

# Mortality from Suicide in the Municipalities of Mainland Portugal: Spatio-Temporal Evolution between 1980 and 2015



## Mortalidade por Suicídio nos Municípios de Portugal Continental: Evolução Espaço-Temporal entre 1980 e 2015

Adriana LOUREIRO✉<sup>1</sup>, Ricardo ALMENDRA<sup>1</sup>, Cláudia COSTA<sup>1</sup>, Paula SANTANA<sup>1</sup>  
*Acta Med Port* 2018 Jan;31(1):38-44 • <https://doi.org/10.20344/amp.9423>

### ABSTRACT

**Introduction:** Suicide is considered a public health priority. It is a complex phenomenon resulting from the interaction of several factors, which do not depend solely on individual conditions. This study analyzes the spatio-temporal evolution of suicide mortality between 1980 and 2015, identifying areas of high risk, and their variation, in the 278 municipalities of Continental Portugal.

**Material and Methods:** Based on the number of self-inflicted injuries and deaths from suicide and the resident population, the spatio-temporal evolution of the suicide mortality rate was assessed via: i) a Poisson joinpoint regression model, and ii) spatio-temporal clustering methods.

**Results:** The suicide mortality rate evolution showed statistically significant increases over three periods (1980 - 1984; 1999 - 2002 and 2006 - 2015) and two statistically significant periods of decrease (1984 - 1995 and 1995 - 1999). The spatio-temporal analysis identified five clusters of high suicide risk (relative risk >1) and four clusters of low suicide risk (relative risk < 1).

**Discussion:** The periods when suicide mortality increases seem to overlap with times of economic and financial instability. The geographical pattern of suicide risk has changed: presently, the suicide rates from the municipalities in the Center and North are showing more similarity with those seen in the South, thus increasing the ruralization of the phenomenon of suicide.

**Conclusion:** Between 1980 and 2015 the spatio-temporal pattern of mortality from suicide has been changing and is a phenomenon that is currently experiencing a growing trend (since 2006) and is of higher risk in rural areas.

**Keywords:** Cause of Death/trends; Portugal; Spatio-Temporal Analysis; Suicide/statistics & numerical data

### RESUMO

**Introdução:** O suicídio é considerado um problema de saúde pública. É um fenómeno complexo que resulta da interação de múltiplos fatores e que não depende unicamente de condições individuais. Este estudo pretende analisar a evolução espaço-temporal da mortalidade por suicídio em Portugal Continental, entre os anos de 1980 e 2015, identificando, nos 278 municípios, áreas de risco e suas alterações.

**Material e Métodos:** Com base no número de óbitos por suicídio e lesões autoinfligidas e na população residente, a evolução espaço-temporal da taxa de mortalidade por suicídio foi analisada através de: i) um modelo de regressão de Poisson *joinpoint*, e ii) métodos de clusterização espaço-temporal.

**Resultados:** A evolução da taxa de mortalidade por suicídio revelou três períodos de incremento (1980 - 1984, 1999 - 2002 e 2006 - 2015) e dois períodos de decréscimo (1984 - 1995 e 1995 - 1999) estatisticamente significativos. A análise espaço-temporal identificou cinco *clusters* de risco elevado de suicídio (risco relativo > 1) e quatro *clusters* de risco baixo (risco relativo < 1).

**Discussão:** Os períodos de aumento do fenómeno suicidário parecem coincidir com momentos de instabilidade económica e financeira. O padrão geográfico do risco de suicídio modificou-se: municípios da região Centro e Norte revelam valores próximos dos observados no Sul, amplificando a ruralização do fenómeno suicidário.

**Conclusão:** Entre 1980 e 2015 o padrão espaço-temporal da mortalidade por suicídio tem vindo a alterar-se, sendo atualmente um fenómeno com tendência evolutiva crescente (desde 2006) e de maior risco em territórios rurais.

**Palavras-chave:** Análise Espaço-Temporal; Causas de Morte/tendências; Portugal; Suicídio/estatística e dados numéricos

### INTRODUCTION

Suicide has been widely considered as an important public health issue worldwide.<sup>1</sup> A 10.7 per 100,000 suicide rate has been estimated worldwide (2015)<sup>2</sup> and suicide is more prevalent in male and in people aged over 70.<sup>1</sup> In addition, suicide is among the ten leading causes of death worldwide and the second leading cause in the 15-29 age group.<sup>1</sup>

Suicide is a complex phenomenon related to the interaction between different factors apart from those that specifi-

cally depend on individual conditions (genetic, neurobiological). Emile Durkheim<sup>3</sup> was one of the leading authors on the analysis of suicide determinants, the potential impact of society and its organisation on individuals and how the individual behaviour could be affected by social environment.

Since then, the influence of different contextual factors on the risk of suicide has been analysed by different authors, including: poverty,<sup>4,5</sup> socio-economic deprivation,<sup>6-9</sup> low income,<sup>10-12</sup> unemployment,<sup>10,13,14</sup> poor access to

1. Centro de Estudos de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território (CEGOT). Departamento de Geografia e Turismo. Universidade de Coimbra. Coimbra. Portugal.

✉ Autor correspondente: Adriana Loureiro. [adrianalour@gmail.com](mailto:adrianalour@gmail.com)

Recebido: 10 de julho de 2017 - Aceite: 19 de dezembro de 2017 | Copyright © Ordem dos Médicos 2018



facilities and services,<sup>15,16</sup> low exposure to green space,<sup>17</sup> rurality<sup>18-20</sup> and low density.<sup>8,21,22</sup>

Apart from this, there is a trend towards worse effects in moments of crisis, with increasing vulnerability and inequality and subsequently increasing suicide-related poor outcomes.<sup>23-25</sup> The association between suicide and characteristics related to periods of economic crisis and austerity has been shown by evidence-based research studies, mainly regarding the loss of socio-economic status, impoverishment, unemployment, the threat of eviction and debt.<sup>14,26-32</sup>

Evidence on the association between suicide-related mortality and the characteristics of the individual environment on a continental scale (municipality)<sup>33</sup> and on the metropolitan areas (parish) has been found by different Portuguese studies,<sup>34,35</sup> namely in times of economic and financial crisis.<sup>33</sup>

Suicide and self-inflicted injuries are among preventable causes of death receptive to primary prevention and healthcare promotion<sup>36</sup> directly or indirectly linked to the prevention of mental disorders. The analysis of geographical patterning of suicide has been highlighted in scientific literature, namely regarding the identification of excessive mortality within a space and throughout a certain period of time.<sup>9,37-40</sup> The knowledge on the spatio-temporal pattern of the phenomenon is crucial for the definition of strategies on i) prevention of suicidal ideation and suicide, aimed at the promotion of positive interaction of patients with their surrounding environments, reducing lifelong exposure to stressful events<sup>41</sup> and ii) mitigation of unfair spatial inequities, focused on higher-risk areas.

This study aimed at the analysis of the spatio-temporal evolution of suicide in Mainland Portugal between 1980 and 2015 and the identification of risk areas among 278 municipalities and their changes.

## MATERIAL AND METHODS

### Data

Secondary information has been collected from the Portuguese National Institute of Statistics (*Instituto Nacional de Estatística* – INE) regarding the 278 municipalities in Mainland Portugal on: i) the annual number of deaths from suicide (International Classification of Diseases - ICD, 9th revision, in effect up to 2001: E950-E959; ICD, 10th revision, in effect from 2002: X60-X84), from 1980 to 2015, ii) the resident population on census years 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 and iii) the annual estimated population, from 1980 to 2015.

### Methods

A log-linear regression model has been applied for the identification of change in trends (joinpoint)<sup>42</sup> regarding suicide rate and for the estimation of the mean annual relative variation over each of the identified periods throughout 1980 to 2015. The analysis has started with the minimum number of joinpoints and tested whether the inclusion of new joinpoints was statistically significant.<sup>43</sup> Each joinpoint showed a statistically significant change in time trend with-

in the final model and the mean annual relative variation is subsequently calculated for each period. The Joinpoint Regression Program 4.1.1 software has been used for the identification of these trends.

The space-time cluster identification method developed by Martin Kulldorff<sup>45</sup> has been used for the identification of risk areas regarding suicide rate in space and time,<sup>44</sup> allowing for the clustering of municipalities showing suicide rates above or below the expected value for each period of time. This method allowed for a space-time retrospective analysis by using the Poisson distribution and subsequently for the identification of high and low relative risk (RR) clusters for a 5% significance level (using the Monte Carlo method). Space structure criteria were previously defined for the model by selecting (i) each municipality's centroid, ii) one circular window, iii) 20% of the total population as maximum dimension of each cluster, iv) time dimension of the clusters (2-32 years) and v) non-overlap municipalities in previously identified clusters.

The SaTScan software has been used for the space-time analysis and the results were mapped by using the ArcMap 10.5 software.

## RESULTS

### 1. Evolution of the suicide rate between 1980 and 2015

A total of 31,131 suicide deaths occurred in Mainland Portugal over the study period, corresponding to a mean mortality rate of 8.8 per 100,000, with the lowest rate (5.1‰) found in 2000 and the highest in 2014 (11.7‰).

The analysis of the joinpoint regression model allowed for the identification of six periods of time with different variation trends in the suicide rate (Fig. 1): i) 1980-1984, mean annual 7.6% relative increase [95% Confidence Intervals (95% CI): 0.7; 15.0]; ii) 1984-1995, mean 2.4% reduction (95% CI: -4.0; -0.8); iii) 1995-1999, mean 12.5% reduction (95% CI: -22.8; -0.8); iv) 1999-2002, mean 34.8% increase (95% CI: 5.3; 72.6); v) 2002-2006, mean 5.8% reduction (95% CI: -14.5; 3.8) and vi) 2006-2015, mean 2.6% increase (95% CI: 0.9; 4.4). Statistically significant trends were found in 1980 - 1984, 1984 - 1995, 1995 - 1999, 1999 - 2002 and 2006 - 2015.

### 2. Evolution of the suicide rate between 1980 and 2015

The space-time analysis of suicide rate allowed for the identification of five high-risk clusters, corresponding to 14,643 deaths (57%) and four low-risk clusters corresponding to 3,450 deaths (11%) (Fig. 2).

Municipalities from all the regions in Mainland Portugal were included into high-risk municipality clusters: i) municipalities from the Northeastern region of the country (Northern and Central regions) were included into cluster E; ii) those from the Central region were included into clusters D and B; iii) part of the municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (*Área Metropolitana de Lisboa* - AML) were included into clusters C and A and iv) most of the municipalities from Alentejo and Algarve were included into cluster A.

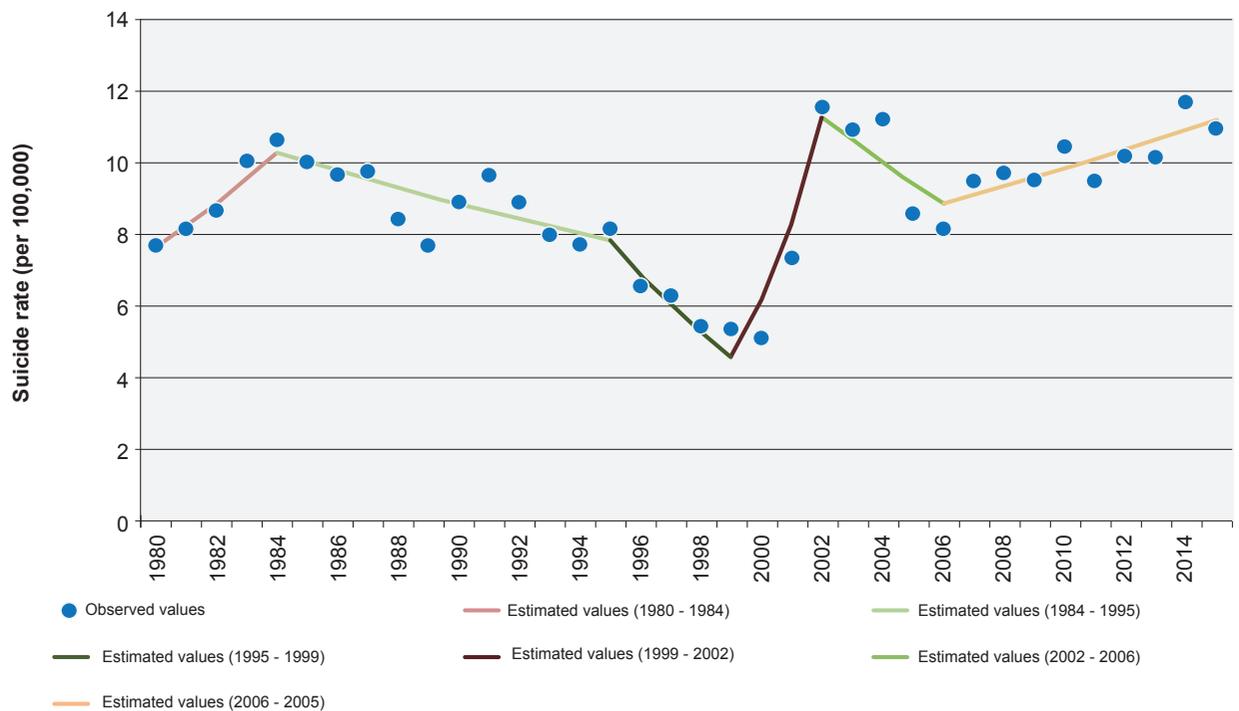


Figure 1 – Variation trends of suicide rate in Mainland Portugal between 1980 and 2015

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the INE, 2017

The longest duration (1982 - 2013) and the highest relative risk values were found in clusters A and B (cluster A: 2.54, cluster B: 2.17), with 19.1 and 18.2 per 100,000 suicide rates, respectively.

Clusters involving low-risk municipalities included those located in the Northern region (cluster F), Central (cluster H) and AML (clusters G and I). Cluster F showed the longest duration (between 1980 and 2011) and the lowest relative risk (0.28), with a 2.8 per 100,000 suicide rate (Table 1).

A changing trend has been found in Central and AML regions. Different municipalities included in cluster H (low risk, between 1989 and 2001) were moved to cluster D (high risk, 2002-2015). Conversely, part of the AML municipalities included in high-risk cluster C, 1985-1992, were moved to low-risk cluster I, 1996-2001.

The lowest population densities were found in high-risk clusters E and A (25 and 36 population per km<sup>2</sup>, respectively). The highest population densities were found in clusters C (high risk), G and I (low risk): 2,398, 1,767 and 1,498 population per km<sup>2</sup>, respectively.

## DISCUSSION

This study was aimed at the analysis of the spatio-temporal evolution of suicide rate in Mainland Portugal (1980-2015) and the following results were obtained: i) significant increases in rate were found in three periods of time (1980 - 1984, 1999 - 2002 and 2006 - 2015) and significant reductions in two (1984 - 1995 and 1995 - 1999); ii) high relative risk of suicide has been found, ranging between 2.54 and 1.45 (in municipalities from Alentejo and Algarve between 1982 and 2013 and in municipalities from the Central region

between 2002 and 2015, respectively) and iii) low relative risk of suicide has been found, ranging between 0.28 and 0.64 (in municipalities mostly from the Porto Metropolitan Area between 1980 and 2011 and in municipalities from the Greater Lisbon between 1996 and 2001, respectively).

The time trends in suicide rate that were found in the study, some of them in line with previous studies by Gusmão and Quintão,<sup>46</sup> may relate to periods of economic and financial stability/instability. A coincidence in time seemed to exist between the periods of increase in the suicidal phenomenon (1980 - 1984 and 2006 - 2015) with moments of economic and financial crisis and subsequent bailout received by Portugal from the International Monetary Fund (in 1977, 1983 and 2011). This relationship regarding Mainland Portugal was already found in the study by Santana *et al.*<sup>33</sup> Other authors also found an association between crisis and austerity contexts and an increase in suicide rate, based on the worsening of the world socioeconomic vulnerability,<sup>27</sup> in Europe,<sup>26,29,32</sup> in England,<sup>14</sup> in Finland,<sup>28</sup> in Greece,<sup>30</sup> and in the USA.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, the 1999-2002 increase does not correspond to such a relationship, as it coincided with a period of economic prosperity before the financial crisis starting from 2008.<sup>47</sup> This significant increase in suicide rate may have been related to the effort carried out between 2002 and 2003 by the *Direção-Geral da Saúde* (DGS) aimed at an improved record/codification of suicide, which has led to an increase in the absolute number of deaths classified into the suicide category.<sup>46</sup>

Two patterns of the risk of suicide have been found, as regards space-time clusters. Significantly high suicide rates

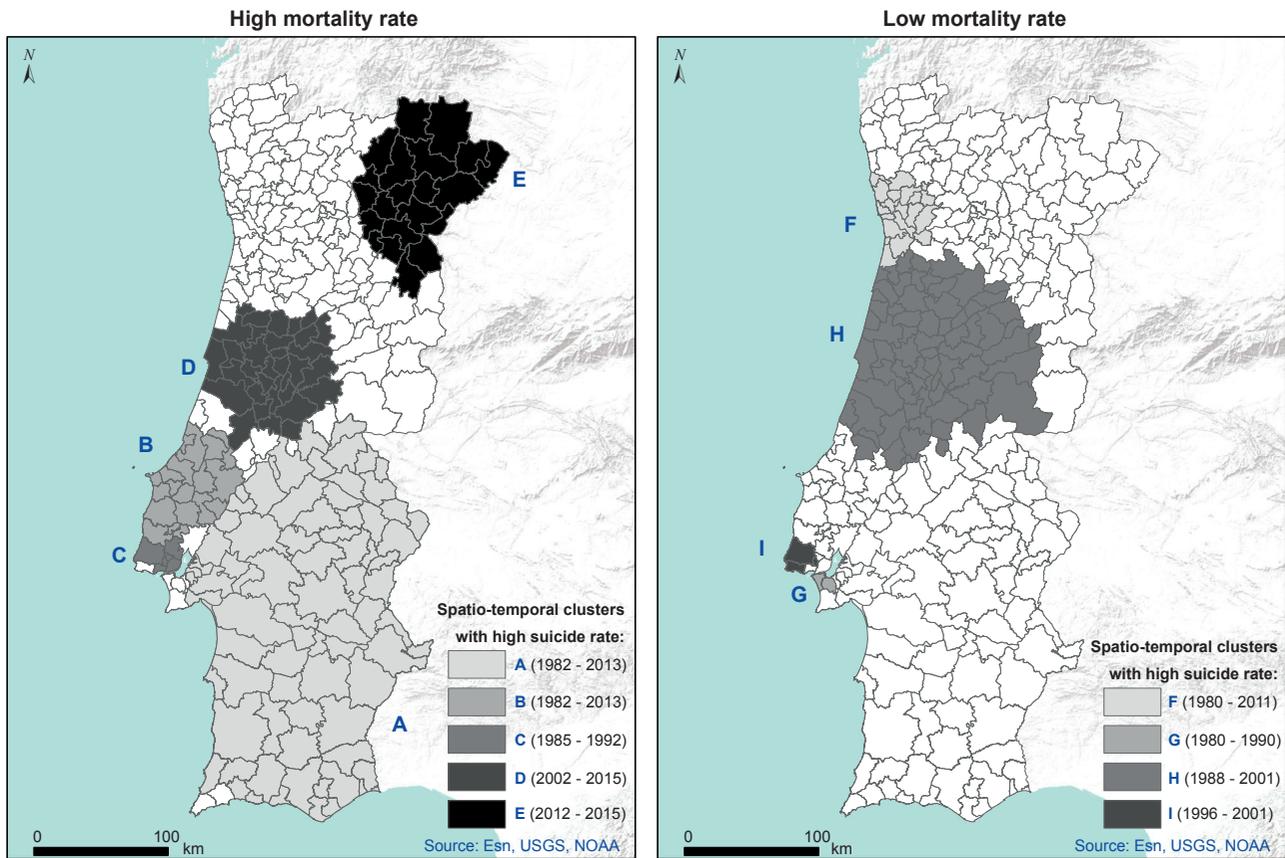


Figura 2 – Spatio-temporal clusters of suicide rate

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the INE, 2017

have been found nearly along the whole study period in the Southern region of Portugal, in line with the space patterning of the suicidal phenomenon that traditionally opposed the South (with high rates) to the North (with low rates).<sup>33,48</sup> However, the space-time analysis allowed for the identification of a change in space patterning: the highest risk of suicide has been found in the municipalities south of the river Tagus (cluster A, RR = 2.54) and in those from the Western region (cluster B, RR = 2.17), including some municipalities from AML (cluster C, RR = 1.61) over the first half of the

study period (the eighties and the nineties overall); suicide rate was significantly high in a group of municipalities from the Central (cluster D, RR = 1.45) and the Northeastern region (cluster E, RR = 1.67), mainly in a group of municipalities from the Central region having moved from a low-risk (cluster H, 1988-2001, RR = 0.58) to a high-risk cluster (cluster D, 2002-2015, RR = 1.45), on the second half of this time interval (1998 - 2015). These results were in line with what is already known; high hospital admission rates due to mental disorders were already found in municipalities from

Table 1 – Spatio-temporal clusters of suicide rate

	Cluster	No. of municipalities	Area (km <sup>2</sup> )	Period of time (years)	Population density (pop./km <sup>2</sup> )	Relative risk	p-value	Mortality rate per cluster per period (per 100,000)
High-risk (RR > 1)	A	76	37,631	1982 - 2013	36	2.54	< 0.001	19.1
	B	20	4258	1982 - 2013	133	2.17	< 0.001	18.2
	C	6	669	1985 - 1992	2,398	1.61	< 0.001	14.1
	D	33	7,792	2002 - 2015	90	1.45	< 0.001	12.8
	E	21	9,711	2012 - 2015	25	1.67	0.028	14.9
Low-risk (RR < 1)	F	21	2,272	1980 - 2011	845	0.28	< 0.001	2.8
	G	2	165	1980 - 1990	1,767	0.58	< 0.001	5.2
	H	69	17,472	1988 - 2001	104	0.58	< 0.001	5.3
	I	3	440	1996 - 2001	1,498	0.64	< 0.001	5.7

RR: relative risk

cluster D (within the Central region).<sup>49</sup>

The results mainly suggested that the geographical pattern of suicide rate has changed in 35 years: the Central and the Northern regions showed rates more similar to those traditionally found in the Southern region. Even though a possible variation regarding the under-notification of records of suicide in space and in time may have masked or increased some space-time patterning,<sup>44</sup> the present results are in line with previous studies.<sup>33</sup>

Space-time patterns support the ruralisation of the suicidal phenomenon,<sup>33</sup> considering i) the high-risk suicide clusters trend towards lower population densities when compared to low-risk clusters, ii) the clusterisation of municipalities with higher rurality and higher suicide rate (clusters D and E) and conversely iii) the identification of municipalities within the AML having moved to significantly lower suicide rates (cluster I). This trend may be linked to social determinants with an impact on these populations, i.e. a concentration of high-risk municipalities in rural areas, with low population density, ageing and showing weak economic and social dynamics.<sup>33-35</sup> Suicidal ideation and behaviour are enhanced by factors such as social and geographic isolation,<sup>18,33,50,51</sup> the lack of socioeconomic dynamics<sup>33,52,53</sup> and lower access to goods and services, namely to healthcare and social support.<sup>18,20,33,53</sup> In addition, greater mental-illness related stigma and easier access to lethal means are traditionally found in rural territories.<sup>53,54</sup> In times of economic and financial crisis rural areas seem even more vulnerable and less resilient considering its ageing social structure and mono-functional economic structure.<sup>47</sup>

### Limitations

This study has some limitations associated to the baseline information, namely regarding the under-notification of suicide that may have been worse in the Northern region and throughout the initial years of the study.<sup>46,55</sup> A 6.5% percentage of total deaths were reported in 2015 as with undefined symptoms, signs and causes of death, according to the INE (*INE - Óbitos por causas de morte, 2017*), compared to an 11.8% percentage found in 1990 (*INE - Óbitos por causas de morte, 2017*), showing that, despite the efforts aimed at improving the codification of causes of death, in total and regarding suicide,<sup>56</sup> mainly regarding the validation of death certificates by the DGS in 2002 - 2003,<sup>46</sup> suicide remains under-represented.<sup>46</sup>

### CONCLUSION

The spatio-temporal pattern of suicide has changed from 1980 to 2015, currently showing an increasing trend (from 2006) and higher risk in rural territories (municipalities within the regions of Alentejo, Algarve, Central region and in *Trás-os-Montes*).

The knowledge obtained with this study will help and explain for the implementation of actions aimed at these territories (based on their characteristics) and at the prevention of suicide. Monitoring the mental health of the Portuguese population is a relevant recommendation of the National

Programme for Mental Health (*Programa Nacional para a Saúde Mental*),<sup>57</sup> which has been developed within the National Health Plan (*Plano Nacional de Saúde*). The best knowledge on the suicidal phenomenon as a key element for the prevention of suicide has been presented by the National Plan for the Prevention of Suicide (*Plano Nacional de Prevenção do Suicídio 2013 - 2017*),<sup>56</sup> aimed at i) a higher collective awareness, ii) the reduction of the stigma associated to suicide, iii) the definition of more adequate prevention strategies and iv) monitoring of the plan efficacy.

The identification and monitoring of space clusters over time will allow for a differentiated and interconnected action of the institutions and resources in high-risk areas for suicide, aimed at reducing inequities, particularly under a crisis context, through i) the promotion and implementation of local well-being and mental healthcare actions and prevention of suicide (including the identification, treatment and rehabilitation of mental disorders), ii) the decentralisation and linkage between specialised healthcare in mental health with primary healthcare allowing for greater proximity of healthcare providers with an easier access and iii) the reinforcement of the social measures and supports that could help in reverting crisis situations.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to acknowledge the researchers and advisors of the CRISIS IMPACT project - "Evaluating and improving the access to mental health services of people affected by the economic crisis in Portugal based on a new understanding of the effects of the crisis on mental health of the population".

### HUMAN AND ANIMAL PROTECTION

The authors declare that the followed procedures were according to regulations established by the Ethics and Clinical Research Committee and according to the Helsinki Declaration of the World Medical Association.

### DATA CONFIDENTIALITY

The authors declare that they have followed the protocols of their work centre on the publication of patient data.

### CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there were no conflicts of interest in writing this manuscript.

### FINANCIAL SUPPORT

This manuscript was carried out within the PhD fellowship SFRH/BD/92369/2013, funded by the *Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia* (FCT) and with the support of the MH - CRISIS IMPACT project - "Evaluating and improving the access to mental health services of people affected by the economic crisis in Portugal based on a new understanding of the effects of the crisis on mental health of the population", funded by Norway, Iceland and Lichtenstein through the European Economic Area Financial Mechanism - EEA Grants (<http://www.eeagrants.gov.pt/>).

This study was also co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) through the *COMPETE 2020 - Programa Operacional Competitividade e Internacionali-*

*zação* (POCI) and with national funds from the FCT, within the project POCI-01-0145-FEDER-006891 (Ref<sup>a</sup> FCT: UID/GEO/04084/2013).

## REFERENCES

- World Health Organization. Preventing suicide: a global imperative. Luxembourg: WHO; 2014.
- WHO. Global Health Observatory (GHO) data (Suicide rates per 100 000 population). World Health Organization. [Accessed 2017 May 24]. Available from [http://www.who.int/gho/mental\\_health/suicide\\_rates/en/](http://www.who.int/gho/mental_health/suicide_rates/en/). Published 2017.
- Durkheim E. Le suicide. Paris: PUF; 1986.
- Ferretti F, Coluccia A. Socio-economic factors and suicide rates in European Union countries. Leg Med. 2009;11:S92-4.
- Papaslanis T, Kontaxakis V, Havaki-Kontaxaki B, Papageorgiou C. Relationship between financial crisis, suicide and social parameters in Greece. Eur Psychiatry. 2015;30:200.
- Congdon P. The spatial pattern of suicide in the US in relation to deprivation, fragmentation and rurality. Urban Stud. 2010;48:2101-22.
- Rezaeian M, Dunn G, St Leger S, Appleby L. Do hot spots of deprivation predict the rates of suicide within London boroughs? Health Place. 2007;13:886-93.
- Stark C, Hopkins P, Gibbs D, Belbin A, Hay A. Population density and suicide in Scotland. Rural Remote Health. 2007;7:672.
- Derek Cheung YT, Spittal MJ, Williamson MK, Tung SJ, Pirkis J. Predictors of suicides occurring within suicide clusters in Australia, 2004-2008. Soc Sci Med. 2014;118:135-42.
- Andrés AR, Halicioglu F. Determinants of suicides in Denmark: evidence from time series data. Health Policy. 2010;98:263-9.
- Sen CS, Sterne JA, Wheeler BW, Lu TH, Lin JJ, Gunnell D. Geography of suicide in Taiwan: spatial patterning and socioeconomic correlates. Heal Place. 2011;17:641-50.
- Takeuchi A, Sakano N, Miyatake N. Combined effects of working hours, income, and leisure time on suicide in all 47 prefectures of Japan. Int Health. 2014;52:137-40.
- Ceccherini-Nelli A, Priebe S. Economic factors and suicide rates: associations over time in four countries. Soc Psychiatry Psychiatr Epidemiol. 2011;46:975-82.
- Barr B, Taylor-Robinson D, Scott-Samuel A, McKee M, Stuckler D. Suicides associated with the 2008-10 economic recession in England: time trend analysis. BMJ. 2012;345:e5142.
- Desai RA, Dausey DJ, Rosenheck RA. Mental health service delivery and suicide risk: the role of individual patient and facility factors. Am J Psychiatry. 2005;162:311-8.
- Cheung YT, Spittal MJ, Pirkis J, Yip PS. Spatial analysis of suicide mortality in Australia: Investigation of metropolitan-rural-remote differentials of suicide risk across states/territories. Soc Sci Med. 2012;75:1460-8.
- Bixby H, Hodgson S, Fortunato L, Hansell A, Fecht D, Wegrzyn L. Associations between green space and health in English cities: an ecological, cross-sectional study. PLoS One. 2015;10:e0119495.
- Razvodovsky Y, Stickle A. Suicide in urban and rural regions of Belarus, 1990-2005. Public Health. 2009;123:27-31.
- Kim MH, Jung-Choi K, Jun HJ, Kawachi I. Socioeconomic inequalities in suicidal ideation, parasuicides, and completed suicides in South Korea. Soc Sci Med. 2010;70:1254-61.
- Jianlin J. Suicide rates and mental health services in modern China. Crisis. 2000;21:118-21.
- Chang SS, Sterne JA, Wheeler BW, Lu TH, Lin JJ, Gunnell D. Geography of suicide in Taiwan: spatial patterning and socioeconomic correlates. Health Place. 2011;17:641-50.
- Wang L, Xu Y, Di Z, Roehner BM. How are mortality rates affected by population density? Phys Soc. 2013;ArXiv(1306.5179).
- Martin-Carrasco M, Evans-Lacko S, Dom G, Christodoulou NG, Samochowiec J, González-Fraile E, et al. EPA guidance on mental health and economic crises in Europe. Eur Arch Psychiatry Clin Neurosci. 2016;266:89-124.
- Silva M, Cardoso G, Saraceno B, Caldas de Almeida J. A saúde mental e a crise económica. In: Santana P, editor. Território e saúde mental em tempos de crise. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra; 2015:61-74.
- Stuckler D, Basu S, Suhrcke M, Coutts A, McKee M. The public health effect of economic crises and alternative policy responses in Europe: an empirical analysis. Lancet. 2009;374:315-23.
- Baumbach A, Gulis G. Impact of financial crisis on selected health outcomes in Europe. Eur J Public Health. 2014;24:399-403.
- Chang SS, Stuckler D, Yip P, Gunnell D. Impact of 2008 global economic crisis on suicide: time trend study in 54 countries. BMJ. 2013;347:f5239.
- Hintikka J, Saarinen PI, Viinamäki H. Suicide mortality in Finland during an economic cycle, 1985-1995. Scand J Public Health. 1999;27:85-8.
- Karanikolos M, Mladovsky P, Cylus J, Thomson S, Basu S, Stuckler D, et al. Financial crisis, austerity, and health in Europe. Lancet. 2013;381:1323-31.
- Kentikelenis A, Karanikolos M, Reeves A, McKee M, Stuckler D. Greece's health crisis: from austerity to denialism. Lancet. 2014;383:748-53.
- Reeves A, Stuckler D, McKee M, Gunnell D, Chang SS, Basu S. Increase in state suicide rates in the USA during economic recession. Lancet. 2012;380:1813-14.
- Laanani M, Ghosn W, Jouglia E, Rey G. Impact of unemployment variations on suicide mortality in Western European countries (2000-2010): authors' reply. J Epidemiol Community Health. 2015;69:103-9.
- Santana P, Costa C, Cardoso G, Loureiro A, Ferrão J. Suicide in Portugal: spatial determinants in a context of economic crisis. Health Place. 2015;35:85-94.
- Costa C, Loureiro A, Freitas Â, Santana P. Suicídio em contextos de privação social e material nas áreas metropolitanas de Lisboa e Porto. In: Santana P, editor. Território e saúde mental em tempos de crise. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra; 2015:36-50.
- Santana P, Costa C, Mari-Dell'Olmo M, Gotsens M, Borrell C. Mortality, material deprivation and urbanization: exploring the social patterns of a metropolitan area. Int J Equity Health. 2015;14:55.
- Nolte E, McKee M. Does health care save lives? Avoidable mortality revisited. The Nuffield Trust; 2004.
- Jones P, Gunnell D, Platt S, Scourfield J, Lloyd K, Huxley P, et al. Identifying probable suicide clusters in wales using national mortality data. PLoS One. 2013;8:e71713.
- Pérez-Costillas L, Blasco-Fontecilla H, Benítez N, Comino R, Antón JM, Ramos-Medina V, et al. Space-time suicide clustering in the community of Antequera (Spain). Rev Psiquiatr y Salud Ment. 2015;8:26-34.
- Carcach C. A spatio-temporal analysis of suicide in El Salvador. BMC Public Health. 2017;17:339.
- Ngamini Ngui A, Apparicio P, Moltchanova E, Vasiliadis HM. Spatial analysis of suicide mortality in Québec: spatial clustering and area factor correlates. Psychiatry Res. 2014;220:20-30.
- Sousa J, Telles Correia D. Pensar, sentir e viver. Lisboa: Bertrand Editora; 2017.
- Kana MA, Correia S, Peleteiro B, Severo M, Barros H. Impact of the global financial crisis on low birth weight in Portugal: a time-trend analysis. BMJ Glob Heal. 2017;2.
- Kim HJ, Fay MP, Feuer EJ, Midthune DN. Permutation tests for joinpoint regression with applications to cancer rates. Stat Med. 2000;19:335-51.
- Nunes C, Briz T, Gomes D, Dias CM. A dimensão espaço-temporal em saúde pública: da descrição clássica à análise de clustering. Rev Port Saúde Pública. 2008;26:5-14.
- Kulldorff M. A spatial scan statistic. Commun Stat - Theory Methods. 1997;26:1481-96.
- Gusmão R, Quintão S. Suicide and death resulting from events of undetermined intent register in Portugal. Revisiting "The truth about suicide", 20 years later. Dir Gen Heal J. 2013;1:80-95.
- Ferrão J. Território. In: Cardoso JL, Magalhães P, Pais JM, editores. Portugal social de a a z - temas em aberto. Lisboa: Imprensa Publishing|Expresso; 2013:244-257.
- Freitas E. O suicídio em Portugal no século XX: elementos empíricos

- para uma pesquisa. *Finisterra Rev Port Geogr.* 1982;17:267-300.
49. Almendra R, Loureiro A, Santana P. Padrão geográfico e sazonal de internamentos por perturbações mentais. In: Santana P, editor. *Território e saúde mental em tempos de crise.* Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra; 2015:28-35.
  50. Monk A. The influence of isolation on stress and suicide in rural areas: an international comparison. *Rural Soc.* 2000;10393-403.
  51. Middleton N, Sterne JA, Gunnell D. The geography of despair among 15-44-year-old men in England and Wales: putting suicide on the map. *J Epidemiol Community Health.* 2006;60:1040-7.
  52. Turvey C, Stromquist A, Kelly K, Zwerling C, Merchant J. Financial loss and suicidal ideation in a rural community sample. *Acta Psychiatr Scand.* 2002;106:373-80.
  53. Judd F, Cooper AM, Fraser C, Davis J. Rural suicide-people or place effects? *Aust N Z J Psychiatry.* 2006;40:208-16.
  54. Hirsch JK. A review of the literature on rural suicide: risk and protective factors, incidence, and prevention. *Crisis.* 2006;27:189-99.
  55. Chishti P, Stone DH, Corcoran P, Williamson E, Petridou E. Suicide mortality in the European Union. *Eur J Public Health.* 2003;13:108-14.
  56. Direção Geral da Saúde. Plano Nacional de Prevenção do Suicídio 2013-2017. Lisboa: DGS; 2013.
  57. Direção Geral da Saúde. Programa Nacional para a Saúde Mental. [Consultado a 2017 out 12]. Disponível em: <https://www.dgs.pt/pns-e-programas/programas-de-saude-prioritarios/saude-mental.aspx>.