GERIATRIC DISORDERS (JA CHEONG, SECTION EDITOR)



Understanding Vulnerability to Late-Life Suicide

Olivia J. Ding 1 · Gary J. Kennedy 1,2

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Abstract

Purpose of Review We review recent evidence on suicide among older adults, examine risk factors contributing to vulnerability to late-life suicide, and summarize possible interventions.

Recent Findings We found a steadily increasing rate of late-life suicide in the USA in the past decade. Evidence supporting the integration of depression care managers into primary care for risk reduction is among the strongest to date. Pharmacologic and neuromodulation studies should be considered in geriatric depression complicated by suicidality. Broad societal campaigns about suicide education, as well as active outreach to psychiatric patients after discharge or a suicidal crisis, prevent suicidal behavior. Growing research supports an integrative multidisciplinary approach.

Summary Suicide is a complex and multifaceted behavior with numerous casual points for intervention. Access to deadly means, presence of depression, disease, disability, and social disconnection are factors that increase vulnerability. Quality geriatric care, regular screening in primary and emergency care settings, and a multidisciplinary approach are necessary to mitigate risk factors. The COVID-19 pandemic amplifies need for a more aggressive approach.

Keywords Suicidal ideation · Suicide and self-harm · Geriatric

Introduction

Although crude death rates have declined over the last five decades, having peaked in the 1950s, a slow and steady rise in suicides occurred in the last 10 years (CDC fatal injury reports). The actual number of deaths by suicide in late life is expected to rise with increasing percentage of older Americans (expected to reach 22% of the population by 2050). Despite its prevalence, late-life suicide receives little attention from media to healthcare initiatives to funding agencies [1••]. Ageist views tend to consider depression and thoughts of death as a normal feature of the aging process. Accumulation of physical illnesses, disabilities, life events, and losses is seen as the explanation for so-called rational suicide to opt out of this end-stage of life [2]. A systemic

review of "rational suicide" identified depression, self-determination, mental competence, and ageism in both physicians' and population's perspectives [3•]. Geriatricians are increasingly encountering older adults expressing suicidal wishes in the absence of overt mental illness, which is expected to grow [4] more so in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic [5]. In this review, we provide an update on suicide rates and related vulnerabilities. We summarize notable prior literature and highlight more specific findings from the past 3 years. Finally, we end with a review of population-based approaches for reducing its risk.

Suicide Rates Among Older Adults

Table 1 shows suicide rates among adults ages 65 and older from 2009 to 2019. In the most recent decade, the highest rate was 16.67 per 100,000 seniors in 2019, reflecting a nearly stepwise annual increase, and a 60% increase as compared with 10.4 per 100,000 seniors 20 years prior. The nation's 65-and-older population has grown rapidly since 2010, by over a third (34.2% or 13,787,044) during the past decade and by 3.2% (1,688,924) from 2018 to 2019. In 2019, older adults made up 16.5% of the American population but they

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Gary J. Kennedy gkennedy@montefiore.org

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Department of Psychiatry and Behavioral Science, Bronx, NY, USA

Division of Geriatric Psychiatry, Montefiore Medical Center, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Bronx, NY, USA

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Table 1 WISQARS injury mortality report suicide injury deaths and rates per 100,00 all races, both sexes ages 65-85+

Year	Suicide injury deaths	Crude rates per 100,000
2010	5994	14.88
2011	6321	15.29
2012	6648	15.41
2013	7215	16.17
2014	7702	16.69
2015	7912	16.60
2016	8204	16.67
2017	8568	16.88
2018	9102	17.38
2019	9173	16.97

accounted for more than 19.4% of suicides. Approximately 71% of late-life suicides in the USA are the result of firearm use. Suicide attempts in this age group are usually fatal in the first attempt due to the lethality of means, existing fragility and lack of desire or opportunity for rescue [6]. While the crude suicidal death rate was 16.67 per 100,000 seniors in 2019 including all races, ethnicities and genders, the highest death rate was observed in white males ages 85 and above, at 54.41 per 100,000. Suicide rates among white males grow from late adolescence and see an abrupt increase from age 65, in contrast to elderly women, whose rates remain constant from 65. The prevalence of late-life suicide among white males, a group least likely to seek treatment for depression, has been the case since the early 2000s [7] (Fig. 1).

Systemic reviews suggest that older adults who died by suicide are different from younger suicide victims. Older victims had less evidence of maladaptive personalities and the majority did not meet the threshold for psychiatric diagnosis. The only significant association was with a relatively small number of older suicide victims who had obsessivecompulsive and avoidant personality disorders, which researchers suggest may account for more difficult transitions into later-life changes. They also noted that older suicide victims were more diverse in both risk factors and experiences compared with early-life suicide victims [8]. A cross-sectional case-control study comparing the personalities of 200 lateand early-onset elderly suicide attempters using the Five Factor Model echoed similar findings where older attempters scored higher on orderliness and conscientiousness. In contrast, younger attempters displayed higher neuroticism, borderline traits, lower extraversion, and higher antisocial traits [6]. Gujral's 2020 [9] study examined whether late-onset (versus early-onset) suicidal behavior is associated with worse cognition. They found that both attempter groups displayed worse executive functioning than non-suicidal depressed older adults. Late-onset attempters additionally displayed poorer global cognition and processing speed than nonsuicidal depressed older adults and poorer memory than early-onset attempters.

Suicide Screening

The majority of suicide decedents encounter primary or emergency care settings in the year prior, rather than a professional in mental health. According to a review of forty studies, 45% of suicide victims visited their primary care provider in the month before suicide, while only 20% saw mental health professional in the same period [10].

Unfortunately, the level of suicide screening and subsequent mental health evaluation is less among older adults. Of those discharged from the emergency department with a positive suicide screen, less than half (42%) of older adults received a mental health evaluation during their visit compared with 66% of younger adults who met the same criteria. Similarly, fewer older, than younger patients with current suicidal ideation following an attempt received referral to mental health treatment (34 vs 60%) [11]. Similar findings were supported by medical records from a military veterans' clinic, where patients older than 50 were less likely to have evidence of (1) screening for impulsivity and firearms access (2) engagement in safety planning and (3) referrals for mental health services including psychiatric hospitalization [12].

Risk Factors

Pain, cancer, and chronic illness account for an elevated risk for suicide. As the number of comorbid diseases mount, relative risk of suicide is thought to increase substantially. In Choi's 2019 review [13], physical health problems were recorded as a suicide precipitant for 50% of the older decedents. Compared with those without, those with physical health problems as a precipitant were older and twice as likely to have had depressed mood. They were also more likely to have disclosed suicide intent, left a suicide note, and used a firearm. Coroner, medical examiner, and law enforcement reports found pain (29%) and cancer (28%) mentioned most frequently, dementia-related functional decline, fear of becoming a burden to loved ones, refusal of nursing homes, and loss of independence also named. Even a recent diagnosis of mild cognitive impairment with its threat of progression to dementia has been associated with attempted suicide [14•].

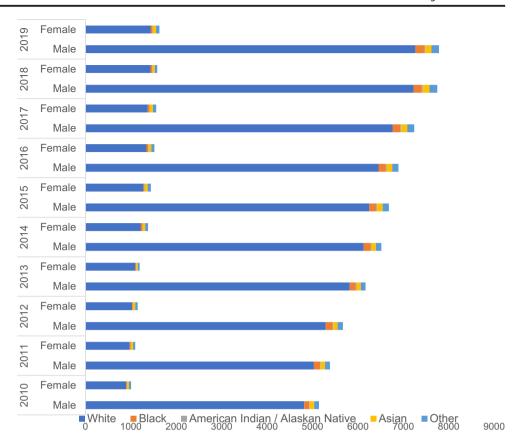
A number of small-sample cross-sectional studies have specifically looked at neurocognitive impairments as diathesis to late-life suicide, suggesting that executive dysfunction, altered decision-making, impaired control of intrusive thoughts, and reduced social emotion recognition underlie decreased problem-solving ability, which may lead to suicidal ideation [10].

Alessi's 2019 two-part study measured motivations for attempting suicide based on self-report with the Reasons for



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Figure 1 White Males Predominate in Late Life Suicides in the United States. https:// webappa.cdc.gov/sasweb/ncipc/ mortrate.html. Accessed 1 Apr 2021



Attempting Suicide Questionnaire (RASQ), followed by a semi-qualitative assessment. Measures of personality for both studies included assessments of impulsivity, the Five-Factor Personality Domains, interpersonal dysfunction, and borderline traits. In study 1, escape/self-punishment motives on the RASQ were associated with multiple attempts and borderline pathology, while interpersonal motives were less frequently endorsed and associated with poorly planned attempts. In study 2, experiences of defeat (powerlessness, poor coping to threats to autonomy/status) were more frequently endorsed by men and associated with disagreeableness. Study 1 revealed that attempters high in dysfunctional psychopathology were more likely to report self-oriented escape motives for suicide, while study 2 identified a putative pathway to suicide in men involving antagonism and the experience of defeat [15].

Another study examining motivation for suicide by Bickford 2019 emphasized "perceived stress" as a significant risk factor. He suggested screening for perceived stress using the Perceived Stress Scale as part of suicidal prevention efforts [16].

Both active suicidal ideation and ambivalence about living are associated with suicide attempt within 6 months. Clinicians should be mindful that differentiating between active suicidal ideation and ambivalence about living are both presentations that warrant follow-up [8].

Given the multitude of physical, psychological, and sociodemographic factors that contribute to suicidal ideation, an individual factor may have little predictive value. However, mitigating social isolation has been suggested to reduce population attributable risk of suicide by 27% [17].

Late-Life Depression Older adults are less likely than younger adults to recognize depression symptoms as an illness and less likely to alert their primary care provider. [18]. In primary care settings, 6% meet criteria for major depressive disorder. Another 6% meet criteria for minor depression or dysthymia (persistent depressive disorder), and an additional 10% meet criteria for subsyndromal depression (short duration or insufficient symptoms), scoring above the recovery threshold of the Hamilton Depression Rating Scale (HAM-D). As a result, clinically significant depressive symptoms which may represent partial remission or the beginning of a major disorder can be easily missed [19].

Depression predisposes both young and old to somatic illnesses and the relationship is reciprocal. Studies suggest that white matter changes on MRI and executive dysfunction may underlie geriatric depression and predict poor antidepressant response [18]. Depression may then predispose and precipitate vascular events [20]. In Mikami's 2014 study, low-dose escitalopram provided to persons free of depression symptoms and anxiety within 90 days of an embolic stroke halved the



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incidence of depression, reduced the emergence of anxiety and was well-tolerated [21].

That geriatric depression is mediated by inflammation is a provocative theory. Plasma studies suggest that peripheral inflammatory markers are elevated in late life depression and associated with severity of both mood and cognitive symptoms. A recent prospective study found that inflammation predicted new onset depression in men more so than women. Participants (n = 10,357) with no evidence of depression at baseline (based on the nine-item Patient Health Questionnaire (PHQ-9), lifetime diagnoses, and current antidepressant medication) were evaluated for depression 5 years later. Multivariate logistic regression predicted the onset of depression based on C-reactive protein and white blood cell count. Based on both markers, inflammation was predictive of new cases of depression 5 years later, even after adjusting for sociodemographic, physical health, health behavior, and baseline depression symptoms. Inflammatory markers were predictive of depression in men, but not in women. Additional predictors for the onset of depression were younger age, loneliness, smoking (in men), cancer, and less alcohol consumption (in women). These gender differences in the etiology of depressive disorders within the community suggest a greater role of physical factors in men [22].

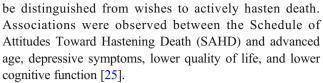
Unfortunately, studies targeting inflammation in geriatric depression have not been promising to date. Taking 100 mg of daily aspirin compared with placebo was not preventative [23].

Comorbid Psychiatric Conditions

Anxiety disorders, often comorbid with depression, are involved in one of every six older adult suicides. A cohort study from the Veterans Affairs National Patient Care Database and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Death Index found that psychiatric disorders strongly associated with suicide include bipolar disorder, depression, substance use disorders (both alcohol and drugs), schizophrenia, anxiety disorders, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD was linked to suicide risk in both military and civilians. Treatment approaches include increased access care, sustained engagement, care coordination, reinforcement of family, and peer relations and limiting access to lethal means. A metanalysis of interventions following self-harm in late life found that cognitive behavioral therapy was the most effective therapy [24].

Screening for the Wish for Death

The wish to die in older patients admitted to rehabilitation can be validly assessed with two novel instruments, with a high concordance rate of 90.1% The Categories of Attitudes toward Death Occurrence (CADO) allows for passive death wishes to



However existing scales for depression and suicidal ideation are not sufficiently reliable or clinically useful in predicting the small subgroup of suicide ideators whose death by suicide is imminent. An ecological momentary assessment method found that suicidal ideation fluctuates from moment to moment. In a sample of participating inpatients, who attempted suicide in the past year, there were dramatic fluctuations in the intensity of suicidal ideation. "All participants had ideas of suicide which varied in intensity by a full standard deviation on most days. Many had one standard deviation fluctuations several hours apart within the same day" [8]. This highlights the need to monitor fluctuations and not dismiss the possibility of sudden increases in suicidal urges, even when the current risk appears low. Additionally, suicidal ideation is considered a better predictor of lifetime risk for suicide than imminent risk, so assessments should include describing the characteristics and impact of prior SI as well as current.

A Separate Psychiatric Phenomenon

The idea that suicide is a separate phenomenon from traditionally associated mood disorders has gained attention. A recent retrospective analysis concluded that most older adults in the USA who die from suicide did not have a known mental health condition. The study was completed in 2019 using the National Violent Death Reporting System, 2003–2016 (n =26,884) for suicide deaths for adults aged \geq 65 years. ORs compared sociodemographic and clinical characteristics, cause of death, and precipitating circumstances based on coroner/medical examiner and law enforcement reports. Older male (69.1%) and female (50.2%) suicide decedents did not have a known mental illness. A physical health problem was the most prevalent precipitating circumstance but was more common among older adults without known mental illness. Past suicide attempt, disclosure of suicidal intent, depressed mood, and substance use were more common among those with a known mental illness. More than three fourths of suicide decedents did not disclose their suicidal intent. Most suicide deaths involved firearms, which were disproportionately used by decedents without known mental illness (81.6% of male and 44.6% of female decedents) compared with those with known mental illness (70.5% of male and 30.0% of female decedents) [26]. Disconnection between prior mental illness and suicide completion perhaps warrants the consideration of suicide as a separate psychiatric illness with its distinct symptoms and pathological processes.



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 Table 2
 The 5 D's framework—dynamic interactions between determinants of suicide risk late life [27]

Characteristic	Description	Interventions to potentially mitigate risk
Deadly means	The presence of a firearm in the home. Lethality of intent and implementation are higher among older adults than those who die by suicide at younger ages (CDC). In the U.S., 75% of older people who die by suicide used a firearm	Firearm legislation strength is inversely associated with firearm suicide rates [33]. Restricting access for those at risk is critical. Suicide prevention training and vigilance working with distressed individuals may help in firearm retail settings. Screening in both primary care and mental health settings is needed to identify those at risk. When found to be at high-risk, utilizing social supports to remove access to weapons is helpful. Other means restrictions actions include increasing expired medication disposal efforts, building bridge barriers [28••]
Depression	Depression occurring in older patients is often undetected or inadequately treated. Major and minor affective disorders have been found through psychological autopsy studies in up to 87% of older people who die by suicide [12]	Evidence supporting the integration of depression care managers into primary care for screening, diagnosis and treatment is among the strongest to date. Treat with medication, start low, go slow, but treat to target. SSRIs/SNRIs remain first line for late-life depression. Psychotherapy, exercise therapy, and electroconvulsive therapy may also be effective. [29, 31, 32]
Disease and disability	Disability in older people is frequently associated with disease and vice versa. Functional disability, as well as several specific physical illnesses have demonstrated associations with suicidal behavior in older adults	Adherence to medication, nutritional programs, physical therapy, and exercise programs are key. Quality interdisciplinary geriatric care, promotion of home-based and virtual care may increase access. Treatments that prioritize and maximize the quality of life [48]. Psychoeducation and support groups for patients and caregivers [49]. Minimize polypharmacy
Disconnectedness	Disconnectedness Social disconnectedness is the lack of structural, functional, and emotional supports that people want and need from each other	Detecting those at risk for social isolation and connecting them with employment, community activities, support groups, individual or group skills training [1••]. Utilizing technology to maximize connection with internet-based supports, family, and friend networks, as well as healthcare providers [50,51]. Screen and treat for sensory deficits, an independent predictor of social isolation [44]
Development	Factors in one's development may contribute to vulnerability to the "D's" encountered later in life. Growing up in an unsafe neighborhood might increase chances of possessing frearms. Lack of social and structural support increases risk and consequences of disease and disability. Attachment style is established early in development based on experiences of safe, trusted relationships with others. These early life developments contribute to an older adult's suicide risk	Continuity of care, using a longitudinal lifespan approach to identify individual risk and protective factors for suicide in late life. Carstensen's Socioemotional Selectivity Theory: [52] as people age, there is an associated decrease in attachment anxiety, whereas persisting attachment anxiety is related to low levels of well-being and high levels of distress. Bolstering social support moderates this risk



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Opportunities to Reduce Suicide Risk

The challenge of tackling suicide lies in its complex and multidetermined nature; however, it also presents opportunities to intervene at multiple points in the causal web. Conwell and Lutz [27] recently suggested the 5D'S framework as a practical way of looking at the risk factors for late-life depression, summarized in Table 2. Similar strategies were suggested by Moutier in 2020 [28••]; though some strategies were targeted toward suicide prevention during COVID-19, they have broad applicability.

Pharmacotherapy and Other Somatic Interventions

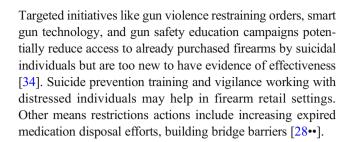
A range of somatic therapies promise to reduce the risk of suicide among older adults seeking behavioral health care. These include antidepressants alone and augmentation with antipsychotics, lithium [10], and electroconvulsive therapy [29]. However, pharmacotherapy is not without risk [30]. Evidence that transcranial magnetic, direct current stimulation, or ketamine is effective among older patients has yet to emerge. The larger limitation with these interventions is that so many people who die by suicide in old age did not seek and were not identified as needing care.

Nonpharmacological Interventions

The SEEDS study, a trial of 121 patients with late-life depression, compared the antidepressant effectiveness of sertraline (S) and sertraline plus exercise (S+EX) and showed greater improvements in depression in the (S+EX group) [31]. Findings from a recent meta-analysis of randomized controlled trials directly compared the effectiveness of three major exercise types (aerobic, resistance, and mind-body exercise) in clinically depressed adults aged 65 and older. Symptoms of depression improved at 3 months follow-up compared with baseline regardless of the type of exercise. No statistical difference was found between the types of exercise. Clinically depressed older adults, indeed all adults, should be encouraged to select their preferred exercise type for physical and mental benefits [32].

Lethal Means Restriction

Broadly reducing availability and access to firearms has lowered firearm suicide rates in other countries but does not appear feasible in the USA. Firearm legislation strength is inversely associated with firearm suicide rates [33, 42]. Gun safety is critical to restricting access for those at risk. Screening in both primary care and mental health settings is needed to identify those at risk. When found to be at high-risk, utilizing social supports to remove access to weapons is helpful. Most suicides involve guns purchased years earlier.



Access to Treatment for Mental Illness and Substance Use

Increasing the availability of virtual mental health and substance use treatment is a strategy to increase access. Especially beneficial to elderly patients with mobility problems, home-based tele-treatment has been shown to be feasible and well accepted in the areas of inpatient and nursing home consultation, cognitive testing, dementia diagnosis and treatment, depression in integrated and collaborative care models, and psychotherapy [35, 39, 43, 50, 51]. The PROSPECT and IMPACT studies demonstrated that a greater percentage of depressed patients receiving collaborative care (medication, psychotherapy or both) experienced a decline in suicidal ideation than depressed patients receiving routine care.

Addressing Disease and Disability

Suicide is associated with functional disability and specific conditions such as cancer, neurologic disorders, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD), liver disease, arthritis/ arthrosis, and pain [10]. The significant contribution of disease and disability on suicide risk highlights the importance of comprehensive, quality geriatric medical care. Several cross-sectional studies indicate an association between clinical frailty and gut microbiota composition (lower levels of butyrate-producing bacteria). Findings suggest that the causal link between microbiota and physical fitness is still uncertain due to a lack of targeted studies and the influence of covariates, including diet, exercise, multimorbidity, and polypharmacy, on both microbiota and physical function in older age. However, the relationship between microbiota and physical function remains a very promising area of research for the future [36].

Ageism and Stigma

Ageism has a negative impact on older people's health and wellbeing. Anti-stigma education and pro-help-seeking messaging may be effectively delivered through creative partnerships with media, community organizations, and entertainment platforms. Performing arts may be an intervention to lessen age stereotypes among both the young and old. A study comparing pre-and post-programming attitudes toward aging



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indicated a successful increase in positive age stereotypes and decrease in negative age stereotypes after a performance art program [37]. The scale utilized in this study, "Expectations Regarding Aging" met minimum requirements for psychometric validation (i.e., internal consistency, adequate content and structural validity) for assessing the "stereotypes" dimension of ageism, but not for the other two ageism dimensions "prejudice and discrimination," highlighting the need to develop and validate a scale that more broadly captures the multidimensional nature of ageism [38]. Similar community-level campaigns were tested in Nuremberg compared with Würzburg Germany, which resulted in a decline in suicide attempts after year one and even more in year two in Nuremberg. However, reductions were most noticeable in the use of lethal means and among persons less than 70 years of age [39].

Increasing Social Connectedness

A substantial body of evidence indicates that loneliness and social isolation increase suicide risk. Quality of perceived social support is linked to health status [10]. Data suggest that those who died by suicide were less likely to be married, have children, or be involved in religious practice. Association between low social integration and suicide remained significant after controlling for psychiatric disorders and employment status. In addition to poor social integration and sense of belonging, the death of close relatives is a highly disruptive loss that constitutes a major risk factor for suicide. Mogensen reported the highest suicide risk during the 6 months following the loss of a close relative (40). The highest odds ratios for suicide were found in persons aged 45 and older who had lost a partner within the last month. Interestingly, loss of a spouse was associated with lower levels of belongingness in men, but not in women. The differential link between bereavement and sense of belongingness between men and women may be due to the different psychosocial function of marriage or lower ability for men to maintain social ties compared with women.

Detecting high-risk patient populations with recent suicide attempts and those likely to be socially disconnected is a start. Connecting them with community activities, support groups and individual and group skills training may be effective. Provide training to maximize elderly use of technology to connect with health care providers, internet communities and existing social supports, like family and friends. Van Orden suggests creating "a Connections Plan," for the depressed elderly, similar in concept a Safety Plan in Emergency Settings. They propose its widespread use in outpatient clinics and long-term care settings, as well as in early sessions of psychotherapy [1••].

For patients presenting with a prior suicide attempt, studies demonstrate a 50–60% reduction of subsequent attempts by providing a series of caring messages in the form of postcards, letters, emails, or telephone messages after discharge [28••].

Within healthcare settings, the systemic use of virtual checkins has a strong suicide risk-reducing effect.

Clinicians should also address sensory impairment that could hamper the safety planning process (e.g., vision/hearing) and employ frequent repetition and memory aids to address age-related cognitive changes and cognitive impairment when present [41•]. Animal studies demonstrate that hearing loss and social isolation independently target the serotonergic system with vast implications for psychiatric disorders [42••].

Other

At the legislative level, striving for mental health parity and promoting integration into primary care are priorities. Providing fiscal safety nets may also help, as studies suggest that economic downturns have deleterious effects on population suicide rates. Communities may also promote social cohesion through social media, influencing policy, and other campaigns.

Conclusions

A far greater percentage of older patients see their primary care providers rather than mental health professionals prior to suicide completion. Training primary care physicians in depression recognition and treatment prevents suicide. Training healthcare providers and informal support systems to assess suicide risk and in evidence-based intervention plans/guidelines is needed. Evidence supporting the integration of depression care managers into primary care is convincing.

Ongoing treatment for associated mental disorders remains critical. Meta-analyses find that antidepressants prevent suicide attempts, but individual randomized controlled trials appear to be underpowered.

Cognitive-behavioral therapy and dialectical behavior therapy prevent suicidal behavior. Exercise and nutrition interventions may be beneficial; given few adverse effects is worthwhile to pursue as a treatment adjunct. Clinically depressed older adults should be encouraged to self-select their preferred exercise type to achieve therapeutic benefit (no one type of exercise significantly outperformed another). Electroconvulsive therapy is generally safe in geriatric patients, with transient neurocognitive side effects.

In contrast to their younger counterparts, a significant portion of older suicide completers do not have mental illness. Recent evidence describes different personality traits in old vs. young suicide attempters, which may warrant development of screening tools specific to suicide. CADO and SAHD are 2 novel scales with promise.

Targeting the vulnerability factors to suicide using the 5D's framework should be standard practice (Table 2). Providers



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should consider implementing a "Connections Plan" as a form of safety planning for individuals at risk for social disconnection.

Means restriction, including of firearms, prevents suicide but is sporadically employed in the USA, even though firearms are used in > 70% of late-life suicides. Restricting firearm access by at-risk individuals warrants wider use; specific strategies are an ongoing area of research as well as controversy.

Active follow-up of patients after discharge or a suiciderelated crisis should be routine and may reduce subsequent attempts; providers should advocate to maximize virtual communications and access to telemedicine. Suicide rate reduction requires evaluating newer approaches, such as electronic health record-derived algorithms, Internet-based screening methods, and passive monitoring of dangerous fluctuation of acute suicide. The aftermath of the pandemic may well usher in a surge in deaths of despair [44] due to social isolation, reduced access to care both mental and physical, complicated by onset of COVID-19 related cognitive impairment. However, in 2020, COVID-19 rose to be the third leading cause of death, suicides fell by 5% from 2019 [45] but drug overdose deaths rose by 4.8% from 2019 [46], although agespecific data were not reported. It remains to be seen if the use of telemedicine and technology can repair the longer-term damage done to older adults who survived the pandemic [35, 47].

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