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Socio-economic and psychological correlates of suicidality among Hong Kong working-age adults: results from a population-based survey

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ABSTRACT

Background. The global toll of suicide is estimated to be one million lives per year, which exceeded the number of deaths by homicide and war combined. A key step to suicide prevention is to prevent less serious suicidal behaviour to preclude more lethal outcomes. Although 61% of the world’s suicides take place in Asia and the suicide rates among middle age groups have been increasing since the economic crisis in many Asian countries, population-based studies of suicidal behaviour among working-age adults in non-western communities are scarce.

Method. Data from a population-based survey with 2015 participants were used to estimate the prevalence of suicidal ideation and behaviour among the working-age population in Hong Kong, and to study the associated socio-economic and psychological correlates. We focused particularly on potential modulating factors between life-event-related factors and suicidal ideation.

Results. Six per cent of the Hong Kong population aged 20–59 years considered suicide in the past year, while 1.4% attempted suicide. Hopelessness, reasons for living, and reluctance to seek help from family and friends had direct association with past-year suicidal ideation. Reasons for living were found to moderate the effect of perceived stress on suicidal ideation.

Conclusions. Suicidality is a multi-faceted problem that calls for a multi-sectored, multi-layered approach to prevention. Prevention programmes can work on modulating factors such as reasons for living to reduce suicidal risk in working-age adults.

INTRODUCTION

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that suicide claimed one million lives in 2001, which exceeded the number of deaths by homicide and war combined (WHO, 2004). The problem of suicide is increasingly being recognized as a public health problem that calls for a multi-layered approach (Knox et al. 2004). Early detection is undeniably one of the core components in suicide prevention. Despite the substantial differences between casual suicidal ideation, serious ideation, planning, attempts and completed suicides, research findings indicate that they largely follow a continuum of risk (Beautrais, 2001; Burless & De Leo, 2001; Yip et al. 2004). While extensive research has been conducted on more lethal suicidal behaviours
based on clinical samples, relatively little is known about suicidal ideation in the general population (Burless & De Leo, 2001). As suicide ideation is a common antecedent of suicide behaviour, an understanding of its epidemiology, as well as the associated risk and protective factors, is essential to suicide prevention. The individuals who considered suicide or made less injurious suicide attempts, however, are unlikely to be in contact with health-care professionals. The limitation of relying solely on clinical samples in suicide research is clear (Burless & De Leo, 2001). For instance, 50–80% of all suicide attempters do not present to medical care services (Burless & De Leo, 2001), and the majority of individuals who died by suicide had not received any specialist psychiatric care in the year before death (Appleby et al., 1999).

Although suicide rates tend to be higher among adults than adolescents, few studies have been conducted on suicidal ideation and non-fatal behaviour among adult population samples. Moreover, prior research on suicidal behaviour has been mainly conducted in Europe and the USA, even though 61% of the world’s suicides take place in Asia (Vijayakumar, 2005). After the economic crisis in 1997, suicide rates among the middle age groups have been on the rise in many Asian populations (Yip et al., 2003). For these reasons, community studies of non-fatal suicidal behaviours among adults in Asian populations are urgently needed to inform our global suicide prevention effort.

Prior studies have identified a number of individual correlates of suicidal ideation and behaviour among adults. For example, socio-demographic factors such as gender, age, marital status and socio-economic status are some stable correlates of suicidal behaviour (Kjoller & Helweg-Larsen, 2000); psychiatric disorders are regarded as the most important risk factor (Jacobs et al., 1999); depression often precedes suicidal ideation and behaviour (Goldney et al., 2000); and a recent population-based study shows that an anxiety disorder independently predicts onset of suicidal ideation and attempt (Sareen et al., 2005).

Among the risk factors, life-event-related factors are also found to be important triggers of suicidal behaviours (Heikkinen et al., 1994). Nonetheless, not all those who experience negative life events contemplate suicide. Under the diathesis–stress paradigm (Schotte & Clum, 1982, 1987), other factors mitigate the effect of stress in leading to suicidal behaviour. For instance, Yang and Clum (1994) hypothesize that social support can moderate the impact of life stress on suicidal behaviour. Extending the work of Schotte and Clum, Dixon et al. (1994) proposed hopelessness as a mediator between failures in coping with life stress and suicidality. Having reasons for living is also considered an important protective factor (Linehan et al., 1983). Goal-directed traits, conceptualized by Synder et al. (1991) as Hope, may make one more able to deal with life’s difficulties (Range & Penton, 1994). By contrast, negative coping styles and unwillingness to seek help can increase one’s suicidal risk in time of stress (Horesh et al., 1996). Nonetheless, compared with the large number of studies on risk factors of suicidality, few studies have looked into its protective factors. Given the implications for clinical practice and population-based suicide prevention strategies, it is important to study these potential modulating cognitive and behaviour factors.

This study aimed to explore the relationships between socio-economic and psychological factors and suicidal ideation, with particular focus on the above-mentioned moderating factors. It also provides an accurate estimation of the prevalence of suicidal ideation and behaviour among the adult population aged 20–59 years in Hong Kong.

METHOD
Participants
The sampling frame used in this study was the Frame of Quarters maintained by the Census and Statistics Department of Hong Kong. It is the most complete and up-to-date registry of residential addresses in the territory. Random sampling stratified by geographic area and type of living quarters (e.g. public or private housing estates) was performed. One household member in a contacted household was selected randomly by the last-birthday method. This sampling procedure yielded successful interviews with 2016 respondents aged between 20 and 59 years between December 2003 and July 2004, and the response rate was 62%. The age and gender distribution of the sample was similar to that
of the population aged 20–59 years in Hong Kong. Excluding the one case with missing data on past-year suicidal ideation, there were 2015 cases available for analysis. Written informed consent was obtained from all participants. This study was approved by the ethic committee of the Social Science Faculty, the University of Hong Kong.

Measures
The interviews were conducted in Chinese. A typical interview lasted for one hour. A self-report booklet was used for the sensitive questions such as history of psychiatric consultation and negative life-events.

Suicidality
Suicidal ideation and behaviour were measured as follows: (1) Lifetime ideation: ‘In your lifetime, have you ever considered suicide?’ (yes/no); (2) Past-year ideation: ‘During the past 12 months, have you ever considered suicide?’ (yes/no); (3) Past-year suicide plan: ‘During the past 12 months, have you made a plan about how you would attempt suicide?’ (yes/no); (4) Past-year attempt: ‘During the past 12 months, how many times did you actually attempt suicide?’ (0, 1, 2–3, 4 or more); and (5) Injurious past-year attempt: ‘If you attempted suicide during the past 12 months, did any attempt result in an injury that had to be treated by medical personnel (doctor or nurse)?’ (yes/no).

Predicting variables
Selection of the predicting variables in this study was guided by prior research. As clinical diagnosis of psychiatric disorders could not be made in the interview, whether the respondent had ever received psychiatric consultation served as a proxy measure of a history of psychiatric disorder. The summary scores of the psychological instruments were standardized before being entered into the multivariate regression models. Further details of the variables can be found in Table 1(a, b).

Statistical methods
Weighting
Because only one member of a sampled household was selected randomly, we weighted the data with the inverse of the number of eligible respondents in the household to adjust for the differences in the selection probability. Although there was no significant difference in the proportions of men and women between our sample and the population aged 20–59 years in mid-2004 ($\chi^2 = 0.06$, df = 1, $p = 0.807$), there was a slight but significant difference in the age profiles ($\chi^2 = 21.26$, df = 7, $p = 0.003$); there were slightly more men and women in the 35–39 years (+2.2 total %) and 40–44 years (+2.0 total %) age groups in our sample than in the population. We adjusted for these slight discrepancies by weighting our data according to the population distribution of the population aged 20–59 years in mid-2004.

RESULTS
Explanatory variables
Table 1(a, b) gives the proportions or means and standard deviations of the explanatory variables according to the presence of past-year suicidal ideation. The $\chi^2$ and $t$ test statistics show that there were substantial differences between the two groups with regard to most of the explanatory variables.

Prevalence of suicidal ideation and behaviour
Table 2 reports the estimated proportions and their 95% CIs of the different levels of
suicidality, and shows that 28.1% of the population aged 20–59 years had lifetime suicidal ideation; 6.0% had past-year suicidal ideation; and 1.9% made a suicide plan in the past year. While it is estimated that 1.4% attempted suicide in the past year, only 0.1% had made at least one suicide attempt in the past year that required medical attention. In addition, suicidal ideation and behaviours decreased with age and were more prevalent among women than men.

**Nested multivariate regression analysis**

Past-year suicidal ideation was regressed on the explanatory variables in four steps. Table 3 shows the adjusted odds ratios (ORs) of the final model. In the first step, the socio-economic variables, history of psychiatric consultation, standardized Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) and Depression Anxiety Stress Scales (DASS)-anxiety scores were entered in the model (Model 1). Backward stepwise elimination identified age, marital status, ever had psychiatric consultation, CES-D and DASS-anxiety scores as the significant correlates of past-year ideation. Gender, educational level and low household income were insignificant. The five significant variables in Model 1 were...
In Step 2, the life-event-related variables were entered into the model. Breaking up of a stable relationship in the past 12 months and the mean retained in the subsequent models as the controlling variables (Nagelkerke $R^2 = 31.0\%$, Model $\chi^2 = 224.19$, df = 6).
life distress rating were found to be the two significant correlates (Model 2). Serious conflicts with family and with friends and neighbours, being currently unemployed, chronic illness or long-term pain, having a large amount of debt, having been physically, psychologically or sexually abused, and recent bereavement were insignificant. The inclusion of the two significant life-event-related variables significantly increased the model’s goodness-of-fit ($\Delta$ Nagelkerke $R^2 = 3.7\%$; $\Delta \chi^2 = 28.42$, $\Delta df = 2$, $p < 0.01$). The inclusion of the potential modifying factors made a unique contribution to the model’s goodness-of-fit ($\Delta$ Nagelkerke $R^2 = 3.7\%$; $\Delta \chi^2 = 28.39$, $\Delta df = 6$, $p < 0.01$). The ORs of the other variables in the model further decreased.

In the final step, the interaction terms between the two significant life-event-related variables and the significant variables in the last step were entered into the model. Backward stepwise elimination found that the interaction between the BRFL score and mean life distress rating was significant. Figure 1 depicts the estimated probability of reporting past-year suicidal ideation by the mean life distress score. It shows that when a respondent’s BRFL score was at least one standard deviation below the mean, the probability of having considered suicide in the past year increased substantially with the mean life distress score; when a respondent had a high BRFL score (e.g. +1 S.D.), their mean life distress score was not associated with the probability of past-year suicidal ideation.

**DISCUSSION**

This is the first territory-wide study on the prevalence of suicidal ideation and behaviour...
among the working-age population in Hong Kong, revealing that 6.0% of the population aged 20–59 years had past-year suicidal ideation, while 1.4% had made an attempt in the past-year. The prevalence of past-year suicidal ideation and past-year attempt among adults ranged from 2.4% to 6.9% and from 0.4% to 1.0% respectively in the UK, the USA, Australia, Denmark and Finland (Hintikka et al. 1998; Crosby et al. 1999; Kjoller & Helweg-Larsen, 2000; Pirkis et al. 2000; Meltzer et al. 2002). Excluding the findings from Finland, a country of high suicide rates, the 1-year attempt rates in the other four countries range from 0.4% to 0.7%. Hence, while the prevalence of past-year ideation among working-age adults in Hong Kong was comparable to other developed countries, the prevalence of past-year attempts appeared to be high. More importantly, although 1.4% of this population reported attempting suicide in the past year, only 0.1% had received medical care for their suicide attempt(s). Although this may suggest that many of these attempts may not be ‘serious’, it also confirms that suicide-related behaviour is much more prevalent than what is presented to the medical care system. This calls for population-based strategies (e.g. gatekeeper training and public awareness campaign) to tackle this important public health problem.

This study also provided a comprehensive overview of the socio-economic and psychological correlates of suicidal ideation among the Hong Kong Chinese working-age population, with particular focus on the potential modulating factors (i.e. hopelessness, hope, negative coping styles, reasons for living, having difficulties in seeking help, and social support). Among the demographic factors, we found that gender was not significantly associated with suicidal ideation, controlling for the effects of other factors. However, one well-known epidemiological fact of suicide is that men tend to have a higher suicide rate than women (Schmidtke et al. 1999), although Asian countries have reported much lower male to female ratios of suicide (Yip et al. 2000). The same lack of substantial gender difference in suicidal ideation has been reported by studies conducted on populations with high male to female ratios of suicide (Hintikka et al. 1998; Crosby et al. 1999; Kjoller & Helweg-Larsen, 2000; Pirkis et al. 2000; Meltzer et al. 2002). This indicates that there may be gender-specific factors that lead to more lethal outcomes among male ideators (Hawton, 2000; Beautrais, 2002; Moller-Leimkuhler, 2003). Nevertheless, the lack of gender difference in the prevalence of suicidal ideation suggests that suicide is a public health problem in both genders, and caution is needed to monitor any shifts in the potential lethality of suicidality among women.

Among the life-event-related variables, breaking up from a stable relationship in the past year and the mean life distress rating were found to be associated with past-year suicidal ideation. We also found that hopelessness, reasons for living, and reluctance to seek help from family and friends were independently associated with past-year ideation. These findings confirm existing findings that suggest that cognitive and behavioural factors have important roles in suicidality (e.g. Beck et al. 1989; Yang & Clum, 1994; Kuo et al. 2004). Moreover, reasons for living were shown to moderate the effect of perceived stress on suicidal ideation; among people with important reasons for living, the probability of reporting past-year ideation was low even when perceived stress was high. Such results should have important implications to suicide prevention strategies.

It is well known that there are complex interdependencies among the risk and protective factors of suicidal behaviour. Indeed, our nested multivariate regression analysis showed that there were complex relationships among the predicting variables, because including additional factors in the model attenuated the statistical relationships between suicidal ideation and other factors; putting all our measures in a single multivariate model will essentially ignore this complexity and omit important information. To make better sense of this complexity, on the one hand, we need theories of suicidal behaviour, and on the other hand, we need empirical research that is aimed towards exploring this complexity. However, as Maris (1981) points out, the large number of factors associated with suicidality and the complex relationship among them make the development of a theory of suicide ‘a complicated and in some ways ungratifying venture’ (p. 290). Yet there is no substitute for theory in suicide research (Leenaars et al. 1997). Similarly, empirical
studies should continue to try to elucidate this complexity. That also was our aim in this study. Certainly, our categorization of the variables, as well as our sequence of entering them into the nested regression model, is not unique and can be debated. Different sequences of model fitting can be formulated that might give somewhat different interpretations of the results.

This study has many advantages, including the large, representative sample and the large number of variables measured in one survey specifically designed to study suicidal behaviour. Yet there are several limitations that should be acknowledged. First, with a cross-sectional design, our analysis can only describe the statistical relationships among the predicting variables and suicidal ideation that existed in our data. It does not permit us to make any causal inferences, which require a longitudinal design. Second, the difficulty in inferring causal relationships lies in the fact that our outcome measure (i.e. suicidal ideation) was measured for the past year, but some of our predictors (e.g. depressive symptoms) were specific to the 2 weeks before the interview.

Third, suicidal ideation and behaviour were self-reported and thus subject to the problem of under-reporting. Moreover, compared with behavioural measures, suicidal ideation is a somewhat vague construct and the degree of ‘seriousness’ in such ideation should have varied among our respondents. Hence caution is needed in generalizing our results on this more common form of suicidal ideation to high levels of suicidality. However, relying solely on behavioural measures such as suicide attempts has its own disadvantage, as a substantial proportion of suicide decedents did not have a history of prior attempt (Sakinofsky, 2000). Ideally, we could perform separate analyses on suicide plans and attempts, but even in our rather large sample there were not enough respondents with a suicide plan or attempts to allow detailed statistical analysis.

The response rate of 62% may be considered by some as insufficient and has limited the generalizability of our results. However, the age and gender distribution of our sample deviated very little from that of the general population, and our response rate is just slightly lower than the response rates reported in other prevalence studies on suicidality (e.g. Kjoller & Helweg-Larsen, 2000; Hintikka et al. 2001). Given the global trend of decreasing response rate, we see this response rate as acceptable. Finally, the time limit of an interview at the respondent’s home did not allow a proper psychiatric diagnosis; hence we can only use a history of psychiatric consultation as a proxy measure and cannot directly assess the contribution of psychiatric disorders.

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DECLARATION OF INTEREST
None.

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