



Urban/rural variation in the influence of widowhood on mortality risk: a cohort study of almost 300,000 couples

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1	Urban/rural variation in the influence of widowhood on mortality risk: a
2	cohort study of almost 300,000 couples
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15 ABSTRACT

Death of a spouse is associated with increased mortality risk for the surviving partner (the 16 17 widowhood effect). We investigated whether the effect magnitude varied between urban, rural 18 and intermediate areas, assembling death records (2001-2009) for a prospective cohort of 19 296,125 married couples in Northern Ireland. The effect was greatest during the first six months 20 of widowhood in all areas and for both sexes. Subsequently, the effect was attenuated among 21 men in rural and intermediate areas but persisted in urban areas (HRs and 95% CIs: rural 1.09 [0.99, 1.21]; urban 1.35 [1.26, 1.44]). Among women the effect was attenuated in all areas 22 23 (rural 1.06 [0.96, 1.17]; urban 1.09 [1.01, 1.17]). The impacts of spousal bereavement varied between urban and more rural areas, possibly due to variation in social support provided by the 24 25 wider community. We identify men in urban areas as being in greatest need of such support 26 and a possible target for health interventions.

- 27 Key words: widowhood, bereavement, mortality rates, urban/rural
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30 **RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS**

- Mortality risk increases with death of a spouse (the widowhood effect).
- The association between area of residence and the widowhood effect was assessed.
- A total of 296,125 married couples were included in the analysis.
- The widowhood effect was attenuated over time for both sexes in rural areas.
- Men in urban areas remained at increased mortality risk but women did not.

36

38 INTRODUCTION

39 Widowhood is a common major life transition among older people that has been associated 40 with elevated risk of mortality in the surviving spouse (the widowhood effect) across many 41 populations, providing strong evidence that changes in social ties affect health outcomes (Shor, 42 Roelfs et al. 2012, Manzoli, Villari et al. 2007). Besides gender differences (men usually 43 experience a greater increase in relative risk than women - Moon, Kondo et al. 2011) various 44 socioeconomic and health related factors moderate the widowhood effect (Boyle, Feng et al. 45 2010, Shor, Roelfs et al. 2012, Pandey, Jha 2012) and the largest relative increases in mortality 46 risk are found in groups with low pre-existing risks of mortality (e.g. those with good health 47 and high socioeconomic status - Shah, Carey et al. 2012, Boyle, Feng et al. 2010). Mortality 48 rates associated with a variety of causes are elevated by widowhood indicating that the effect 49 is not limited to a single pathway (Elwert, Christakis 2008) and three main explanatory 50 mechanisms have been proposed: emotional stress and grief, loss of emotional social support 51 and loss of instrumental (task related) social support (Martikainen, Valkonen 1996).

52 The widowhood effect is greatest during the first six months of widowhood (Martikainen, 53 Valkonen 1996, Boyle, Feng et al. 2010, Moon, Kondo et al. 2011, Manor, Eisenbach 2003, 54 Lichtenstein, Gatz et al. 1998, Lusyne, Page et al. 2001), especially deaths related with 55 accidents, violence, alcohol or unexpected respiratory or circulatory diseases (Martikainen, Valkonen 1996, Shah, Carey et al. 2012). A proportion of the excess deaths due to cardiac 56 57 conditions in the early stages of bereavement may result from inadequate condition 58 management immediately prior to bereavement (Shah, Carey et al. 2013), indicating that acute 59 stress at this stage contributes to the widowhood effect (Vable, Subramanian et al. 2015). As 60 time since bereavement increases the mortality differential between widows and non-widows 61 tends to decrease for women in the first ten years but may increase subsequently, whereas men 62 are likely to show a sustained or increased mortality differential (Shor, Roelfs et al. 2012, 63 Berntsen, Kravdal 2012, Martikainen, Valkonen 1996). In summary, grief and acute stress 64 appear to play a significant role in elevating mortality risk in the early stages of widowhood, 65 replaced over time by more subtle effects due to withdrawal of spousal support in daily living, 66 both emotional and instrumental (Elwert, Christakis 2006, Stroebe, Schut et al. 2007).

Estimates of the magnitude of the widowhood effect are heterogeneous among studies but there have been few attempts to identify modifiers other than individual socio-economic or health status (Moon, Kondo et al. 2011), so we investigated the influence of socio-geographic context 70 (urban or rural residence) on the widowhood effect. Urban-rural gradients in risk have been 71 observed for several health outcomes; e.g. all-cause mortality in England (Riva, Curtis et al. 72 2011), mental health status across multiple developed countries, and have been attributed 73 variously to stress, pollution, over-concentrated housing or social isolation in urban areas 74 (O'Reilly, O' Reilly et al. 2007, Peen, Schoevers et al. 2010). However, in some contexts health 75 gradients show the opposite pattern with higher incidence of suicide, more severe injuries from 76 road accidents and delayed cancer diagnosis in rural parts of some countries (Campbell, Elliott 77 et al. 2001, Levin, Leyland 2005, Weiss, Kaplan et al. 2014).

78 Of the factors thought to contribute to urban-rural health gradients, social environment may 79 modify the widowhood effect at different stages of bereavement by two different mechanisms. 80 Acute stress during early bereavement may be buffered by intentionally supportive interactions 81 within an individual's social network (or at least the perception that emotional, informational 82 or instrumental support is available - Thoits 2011, Holt-Lunstad, Smith et al. 2010). As time 83 since bereavement increases the 'main-effects' of social relationships may come to the fore; a 84 set of emotional, behavioural or cognitive processes stemming from social relationships that 85 are not intentionally supportive but often have beneficial influences on health (e.g. societal 86 pressure to fulfil a family role may cause people to adopt a healthy lifestyle to fulfil that role -87 Thoits 2011). There is some evidence that social support during widowhood influences health 88 outcomes including mortality risk. A study collating vital event records for over 400,000 89 elderly couples in the US showed that the race of the partners influences the widowhood effect. 90 Whites in endogamous marriages suffered a large increase in mortality risk but the effect was 91 not evident among blacks, a distinction that may be related to higher levels of familial support 92 for the elderly in black families (Elwert, Christakis 2006).

93 We investigated the association between the widowhood effect and urban or rural residence, 94 using a large cohort of married couples assembled from the Northern Ireland Mortality Study. 95 In Northern Ireland older people living in rural areas receive more family support, being more 96 likely to live with their children and hence less likely to be admitted to care homes (McCann, 97 Grundy et al. 2014). Adjusting for these differences in family living arrangements, there is an 98 additional reduction in risk of admission to care homes among rural dwellers in comparison 99 with urban dwellers, indicating that greater integration within the wider community may reduce 100 demand for formal care services or replace them when supply is limited (McCann, Grundy et 101 al. 2014). Therefore we predicted that the mortality differential between widows and non-102 widows would be less pronounced in rural compared with urban areas, especially once the

initial period of shock had passed and the availability of longer term instrumental and
emotional support had become of greater importance. We investigated these relationships
separately for men and women to account for differences in the size of the widowhood effect
between sexes (Moon, Kondo et al. 2011).

107 METHODS

108 Data sources

109 The Northern Ireland Mortality Study 2001 (NIMS 2001) is a prospective record-linkage study, 110 derived from the 2001 Census returns for the whole enumerated population (c1.6m), to which 111 subsequent registered deaths to the end of 2009 have been linked. Details of NIMS 2001 and 112 linkage processes are described elsewhere (O'Reilly, Rosato et al. 2012, O'Reilly, Rosato et al. 113 2008). These data were anonymised, held in a safe setting by the Northern Ireland Statistics 114 and Research Agency (NISRA) and made available to the research team for this study. The use 115 of the NIMS 2001 for research was approved by the Office for Research Ethics Committees 116 Northern Ireland (ORECNI).

117 **Definition of cohort**

All personal characteristics were drawn from the Census returns which were also used to identify married couples whose members were aged from 26 to 103 at the time of the 2001 Census. Couples living in institutional settings (e.g. nursing homes or sheltered accommodation) were excluded. It was not possible to exclude couples who were separated before the death of the first partner. A small number of couples (66) were excluded in which both members died of a common cause within the same calendar month, leaving a total of 296,125 couples. This group experienced 37,821 deaths during the follow-up period (Table 1).

125 Characteristics of the cohort

126 In addition to age, sex, religious affiliation and country of birth the following characteristics 127 that have previously been associated with increased mortality risk were extracted from the 128 census records. Five indicators of socio-economic status were included: household car access; 129 educational attainment; social class, derived using the National Statistics Socio-economic 130 Classification (NS-SEC)(Rose, Pevalin 2002); economic activity; and housing tenure 131 (Connolly, O'Reilly et al. 2010)(Table 1). The Census included two indicators of self-reported 132 morbidity – the presence of a long-term illness limiting usual activities; and another on general health in the previous year. The amount of time spent caring for other family members or those 133 134 with health problems was also recorded, along with the presence of any dependent children

(Ramsay, Grundy et al. 2013, O'Reilly, Connolly et al. 2008). We also sought to adjust for
variation in family living arrangements between urban and rural areas (McCann, Grundy et al.
2014), recording the presence of other adults in the household who may provide support for
the bereaved.

139 **Definition of urban and rural areas**

140 Although there is no universally agreed definition of what constitutes an 'urban' or 'rural' area, 141 the official classification in Northern Ireland (NISRA 2005) uses an approach based on 142 population size, density and access to services to group small population tracts of about 300 143 people into eight settlement bands ranging from the largest, the Metropolitan Area of Belfast 144 (comprising c.580,000 people); to a band representing settlements of less than 1000 people and 145 open countryside. Cohort members were allocated to settlement bands based on place of 146 residence on Census day. Our cohort was unequally distributed among the eight settlement 147 bands (95,714 couples in Belfast compared with 12,307 in villages; Supplementary Materials, 148 Table S1), reducing the power of our analyses to detect temporal trends for the smaller bands 149 and so we re-categorised the bands into three similarly sized groups; urban – comprising the largest two cities; intermediate - combining large, medium, and small towns and intermediate 150 151 areas, and rural as above.

152 Analytical methods

153 The primary outcome measure was all-cause mortality during follow-up on a chronological age 154 timescale. We estimated mortality rates using a Cox proportional hazards model to obtain 155 hazard ratios (HRs) and 95% confidence intervals (CIs), adjusting for age and all measured 156 characteristics of the household and of the individual (but not of the spouse). Baseline hazards 157 of mortality for men and women are known to be quite different (especially with respect to 158 age) and so separate models were fitted for each sex, rather than a single more complex model 159 with a large number of interaction terms. As a result, between sex comparisons of effect sizes 160 are indirect. A piecewise structure (five time periods) allowed for changes in baseline mortality 161 rates during follow-up as the cohort aged. Recognising that participant characteristics may 162 change during follow-up (e.g. health status improving or declining), we used statistical tests to 163 determine which covariates should be treated as time-varying and which time-invariant. We 164 tested whether there was a significant interaction between each covariate and time period 165 (Likelihood ratio test comparing models with and without a time interaction) using the whole 166 cohort. Covariates selected for subsequent models whose effects were allowed to vary over 167 time were: economic activity, car access (males only); household size, housing tenure (females 168 only); caregiving status, long-term limiting illness, general health (both sexes), with the 169 remaining covariates treated as time-invariant.

170 Time since widowhood was included as a time-varying covariate in all models and we 171 conducted two separate analyses, first dividing widowhood into early (< 6 months) and later (6 172 months to 8.7 years) stages. The six month division was selected based on preliminary analysis 173 of the widowhood curve and the approach of previous studies which have identified the first six months as the period of highest risk, associated with shock and acute grief. The effects of 174 175 changing health behaviours and instrumental support deficits are of greater importance at later 176 stages (Martikainen, Valkonen 1996, Stroebe, Schut et al. 2007, Lusyne, Page et al. 2001, 177 Manor, Eisenbach 2003). To determine whether the effect of each stage of widowhood varied 178 with rurality, we compared models with and without interactions between widowhood duration 179 and rurality (using likelihood ratio tests). The effect of living arrangements (whether couples 180 were living with other adults at baseline) was tested in a similar manner (i.e. testing for 181 interaction between living arrangements and widowhood duration).

In the second analysis widowhood duration was further divided at 1, 3, 6 and 12 months and then annually post-bereavement to determine the trajectory of the widowhood effect. We also conducted a sensitivity analysis to determine whether three-way categorisation of settlement bands masked variability among bands, performing separate analyses for each of the eight bands. All analyses were conducted in Stata version 12 (StataCorp, College Station, Texas).

187 **RESULTS**

Summary statistics describing the population at baseline (Table 1) showed that those widowed were older on average than non-widows and hence more likely to have poor health, lower levels of education, be economically inactive and live in smaller households with fewer dependent children. There was no difference between groups or consistent urban/rural gradient in the proportion of couples living with other adults (Table S1).

The relative effects of each stage of widowhood varied significantly among areas (likelihood ratio tests for interaction between duration and rurality: men, P = 0.008; women P = 0.061). Men in urban, intermediate and rural areas had significantly increased hazard of mortality in the first six months of widowhood compared with those that were not widowed (HRs: 1.25 in urban areas, 1.50 in rural and intermediate areas, Table 2). Excess mortality increased again at 198 the later stages (>6 months) of widowhood for men in urban areas but not in intermediate or 199 rural areas where the mortality differentials decreased.

Among women, the pattern of responses to widowhood across areas in the first six months was similar to that observed among men (i.e. elevated mortality risk in each area but a much smaller increase in urban areas). In all areas the mortality differential between widows and non-widows decreased in the later stages of widowhood. The largest sustained elevation in risk was in intermediate areas followed by urban areas (HRs of 1.22 and 1.09 respectively) with no significant difference remaining in rural areas (Table 2).

206 These effects were reflected in the trajectories of the widowhood effects for each group over 207 time (Figure 1). In rural areas the large initial spike in relative mortality (HRs in the first month 208 1.71 and 1.67 for men and women respectively) dissipated by the end of the first year of 209 widowhood and a similar trajectory was observed in intermediate areas. Women in urban areas 210 suffered a modest initial increase in mortality (HR of 1.11 during the first month) but there was 211 no sustained elevation in mortality risk after the first year of widowhood (Figure 1). In contrast, 212 men in urban areas showed a greater relative initial increase in mortality risk than women (HR 213 = 1.38 in first month) but the effect persisted and appeared to increase slightly in magnitude 214 during subsequent years. Sensitivity analysis revealed that trajectories of mortality risk were 215 similar across settlement bands within each of the (three-way) urban/rural area classifications although there was considerable uncertainty around risk estimates in bands comprising less 216 217 than 20,000 couples (not shown – available on request).

Mortality risks for couples living with other adults were elevated compared with couples not living with others at baseline (fully adjusted models, all areas combined, HRs and 95% CIs: men, 1.11 [1.08, 1.14]; women, 1.10 [1.05, 1.14]). However, living with other adults was not associated with variation in responses to widowhood for either sex in any area (Likelihood ratio tests for interaction between living arrangements and widowhood duration split at six months, all tests P > 0.05, Table S2).

224 **DISCUSSION**

Our estimates of the increase in mortality risk following widowhood are consistent with those found across multiple studies in developed countries (Shor, Roelfs et al. 2012). In intermediate areas, the pattern that we observed of high excess mortality within the early stages of widowhood followed by decreased but still elevated risk in the later stages is very similar to 229 that reported in both Scotland and Finland (Boyle, Feng et al. 2010, Martikainen, Valkonen 230 1996). However, neither the rapid attenuation of the widowhood effect among the rural 231 bereaved, matching that of non-widows within a year, nor the increasing magnitude of the 232 effect over time among urban dwelling men, have been observed previously. Urban/rural 233 differentials in the widowhood effect remained after adjusting for a wide range of individual 234 predictors that have been associated with variation in mortality risk (e.g. age, social class, 235 health status) but have been frequently overlooked in studies of widowhood (Moon, Kondo et 236 al. 2011). These findings highlight the importance of both individual-level predictors and social 237 context as predictors of health outcomes in Ireland (Tay, Kelleher et al. 2004).

238 In the later stages of widowhood, we found a decreasing trend in magnitude of the widowhood 239 effect from urban to rural areas among men and from intermediate to rural areas among women. 240 These results are consistent with our prediction that the widowhood effect would be less 241 pronounced over the long-term in rural areas in comparison with more densely populated areas 242 and provide support for our hypothesis that the effect is attenuated by greater social integration. 243 However, the urban-rural gradient may also be a proxy for other factors which influence the 244 widowhood effect. For example, residential proximity to green spaces has been associated with 245 less severe declines in general and mental health following stressful life events (van den Berg, Maas et al. 2010) which might eventually manifest as area-specific variation in mortality risk. 246 247 Furthermore, the effects of proximity to green space on some health outcomes are sex-specific; a UK based study of urban residents found that mortality risk from cardiovascular and 248 249 respiratory disease decreased with increased access to green space among men but no such 250 association was found among women (Richardson, Mitchell 2010). One explanation for this 251 difference in that proximity to green space encourages regular physical activity among men, 252 but that perceived safety concerns and other social barriers may prevent women from deriving 253 the same health benefits. Similarly, sex-specific differences in the long-term trajectory of the 254 widowhood effect along the urban-rural gradient may be due to differential influence of the 255 residential and occupational environment on levels of physical activity of men and women. 256 Specifically, a recent systematic review (Stahl, Schulz 2014) found limited evidence for an 257 association between bereavement and reduced levels of physical activity (both sports and other 258 leisure activities) among men but not among women. A reduction in physical activity and hence 259 cardiovascular health may partially explain the increased mortality risk for men in urban areas 260 during later stages of widowhood. A similar drop in activity may not have occurred among 261 rural widowers because in these areas manual occupations (particularly farming) are more 262 common and so levels of occupational physical activity remain high. In rural parts of Northern 263 Ireland continued engagement in the workforce past normal retirement age is relatively 264 common and may maintain greater social integration among older men than would occur in 265 urban areas (Heenan 2010), potentially contributing to the observed urban-rural differences in 266 the widowhood effect.

267 Urban-rural variation in access to medical care might also have influenced mortality risk among 268 the bereaved; greater distances to primary care services may have discouraged health check 269 attendance of rural residents around the time of bereavement, increasing mortality risk from 270 pre-existing conditions (Shah, Carey et al. 2013). This may explain why the widowhood effect 271 was greater in rural and intermediate than in urban areas during the first six months but it is 272 more difficult to envisage how it might explain the sustained increases in risk among urban but 273 not among rural men. In contrast with the urban-rural differences, presence of other adults was 274 not associated with a decrease in the widowhood effect. This is surprising as during the early 275 stages of bereavement family members are likely to have the most frequent interactions with 276 the bereaved. One hypothesis is that members of the household and the wider community have 277 differing influences on health outcomes of widowed people and that sources of effective social 278 support are situation specific (Thoits 2011). A synthesis of 50 studies of the association 279 between social support and mortality (not at times of bereavement), showed that perceived 280 social support from family members is more beneficial for reducing mortality risk than support from friends (Shor, Roelfs et al. 2013). However, widowhood presents a particular set of 281 282 emotional challenges and there is evidence that bereaved people find contact with friends 283 promotes emotional well-being and decreases loneliness to a greater extent than contact with 284 family, perhaps because friends freely choose to interact with the bereaved and are less likely 285 to initiate contact out of obligation (Utz, Swenson et al. 2013, de Vries, Utz et al. 2013). This 286 potentially explains why urban/rural variation, which may indicate interaction with the wider 287 community, was associated with the widowhood effect whilst household composition which is 288 likely to indicate contact with family members was not. A similar distinction between 289 household and broader community effects relates to care provision for older people in Northern 290 Ireland; living with children and rural residence were independently associated with lower risk 291 of care home admission among older people (McCann, Grundy et al. 2014). Furthermore, an 292 Australian study found that a high degree of social integration with friends was associated with 293 increased survival among older people but the same relationship was not evident for contact 294 with relatives (Giles, Glonek et al. 2005). Finally, the role of family members in supporting the

bereaved may have been obscured in our study because living with others may not accurately represent the support available. A recent meta-analysis revealed that structural measures of social relationships including indicators of residential status are more weakly associated with mortality than more complex measures which also incorporate levels of perceived or received support (Holt-Lunstad, Smith et al. 2010).

300 A limitation to our study was that covariates were only measured at baseline (the 2001 Census) 301 so discrepancies between observed and true values are likely to have increased over time, 302 potentially obscuring associations with the widowhood effect. Self-reported health status is 303 most likely to have changed during follow up, especially amongst older widowed groups, and 304 we attempted to adjust for this by using time-varying effects in our survival models where 305 necessary. This consideration also applies to living arrangements; people may have chosen to 306 move in with others post-bereavement and propensity to move may have varied along the 307 urban/rural gradient. Area of residence may also have changed and in Northern Ireland there 308 has been a net migration from deprived to more affluent areas, typically from cities to the 309 surrounding hinterland, with migrants more likely to be affluent than non-migrants (O'Reilly, 310 Stevenson 2003), and to possess better long term health prospects. The widowhood effect is 311 more pronounced in groups with these characteristics (Shah, Carey et al. 2012) and so selective migration during follow-up could have biased downwards our estimates of the widowhood 312 313 effect in urban areas. However, migration over large distances is rare (2.9% of the population 314 move between postcode sectors annually - O'Reilly, Stevenson 2003) and is less common at 315 the ages where most widowhood occurs. As our urban/rural classification did not require 316 adjustment as a time-varying effect we expect any associated bias to be minor.

317 The Northern Ireland Mortality Study incorporates baseline measurements of marital status and 318 subsequent deaths but not other vital events including divorce and remarriage. Some of the 319 couples in our sample may have been no longer married when the first death occurred, leaving 320 the surviving partner unlikely to suffer the widowhood effect (Elwert, Christakis 2008). The 321 inclusion of this group might bias our estimates of widowhood effect downwards by increasing 322 average mortality rates in the non-widowed group (divorce is also associated with elevated 323 mortality rates - Berntsen, Kravdal 2012, Waite 1995). Any bias is likely to be small because 324 the magnitude of the 'divorce effect' is similar to the widowhood effect (Shor, Roelfs et al. 325 2012, Rendall, Weden et al. 2011). Also, divorce rates amongst the over 60s (the majority of 326 our sample) are likely to be relatively low, as indicated by age-specific rates in comparable 327 populations in England and Wales (Office of National Statistics 2011).

328 The modelled variables spanned a wide range of factors likely to influence mortality risk, 329 including measures of self-reported health not usually available for a cohort of this size but it 330 is possible that the observed patterns was driven by variation in an unobserved covariate (e.g. 331 smoking status), a limitation common to many other observational studies of this type. 332 Similarly, urban/rural residence may not accurately reflect received support at the community 333 level (impracticable to measure at large scales, requiring surveys of visits received etc.) and so 334 other interpretations of our results are possible. For example, the observed urban/rural 335 differences may be due to an alternative mechanism, perhaps differences in attitudes to 336 mortality across the urban/rural divide. In Northern Ireland, death is a much larger part of life 337 in rural areas than in cities; news of a death travels fast, attendance at wakes and funerals of 338 even distant acquaintances is expected and these events are important forums for community 339 interaction, aside from providing comfort for the bereaved. As a result, rural funerals tend to 340 be larger than those in urban areas and the considerable stress of mourning in a more prominent 341 setting may contribute towards the larger initial spike in mortality risk that we observed in rural 342 and intermediate compared with in urban areas.

343 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we found pronounced urban/rural differences in the effects of widowhood on 344 345 mortality risk. In urban, rural and intermediate areas we found that in the early stages of widowhood (< 6 months) all groups had elevated risks of mortality but the effect was much 346 347 less pronounced among urban dwellers. In later stages the effect dissipated for rural dwellers 348 and to some extent for intermediate dwellers and urban dwelling women but not for urban 349 dwelling men who remained at a higher risk of mortality than their married counterparts for 350 many years. These effects may be attributable to the positive influence of greater social 351 integration of widowed people into the wider community in rural compared with more densely 352 populated areas. Urban-dwelling men at later stages of widowhood appear to have the greatest 353 need for community support and efforts to increase integration into the wider community might 354 bring considerable benefits for this group.

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COR

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500 TABLES

Table 1. Baseline characteristics of married couples in Northern Ireland, 2001, by widowhood (2001-2009) and sex.

	Males	Widowers	Females	Widows		
Cohort (no)	283 685	12 440	270 744	25 381		
Deaths	25 447	2,658	12,506	2,962		
Person years at risk	2 428 777	44 961 25	2 428 777	101 339 5		
Annual mortality risk (%)	1 05	5 91	0.51	2.92		
A ge $-$ mean (SD)	499(137)	664(121)	46 9 (12 8)	64 7 (11 3)		
Economic activity ^a	19.9 (19.7)	00.1 (12.1)	10.9 (12.0)	01.7 (11.5)		
Economic derivity	49.28	17 97	50.63	17.22		
Self employed	18.13	8 20	4 63	1 98		
Unemployed	2 90	1.75	1.05	0.54		
Inactive	2.90	44.05	/1.08	60.46		
A god 75+	5 10	28.03	2 10	10.40		
Social class (NS-SEC) ^a	5.10	20.05	2.19	19.00		
Professional	32.06	19.08	28.81	15.63		
Intermediate	6.09	4.24	17.13	11.15		
Small employers/self employed	18.44	11.47	4.93	3.59		
Lower supervisory	7.20	6.22	4.53	3.72		
(Semi) routine	28.50	28.20	37.60	38.20		
Never worked/Long term	2.62	2.74	4.82	7.92		
unemployed/full-time student						
Education ^a						
No qualifications	47.02	53 49	40 14	58 61		
Foundation level	14 11	4 16	17.86	6.03		
GCSEs	10.83	5.05	17.00	8.15		
2 + A - I evels	4 94	1.58	6 71	1 94		
First degree	11 77	5 21	11.36	4 22		
Higher degree	6.24	2 48	4 29	1.22		
Car access	0.24	2.40	7.27	1.25		
None	6.76	18.22	6.05	10.03		
None	0.70 13.50	56.06	12 16	54.20		
	43.39	25.70	43.10	J4.29 25.78		
III I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	49.03	23.12	50.79	23.78		
Housing tenure	07.00		07.76	70.16		
Owner occupied	87.39	/6.6/	8/./6	/8.16		
Privately rented	4.02	4.49	3.98	4.73		
Social rented	8.59	18.83	8.26	17.11		
Long term limiting illness						
Yes	23.73	44.34	21.56	43.34		
No	76.27	55.66	78.44	56.66		
General health						
Good	64 78	42.67	63 11	39 44		
Fair	22 72	36.46	23.99	37.69		
Not good	12 50	20.87	12.9	22.88		
Unnaid carer	12.50	20.07	12.)	22.00		
None	84 93	73 1	79 33	72 41		
1-10 hours	9.60	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	12.63	7.96		
	9.00	1.12	12.05	1.90		
20-49 hours	1.93	4.08	3.12	4.05		
50+ hours	3.54	15.10	4.93	15.57		
Dependent children	40 ==	07.45	46.00	00.50		
None	48.77	87.45	46.82	88.53		
One	16.59	6.42	17.11	6.01		

Two	20.16	3.73	20.99	3.24
Three+	14.48	2.40	15.08	2.23
Other adults in household				
No	71.73	70.92	71.81	70.52
Yes	28.27	29.08	28.19	29.48
Country of birth				
Northern Ireland	89.96	89.72	89.55	90.01
England	4.45	3.96	3.87	2.90
Scotland	1.24	1.58	1.13	1.11
Wales	0.26	0.27	0.17	0.20
Republic of Ireland	2.38	3.55	3.45	4.63
Ireland (place not specified)	0.16	0.13	0.14	0.12
Other	1.55	0.79	1.69	1.02
Religion (community background)			۲	
Roman Catholic	36.87	32.43	38.61	32.08
Presbyterian	26.66	28.84	25.90	30.07
Church of Ireland	18.46	21.91	18.44	21.66
Methodist	4.53	5.14	4.57	5.44
Other Christian	10.88	9.98	10.41	9.40
Other/none	2.61	1.70	2.07	1.35
Rurality				
Urban	36.4	43.4	36.2	41.7
Intermediate	22 (222	22.0	217
Intermediate	33.0	32.2	55.0	51.7

501 Abbreviation: SD, standard deviation.

Percentage of cases in each cohort at baseline given for categorical variables. 502

^a Economic activity, social class and education variables have the same percentage of cases 503

with participants aged 75+. Percentages listed for economic activity only. 504

	Men	Women		
Rurality	< 6 months	\geq 6 months	< 6 months	\geq 6 months
Urban	1.25 (1.07, 1.47)	1.35 (1.26, 1.44)	1.24 (1.06, 1.46)	1.09 (1.01, 1.17)
Intermediate	1.50 (1.25, 1.80)	1.22 (1.13, 1.33)	1.57 (1.31, 1.87)	1.22 (1.12, 1.33)
Rural	1.50 (1.22, 1.85)	1.09 (0.99, 1.21)	1.49 (1.21, 1.84)	1.06 (0.96, 1.17)

Table 2. Effect of widowhood on hazard of mortality by rurality and temporal stage of widowhood, Northern Ireland, 2001-2009.

507

508 HRs and 95% CIs given for each group (compared with the non-widowed). Separate models

509 fitted for each sex and rurality classification, adjusted for age, economic activity, social class,

510 education, household size and car access, housing tenure, health status (general health and

511 limiting long-term illness), presence of others in household (both dependent children and non-

512 dependents), country of birth and religion.

FIGURES 514

515 Figure 1. Effect of time since bereavement (HR and 95% CIs) on hazard of mortality for widowed people compared with those not widowed, Northern Ireland, 2001-2009. Separate 516 517 models fitted for each sex and rurality classification, adjusted for age, economic activity, social 518 class, education, household size and car access, housing tenure, health status (general health 519 and limiting long-term illness), presence of others in household (both dependent children and 520 other adults), country of birth and religion. First eight years of bereavement shown. Log scale.



523 SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Table S1. Proportion of couples living with other adults by settlement band, Northern Ireland, 2001.

,	Couples	Living with other adults (%)
Settlement band		
A – Belfast	95 714	26.23
B – Derry	12 909	33.91
C – Large towns	39 100	26.69
D – Medium towns	16 943	27.35
E – Small towns	18 602	24.27
F – Intermediate settlements	12 458	25.00
G – Villages	12 307	26.53
H – Rural	88 092	32.20

524

Ireland, 2001-2009.				
	Men	Women		
Rurality	HR	LRT interaction <i>P</i>	HR	LRT interaction <i>P</i>
Urban	1.10 (1.05, 1.15)	0.216	1.10 (1.03, 1.17)	0.464
Intermediate	1.12 (1.06, 1.18)	0.821	1.16 (1.08, 1.24)	0.654
Rural	1.11 (1.05, 1.17)	0.880	1.08 (1.00, 1.17)	0.117

Table S2. Effect of living with others adults on hazard of mortality by rurality, Northern Ireland, 2001-2009.

527

HRs and 95% CIs given for each group (compared with those living with a spouse only). Separate models fitted for each sex and rurality classification, adjusted for age, economic activity, social class, education, household size and car access, housing tenure, health status (general health and limiting long-term illness), presence of dependent children, country of birth and religion. Likelihood ratio tests compared models in which the effect of living with others was allowed to vary with stage of widowhood (< 6 months, \geq 6 months) with models in which there was no such interaction.