defect	1.27 (1.03-1.58)*	0.99 (0.78-1.26)	0.88 (0.64-1.21)
Apgar score*sex			
Male: Apgar 7-10	1.0	1.00	1.0
Female: Apgar <7	1.22 (0.82–1.80)	1.46 (0.98–2.20)	0.85 (0.47-1.55)
Sex*Gestational age Male: not SGA	1.00	1.00	1.00
Male: not SGA Female: SGA			
Mother's education*sex	1.39 (1.04–1.86)**	1.02 (0.81-1.30)	0.98 (0.72–1.35)
Molner's education sex Male: <9 years	1.00	1.00	1.00
Female: Upper secondary	1.21 (0.99–1.47)	1.11 (0.98-1.25)	0.97 (0.83-1.14)
Female: University	1.25 (0.88-1.77)	0.93 (0.73–1.19)	0.84 (0.59–1.18)
Birth defect*Apgar score			
Birth defect No*Apgar score 7-10	1.00	1.00	1.00
Birth defect Yes*Apgar score <7	0.90 (0.57-1.40)	0.86 (0.39–1.67)	1.07 (0.31-2.76)
Birth defect *SGA	1.00	1.00	
Birth defect No*SGA No Birth defect Yes*SGA Yes	1.00	1.00	1.00
·	1.15 (0.83–1.58)	1.27 (0.82–1.89)	1.06 (0.55-1.86)
SGA*Apgar score SGA No*Apgar score 7-10	1.00	1.00	1.00
SGA No*Apgar score 7-10 SG Yes*Apgar score <7			
Tomation	0.56 (0.34-0.91)*	0.84 (0.49–1.37)	1.29 (0.61-2.52)

²⁶²

Models 4–6 contain all the studied perinatal variables, showing the main effect and interaction effects.

263 **** indicates p-value <0.001, * p-value<0.01 and * p-value<0.05*

265 **DISCUSSION**

266 Our findings support the study's main hypothesis that having a birth defect is significantly associated with beginning to receive a disability pension during early adulthood. A low Apgar 267 score was associated with receiving a disability pension before age 30, but not afterwards. We 268 269 confirmed an association that was observed earlier between being small for gestational age and increased odds of receiving a disability pension. Women were less likely to receive a 270 271 disability pension between ages 16–18, but had increased odds of receiving a disability pension from age 19 onwards. We further observed that the effect of perinatal health was 272 strongest among those who started to receive a disability pension between ages 16–18, but the 273 274 strength of the association reduced as age when beginning to receive a disability pension 275 increased, even though this effect remained statistically significant. Compared to persons with maternal education <9 years, individuals with higher maternal education level were 276 277 significantly less likely to receive a disability pension as age increased.

278 The strength of our study stems mainly from using register data with a nationwide coverage, 279 which ensured high completeness, limited follow-up loss, and no recall bias. This study 280 suffers from some limitations, such as a potential selection bias relating to death as an 281 exclusion criterion. Children with adverse perinatal health outcomes are most likely to die, and hence the exclusion of children who died might have led to underestimations of the effect, 282 and potentially a selection bias. However, we still observed high odds among those with 283 284 adverse health indicators. Our results reflect the situation among those who were alive from ages 16 to 37. The change in the minimum age eligibility for the disability pension, from age 285 16 to age 19 in 2002, might have led to classification bias in our study. However, we consider 286 287 this a minor problem, because the eligibility criteria remained based on the presence of a long-term work disabling health condition, both prior to and beyond 2002. [39] Additionally, 288

we considered the legislation change by analyzing data for the different age groups separately,
i.e. ages 16–18, 19–29, and 30–33.

291 As far as we know, ours is the first study to investigate the associations between birth defects, 292 Apgar score at 5 minutes, and receiving a disability pension between ages 16–37. Our findings confirm our hypothesis that having a birth defect and low Apgar score is associated 293 with increased odds of receiving a disability pension early in life. These observations are 294 biologically plausible, as existing literature already suggests a link between birth defects, [21, 295 296 23] low Apgar score at 5 minutes, and disability indicators such as a developmental disability. 297 [25, 26] Our finding that individuals who were small for gestational age were more likely to receive a disability pension during early adulthood supports earlier studies that report similar 298 299 associations. [11, 19, 20] We observed interaction between birth defect and being born small for gestational. The increased odds of receiving disability pension for individuals with 300 adverse perinatal health might imply ill health over the lifespan, given that prolonged ill 301 health is a legal requirement for receiving a disability pension. [5, 31] 302

We report that the effects of the perinatal health factors appeared to weaken as age at beginning to receive a disability pension increased. This might imply that individuals who had severe health problems needed to start receiving a disability pension earlier. It could also be that, as these individuals get older, the effects of adulthood exposures become pronounced, outweighing the effects of the perinatal health factors. Future studies extending the model to include adult factors could help clarify this association.

309 The fact that higher odds of receiving a disability pension were associated with low maternal

310 education concurs with the theory of fetal origin. Low education possibly indicates a poor

- 311 maternal socio-economic position, predisposing offspring to further socio-economic,
- behavioral, and pathological disadvantages across the lifespan [16, 19] that eventually lead to

receipt of a disability pension. Our finding that women were more likely to receive a 313 314 disability pension is in line with reports from earlier studies in Sweden [1, 2], and from other European countries. [31] We observed that women had lower odds of receiving a disability 315 pension at ages 16–18, but had higher odds from age 19 and onwards. Earlier studies have 316 also reported gender differences in the use of disability pensions. [1, 6, 20, 31, 32] Gravseth 317 noted an increase in women's incidence rates beginning in their late twenties and onwards, 318 319 but not before this age. [20] The explanation for these gender differences is not clear, but previous research has attributed it to the underlying gender structure that dictates gendered 320 living and working conditions, exposing women engaging in paid work to a "double burden" 321 322 that results from combining work and responsibility for the home and children. As a result, 323 women's health tends to suffer as they reach the age that requires combining gainful employment with family life. [33, 34] However, these observed differences could perhaps be 324 325 due to other health and socio-economic conditions outside the scope of this study.

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327 CONCLUSION

This study provides evidence of an association between birth defects, low Apgar score at 5 328 329 minutes, and the increased odds of receiving a disability pension, taking other early life health and maternal measures into consideration. The confirmed association points to the complexity 330 331 in the relationship between early life conditions and the later receipt of a disability pension. Our findings contribute to previous knowledge on the predictors of disability pension receipt, 332 highlighting a need for better-focused strategies to promote early health, as this could 333 contribute to reduced work incapacity during the early stages of adulthood. This is critical to 334 consider, because evidence suggests that the majority of people that start to receive a 335 disability pension tend to do so on a long-term basis. Among females, increase in age was 336

associated with a higher use of a disability pension. Our findings suggest that those with poor 337 perinatal outcomes are likely to be more susceptible to disabling chronic conditions in early 338 adulthood, reducing their work capacity and hence fostering a need to receive a disability 339 pension. The fact that those with poor health indicators at birth, and children of mothers with 340 low education, were more likely to receive a disability pension suggests a need for a 341 continued review of public and social policies aimed at improving early life conditions. This 342 would contribute to a reduction in the number of disability pension recipients, and to an 343 improvement in overall societal health and well-being. 344

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