Mortality

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Outline

- Introduction
- Measurement of mortality
 - Standardization
 - Life table
- Short history of mortality in the world
- Mortality trends and causes of death
- Mortality and longevity in the United States
- Infant mortality
- Future course of mortality



Introduction

- The impact of mortality varies significantly according to social and demographic characteristics
 - Age
 - Sex
 - Race/ethnicity
 - Social class
 - Marital status
 - Area of residence
- Levels of development, medical conditions, and a host of other factors influence life expectancy

Changes in causes of death

- There have been major changes over the historical record in the main causes of death
- People used to die mainly of infectious and parasitic diseases
- Today the major causes of death in developed countries are heart disease, cancer, and stroke
- Major causes of death are different in countries with high and low levels of life expectancy





Measurement of mortality

- Quantification of mortality is central to demography
- Measurement of mortality dates back to John Graunt (1620–1674) and his analyses of the "Bills of Mortality"
- Mortality refers to the relative frequency of death in a population



Two concepts of mortality

• Life span

- Numerical age limit of human life
- Maximum recorded age at death
- 122 years and 164 days, lived by the Frenchwoman Jeanne Louise Calment

- Life expectancy
 - Average expected number of years of life to be lived by a particular population at a given time



Crude death rate

- Crude death rate (*CDR*)
 CDR = *d* / *p* * 1,000
 - d: deaths in the year
 - p: population at midyear
- Data for the United States for 2013
 CDR = 2,596,993 / 316,497,531 * 1,000
 CDR = 8.2
- World range of *CDR* in 2014
 - United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Qatar = 1
 - Lesotho = 21



CDR and age composition

- When *CDR*s are compared among countries, differences are sometimes due to differences in age composition
 - Previous examples mean that there are 8 times more deaths per 1,000 people in the US than in the UAE
 - Why is the CDR of the US eight times higher than of the UAE?
 - The main reason is that the UAE is much younger in average age than is the U.S.
 - Younger people have lower death rates



Young and old people

- Countries with
 - Large proportions of young people
 - Small proportions of old people
 - Usually have lower CDRs

- Countries with
 - Small proportions of young people
 - Large proportions of old people
 - Usually have higher CDRs



Changing age structure

- If age structure has changed over time
 - CDRs should not be used to compare the death experiences of the same population at different points in time
- US CDR did not change much in 54 years
 - $-CDR_{1960} = 9.5 \text{ per } 1,000$

 $-CDR_{2014} = 8.2 \text{ per } 1,000$

- *CDR* is not capable of capturing the reduction in mortality when the population becomes older
 - The US became older between 1960 and 2014
 - Median age: 29 in 1960 and 37 in 2014



Crude rate

• *CDR* is a crude rate, because its denominator comprises the entire population

 However, population members are not equally at risk of experiencing death

• Risk of death varies by age, sex, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and others

Death rates vary considerably by age...



Age-specific death rates

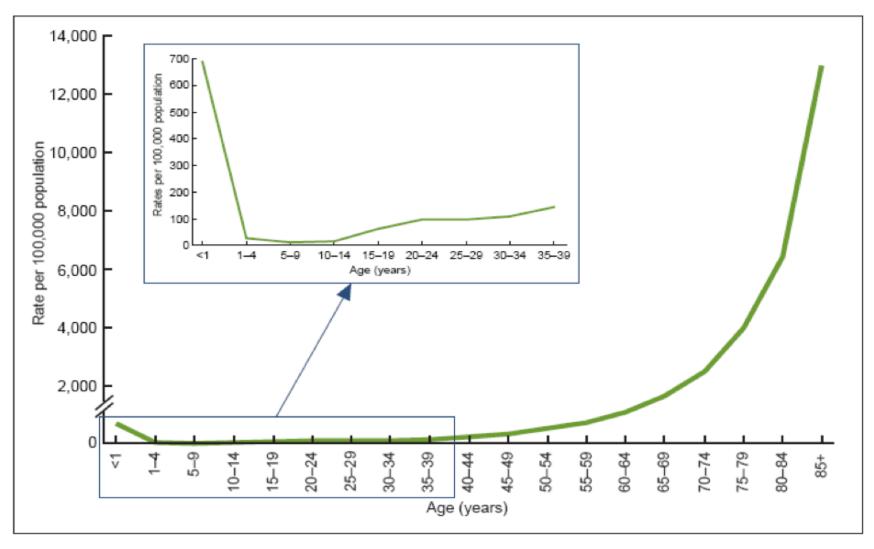
- Demographers use age-specific death rates as a more precise way to measure mortality
- Age-specific death rate $(_n ASDR_x \text{ or }_n M_x)$

$$_{n}M_{x} = _{n}d_{x} / _{n}p_{x} * 1,000$$

- $-_n d_x$: deaths to persons aged x to x+n
- $-_n p_x$: persons in the population who are aged x to x+n
- -n: width of the age group
- x: initial year of the age group
- For instance, ASDR for age group 15–19 is $_5M_{15}$



Age curve of mortality, US, 2007



Source: Minino, et al., 2009: 2.



Standardization

- *nASDR_x*, and not *CDR*, should be used to compare the mortality experiences of countries with different age compositions
 - We use standardization to take into account age composition when we compare death rates among different countries
 - We can compare crude death rates for different countries or years
 - We need to adjust for differences in age structure
 - We estimate age-adjusted death rates and apply to a standard population



Mortality and fertility

- We cannot simply add up _nASDR_x and multiply by the width of the age interval
 - People die just once

 This makes sense for age-specific fertility rates (*nASFR_x*) and total fertility rates (*TFR*)

$$TFR = \sum (_{n} ASFR_{x} * n)$$

- *n*: width of the age group
- Women can have more than one child



Age standardization

- Young populations tend to have low CDRs
- Old populations tend to have high CDRs
- We estimate a variation of *CDR* that allows us to account for age composition when comparing death rates among different countries

$$CDR = \Sigma_n ASDR_x * ({}_n P_x / P) * 1,000$$

- P: total population
- ${}_{n}P_{x}$: population in age group x
- $_n ASDR_x$: ASDR for people aged x to x+n



United States, 2006

Age group	Population	Prop. population	Deaths	Age-specific
				death rate (ASDR)
0-1	4,147,760	0.0139	27,126	0.00654
1-4	16,352,320	0.0548	4,742	0.00029
5-9	20,142,000	0.0675	2,820	0.00014
10-14	21,454,960	0.0719	3,862	0.00018
15-19	21,604,160	0.0724	13,827	0.00064
20-24	20,947,680	0.0702	19,062	0.00091
25-29	20,022,640	0.0671	18,020	0.00090
30-34	20,261,360	0.0679	21,477	0.00106
35-39	21,067,040	0.0706	32,233	0.00153
40-44	22,857,440	0.0766	52,801	0.00231
45-49	22,588,880	0.0757	77,028	0.00341
50-54	20,142,000	0.0675	99,300	0.00493
55-59	17,158,000	0.0575	127,312	0.00742
60-64	13,040,080	0.0437	149,961	0.01150
65-69	10,115,760	0.0339	180,061	0.01780
70-74	8,474,560	0.0284	234,830	0.02771
75-79	7,400,320	0.0248	321,914	0.04350
80-84	5,580,080	0.0187	388,262	0.06958
85-89	3,192,880	0.0107	353,005	0.11056
90-94	1,342,800	0.0045	234,681	0.17477
95-99	387,920	0.0013	107,283	0.27656
100+	89,520	0.0003	39,292	0.43892
Total	298,400,000	0.9999	2,508,899	1.20116



8.41

Venezuela, 2006

487,056 1,779,200 2,308,512 2,275,152	0.0219 0.0800 0.1038	7,905 1,139	death rate (ASDR) 0.01623
1,779,200 2,308,512	0.0800		
2,308,512		1,139	0.00004
	0 1038		0.00064
2 275 152	0.1000	739	0.00032
2,210,102	0.1023	933	0.00041
2,250,688	0.1012	3,286	0.00146
2,057,200	0.0925	4,896	0.00238
1,872,608	0.0842	4,138	0.00221
1,614,624	0.0726	3,278	0.00203
1,530,112	0.0688	3,290	0.00215
1,401,120	0.0630	4,049	0.00289
1,145,360	0.0515	4,707	0.00411
971,888	0.0437	5,520	0.00568
769,504	0.0346	5,964	0.00775
558,224	0.0251	6,548	0.01173
400,320	0.0180	7,514	0.01877
302,464	0.0136	8,584	0.02838
215,728	0.0097	9,212	0.04270
117,872	0.0053	8,877	0.07531
53,376	0.0024	6,816	0.12769
15,568	0.0007	3,241	0.20820
2,224	0.0001	724	0.32576
2,224	0.0001	1,089	0.48975
22,240,000	0.9951	102,449	1.37655
	2,275,152 2,250,688 2,057,200 1,872,608 1,614,624 1,530,112 1,401,120 1,145,360 971,888 769,504 558,224 400,320 302,464 215,728 117,872 53,376 15,568 2,224 2,224	$\begin{array}{rrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrrr$	$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

CDR per 1,000

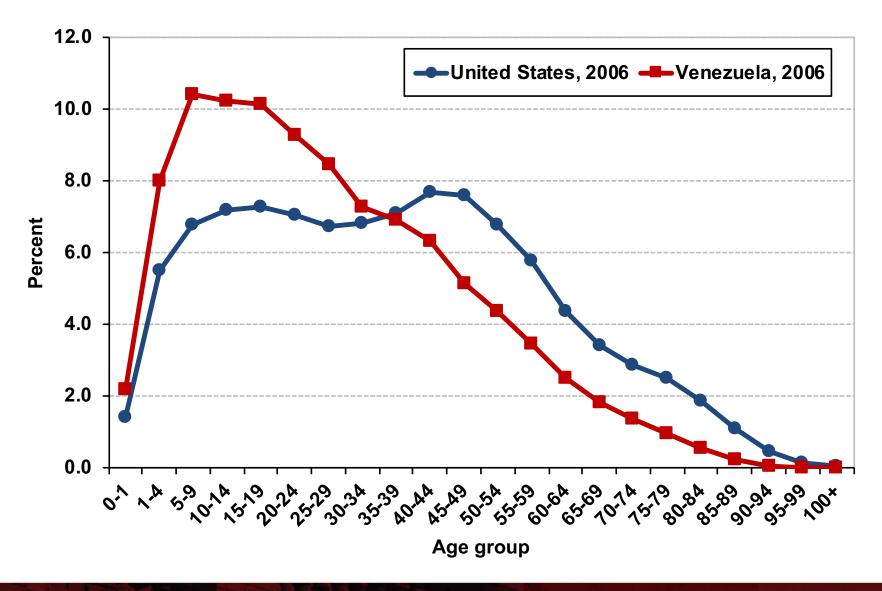


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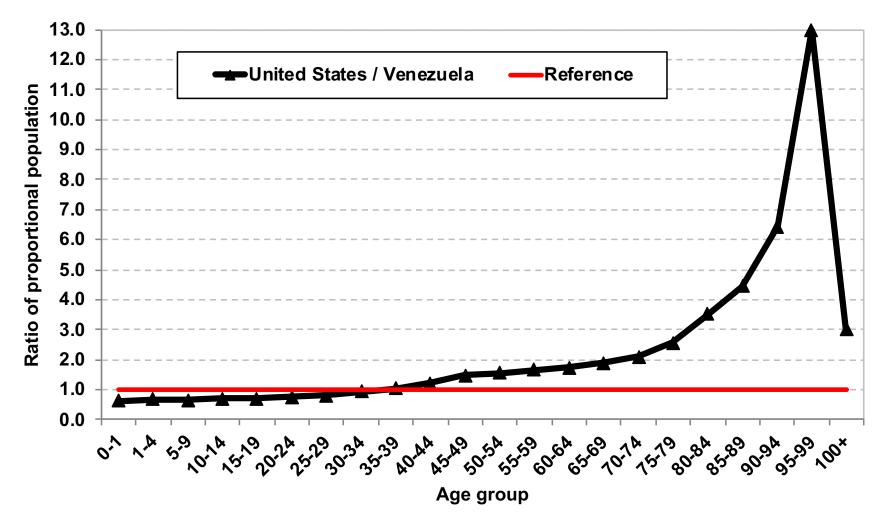
Population distribution by country

Age group	United States	Venezuela	Ratio	
Age group	(%)	(%)	United States / Venezuela	
0-1	1.39	2.19	0.63	
1-4	5.48	8.00	0.69	
5-9	6.75	10.38	0.65	The LLC has
10-14	7.19	10.23	0.70	 The U.S. has
15-19	7.24	10.12	0.72	an older
20-24	7.02	9.25	0.76	
25-29	6.71	8.42	0.80	population
30-34	6.79	7.26	0.94	
35-39	7.06	6.88	1.03	than
40-44	7.66	6.30	1.22	Vapazuolo
45-49	7.57	5.15	1.47	Venezuela
50-54	6.75	4.37	1.54	
55-59	5.75	3.46	1.66	
60-64	4.37	2.51	1.74	This is
65-69	3.39	1.80	1.88	111313
70-74	2.84	1.36	2.09	causing
75-79	2.48	0.97	2.56	0
80-84	1.87	0.53	3.53	$CDR_{US} > CDR_{VE}$
85-89	1.07	0.24	4.46	05 02 WE
90-94	0.45	0.07	6.43	
95-99	0.13	0.01	13.00	
100+	0.03	0.01	3.00	ā līv
Total	99.99	99.51	1.00	

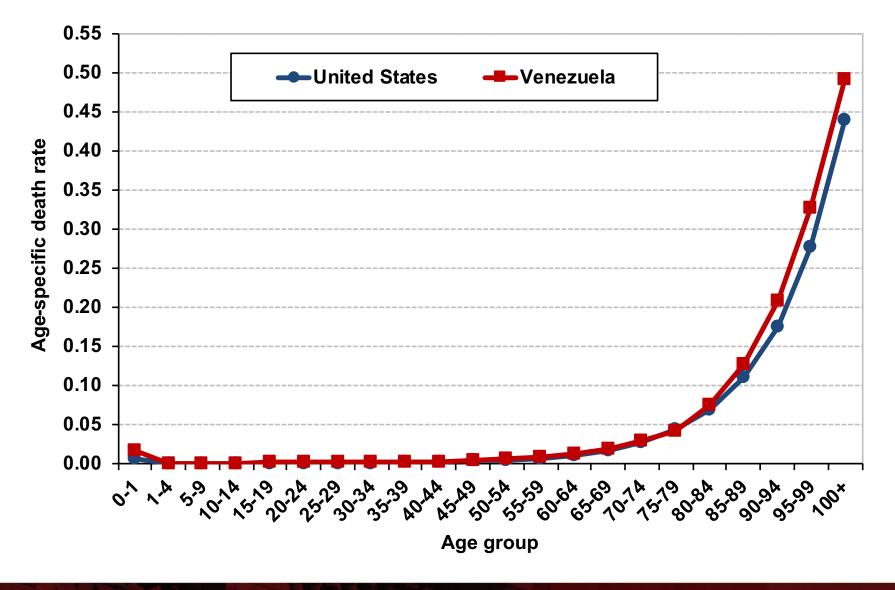
Age structure



The U.S. has an older population than Venezuela



Age-specific death rates, 2006



Standardize Venezuela's CDR

Standardization	Venezuela	United States	Venezuela's rates times	
Age group	(observed rates)	(standard prop. population)	U.S. prop. population	
0-1	0.01623	0.0139	0.0002	
1-4	0.00064	0.0548	0.0000	
5-9	0.00032	0.0675	0.0000	
10-14	0.00041	0.0719	0.0000	
15-19	0.00146	0.0724	0.0001	
20-24	0.00238	0.0702	0.0002	
25-29	0.00221	0.0671	0.0001	
30-34	0.00203	0.0679	0.0001	
35-39	0.00215	0.0706	0.0002	
40-44	0.00289	0.0766	0.0002	
45-49	0.00411	0.0757	0.0003	
50-54	0.00568	0.0675	0.0004	
55-59	0.00775	0.0575	0.0004	
60-64	0.01173	0.0437	0.0005	
65-69	0.01877	0.0339	0.0006	
70-74	0.02838	0.0284	0.0008	
75-79	0.04270	0.0248	0.0011	
80-84	0.07531	0.0187	0.0014	
85-89	0.12769	0.0107	0.0014	
90-94	0.20820	0.0045	0.0009	
95-99	0.32576	0.0013	0.0004	
100+	0.48975	0.0003	0.0001	
Total		0.9999	0.0097	

CDR per 1,000



Another way... same results...

Standardization	United States	Venezuela	Venezuela	
Age group	(standard population)	(observed rates)	(standardized deaths)	
0-1	4,148,175	0.0162	67,325	
1-4	16,353,955	0.0006	10,467	
5-9	20,144,014	0.0003	6,446	
10-14	21,457,106	0.0004	8,797	
15-19	21,606,321	0.0015	31,545	
20-24	20,949,775	0.0024	49,860	
25-29	20,024,642	0.0022	44,254	
30-34	20,263,386	0.0020	41,135	
35-39	21,069,147	0.0022	45,299	
40-44	22,859,726	0.0029	66,065	
45-49	22,591,139	0.0041	92,850	
50-54	20,144,014	0.0057	114,418	
55-59	17,159,716	0.0078	132,988	
60-64	13,041,384	0.0117	152,975	
65-69	10,116,772	0.0188	189,892	
70-74	8,475,408	0.0284	240,532	
75-79	7,401,060	0.0427	316,025	
80-84	5,580,638	0.0753	420,278	
85-89	3,193,199	0.1277	407,740	
90-94	1,342,934	0.2082	279,599	
95-99	387,959	0.3258	126,381	
100+	89,529	0.4898	43,847	
Total	298,400,000		2,888,718	



9.68

CDR per 1,000

Comparing crude death rates

- CDR_{United States original}
- = 8.41 deaths per 1,000

- CDR_{Venezuela original}
- = 4.61 deaths per 1,000

- CDR_{Venezuela} standardized
- = 9.68 deaths per 1,000





Life table

 One of the most important and elegant measures of the mortality experiences of a population is the life table

 It dates back to John Graunt (1620–1674) and his "Bills of Mortality"

• Demographers use the life table to determine life expectancy, not only at birth but at any age



Important information from life table

• Like the total fertility rate (*TFR*), the life table is a synthetic or hypothetical measure

 It tells us how many years of life, on average, may a person expect to live if the person during his or her lifetime is subjected to the age-specific probabilities of dying of a particular country or population at a given time



Example: United States, 2010

 Let's say that the population of the U.S. in 2010 had a life expectancy of birth of 78.7 years

- This means that if a cohort of persons, throughout the years of their life, were subjected to the $ASDRs(_nM_x)$ of the total population in the U.S. in 2010
 - They would live, on average, 78.7 years



Examples of Life expectancy

 Life expectancy at birth is a primary indicator of quality of life

2013	Life expectancy		
2013	Male	Female	
World	69	73	
More developed countries	75	82	
Less developed countries (except China)	65	69	
Japan	80	86	
Lesotho	42	45	
Sierra Leone	45	46	

Limitations of *e*₀

- We need to be aware of the fact that when considering life expectancy at birth (*e*₀), infant mortality plays a very important role
- When *e*₀ is low, a major reason is their very high infant mortality rate
- When comparing values of life expectancy at birth across countries, we should not think of e₀ as a modal age at death



Abridged life table

 An abridged life table is calculated for age groups

• Usually for five-year age groups

• Rather than for single-year age groups



Radix and mortality probabilities

- A life table starts with a population (a radix) of 100,000 persons born alive at age 0
 - This number is arbitrary, but conventional
 - It can also be 1,000 or 1
- From each age to the next, the population is decremented according to age-specific mortality probabilities until all members have died
 - The mortality schedule is fixed and does not change over the life of the population

Life table for U.S. population, 2010

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Age range	$_{n}q_{x}$	l _x	$_{n}d_{x}$	$_{n}L_{x}$	T_x	e _x
<1	0.006123	100,000	612	99,465	7,866,027	78.7
1–4	0.001071	99,388	106	397,294	7,766,561	78.1
5–9	0.000573	99,281	57	496,250	7,369,267	74.2
10–14	0.000708	99,224	70	495,989	6,873,017	69.3
15–19	0.002463	99,154	244	495,240	6,377,028	64.3
20–24	0.004317	98,910	427	493,529	5,881,789	59.5
25–29	0.004791	98,483	472	491,249	5,388,260	54.7
30–34	0.005497	98,011	539	488,744	4,897,011	50.0
35–39	0.006913	97,472	674	485,753	4,408,267	45.2
40–44	0.009979	96,798	966	481,758	3,922,514	40.5
45–49	0.016044	95,833	1,538	475,584	3,440,756	35.9
50–54	0.024343	94,295	2,295	466,066	2,965,173	31.4
55–59	0.035106	92,000	3,230	452,347	2,499,106	27.2
60–64	0.049847	88,770	4,425	433,348	2,046,759	23.1
65–69	0.074406	84,345	6,276	406,912	1,613,411	19.1
70–74	0.112315	78,069	8,768	369,612	1,206,499	15.5
75–79	0.174782	69,301	12,113	317,694	836,886	12.1
80–84	0.274384	57,188	15,692	248,038	519,193	9.1
85–89	0.430820	41,497	17,878	162,723	271,155	6.5
90–94	0.615282	23,619	14,532	79,720	108,432	4.6
95–99	0.783397	9,087	7,119	24,670	29,212	3.2
100+	1.00000	1,968	1,968	4,542	4,542	2.3

Source: Arias (2014: 62).



Basic life table columns

- 1. Age intervals of each group
- 2. $_nq_x$: probability of dying between age x and age x+n
- 3. I_x : number of survivors at each age x
- 4. $_nd_x$: number of deaths between age x and age x+n
- 5. ${}_{n}L_{x}$: number of years lived by all persons who enter the age interval while in the age interval
- 6. T_x : number of years lived by the population in the age interval and in all subsequent intervals
- 7. e_x : remaining life expectancy at each age



1. Age intervals of each group

 Age groups refer to the range of years between two birthdays

• The age group 5–9 refers to the five-year interval between the fifth and the tenth birthdays



2. Probabilities of dying $(_nq_x)$

- The most basic column of the life time shows probabilities of dying for each age group $(_nq_x)$
 - These are probabilities that persons alive at the beginning of an age interval will die during the interval, before they reach the start of the next age interval

$$_{n}q_{x} = _{n}d_{x} / I_{x}$$

– For last age group, $_nq_x$ =1.0 because everybody dies



Rates and probabilities

• Difference between mortality rates $({}_{n}M_{x})$ and mortality probabilities $({}_{n}q_{x})$ is the denominator

• $_nM_x$: denominator is midyear population

nq_x: denominator is population alive at the beginning of the age interval



3. Number of survivors (I_x)

- Number of people alive at the beginning of the age interval (I_x)
 - Known as "the little I column"
- It is calculated by subtracting the number of people dying (*nd_x*) from the *I_x* value in the age interval immediately preceding the one being calculated
- Example of U.S. life table in 2010
 - Of the 99,224 people alive at the beginning of the age interval $10-14 (I_{10})$
 - 70 of them die during the age interval $({}_5d_{10})$
 - Thus, the value of I_{15} is 99,154 = 99,224 70



4. Number of deaths $(_n d_x)$

• Number of people who die during a particular age interval $({}_nd_x)$

$$_{n}d_{x} = I_{x} * _{n}q_{x}$$

• For the number of people who die during the age interval of 40–44

$${}_{5}d_{40} = {}_{5}q_{40} * I_{40}$$

 ${}_{5}d_{40} = 0.009979 * 96,798$
 ${}_{5}d_{40} = 966$

5. Years lived in age interval $({}_{n}L_{x})$

- Total number of years lived by all persons who enter that age interval while in the age interval $\binom{nL_x}{n}$
 - Known as "the big L column"
- Example of U.S. life table in 2010
 - 98,011 persons are alive at the beginning of age interval 30–34 (I_{30})
 - If none of them died during the age interval, they would have lived 490,055 years (98,011 times 5)
 - But 539 of them died $(_5d_{30})$



Different formulas for $_nL_x$

- Demographers assume that deaths are roughly distributed during the five-year period for many of the age intervals
- This assumption does not apply to the first few age intervals
 - There are several formulas to produce the nLx value for the first few age groups
- At the other age extreme, 100+ in the life table, another formula is used



6. Years lived in current and subsequent age intervals (T_x)

- Total number of years lived by the population in the age interval and in all subsequent age intervals (T_x)
 - We sum $_{n}L_{x}$ from the oldest age backwards to get T_{x}

$$T_x = \sum_{i=x}^{w} L_i$$

- L_i : entry *i* in the ${}_nL_x$ column - $\sum_{i=x}^{w}$: sum of the ${}_nL_x$ column starting at entry *x* through the last ${}_nL_x$ entry (*w*)



Example of T_x

• Example of U.S. life table in 2010

$$T_{95} = {}_5L_{95} + {}_5L_{100}$$

$$T_{95} = 24,670 + 4,542$$

$$T_{95} = 29,212$$



7. Remaining life expectancy (e_x)

- Average number of years of life remaining at the beginning of the age interval (*e_x*)
- It provides life expectancy at any age

$$e_x = T_x / I_x$$

• Example of U.S. life table in 2010

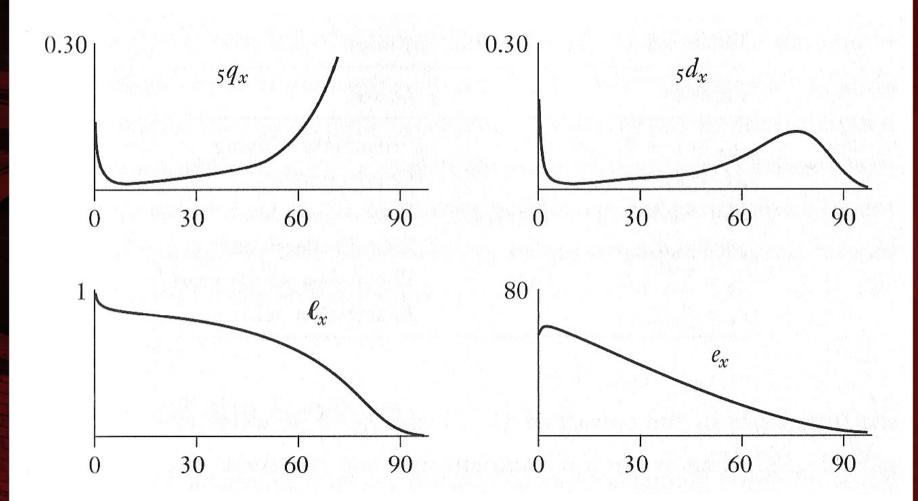
 $e_0 = T_0 / I_0 = 7,866,027 / 100,000 = 78.7$ $e_{25} = T_{25} / I_{25} = 5,388,260 / 98,483 = 54.7$

Persons aged 25–29 can expect to live an additional 54.7 years

Average age at death $(x + e_x)$

- *e_x* is the expectation of future life beyond age *x* It is not an average age at death
- We add *x* and *e_x* to obtain the average age at death for cohort members who survive to age *x*
 - Not all lifetables include $x + e_x$
 - The $x + e_x$ column always go up
- e_x does not always go down
 - It often goes up after the first few years of life, because babies who survive infancy are no longer subject to the high risks of infancy

Typical shapes of lifetable functions



Stable population

• Alfred Lotka (1880–1949) used life tables in the development of his stable population theory

- If a population that is closed to migration experiences constant schedules of age-specific fertility and mortality rates
 - It will develop a constant age distribution
 - It will grow at a constant rate, irrespective of its initial age distribution





Life table (extra)

- Estimate overall mortality of population
 - <u>Assumption</u>: age-specific rates for the period continue unchanged into the future
 - <u>Synthetic cohort</u>: imaginary cohort of new born babies would experience a life table from a specific period
 - Life expectancy: average age at death for a hypothetical cohort born in a particular year and being subjected to the risks of death experienced by people of all ages in that year



Life table, U.S. women, 2010

			Age-specific death rates in the interval	Probabilities of death (proportion of persons alive at beginning who die during interval	Of 100,000 hypothetical people born alive:		Number of years lived		Expectation of life	
Age interval	Number of females in the population	Number of deaths in the population			Number alive at beginning of interval	Number dying during age interval	In the age interval	In this and all subsequent age intervals	Average number of years of live remaining at beginning of age interval	
x to x + n	$_{n}P_{x}$	$_{n}D_{x}$	$_{n}M_{x}$	$_{n}q_{x}$	l_x	$_{n}d_{x}$	$_{n}L_{x}$	T_x	e_x	
Under 1	1,976,387	11,503	0.00582	0.005791	100,000	579	99,508	8,098,622	81.0	
1–4	7,905,548	1,976	0.00025	0.000999	99,421	99	397,445	7,999,114	80.5	
5–9	9,959,019	1,095	0.00011	0.000550	99,322	55	496,471	7,601,670	76.5	
10-14	10,097,332	1,313	0.00013	0.000650	99,267	65	496,173	7,105,199	71.6	
15-19	10,736,677	3,436	0.00032	0.001599	99,202	159	495,615	6,609,025	66.6	
20–24	10,571,823	4,757	0.00045	0.002247	99,044	223	494,662	6,113,410	61.7	
25-29	10,466,258	5,652	0.00054	0.002696	98,821	266	493,440	5,618,747	56.9	
30-34	9,965,599	6,876	0.00069	0.003444	98,555	339	491,925	5,125,308	52.0	
35-39	10,137,620	10,138	0.00100	0.004988	98,215	490	489,852	4,633,382	47.2	
40-44	10,496,987	17,005	0.00162	0.008067	97,725	788	486,656	4,143,531	42.4	
45–49	11,499,506	29,094	0.00253	0.012570	96,937	1,219	481,639	3,656,874	37.7	
90–94	1,023,979	165,495	0.16162	0.575549	29,621	17,048	105,484	148,164	5.0	
95–99	288,981	78,398	0.27129	0.808265	12,573	10,162	37,458	42,680	3.4	
100 +	44,202	20,403	0.46159	1.000000	2,411	2,411	5,222	5,222	2.2	



Probability of dying $(_nq_x)$

- Need to convert age-specific death rates (_nM_x) to probabilities of dying (_nq_x)
- Probability of death relates the number of deaths during any given number of years to the number of people who started out being alive and at risk of dying

 $_{n}q_{x} = (n)(_{n}M_{x}) / 1 + (a)(n)(_{n}M_{x})$

- (a)(n): average years lived per person by people dying in the interval. a=0.5 implies that deaths are distributed evenly over an age interval. For 0–1 age, a=0.85. For 1–4 age, a=0.60.
- For last group, q=1.0.



Number of deaths $(_n d_x)$ and alive (I_x)

- The life table assumes an initial population of 100,000 births (radix), which is subjected to the mortality schedule
 - Radix can also be 1
- Number of people dying during age interval $({}_nd_x)$ equals probability of death times number alive at beginning (I_x)

 ${}_nd_x=({}_nq_x)(l_x)$

 Subtracting those who died in the previous age interval gives the number of people still alive at the beginning of next age interval

$$I_{x+n} = I_x - {}_n d_x$$



Number of years lived $({}_nL_x)$

- Number of years lived $({}_{n}L_{x})$ has to consider that some people die before the end of the age interval
- The lower the death rates, more people will survive through an entire age interval

$$_{n}L_{x}=n(l_{x}-a_{n}d_{x})$$

 a: usually 0.5, which implies that deaths are distributed evenly over an age interval. For 0–1 age, a=0.85. For 1–4 age, a=0.60

• ${}_{n}L_{x}$ for the oldest, open-age interval

 $L_{100^+} = I_{100} \,/\, M_{100}$

- I_{100} : number of survivors to oldest age
- M_{100} : death rate at the oldest age



Cumulative number of years lived (T_x)

- Number of years lived are added up, cumulating from the oldest to the youngest ages
- Total number of years lived in a given age interval and all older age intervals (T_x)

$$T_x = T_{x+n} + {}_n L_x$$

• At the oldest age, T_x equals ${}_nL_x$



Life expectancy (e_x)

- Expectation of life is the average remaining lifetime
- It is the total years remaining to be lived at exact age x
- Division of total number of years lived (T_x) by number of people alive at that exact age (I_x)

$$e_x = T_x / I_x$$

• This index summarizes the level of mortality prevailing in a given population at a particular time



Probability of surviving (p_x)

Probability of surviving from birth to age x is designated p_x

$$p_x = I_x / I_0$$

 We can also estimate the probability of surviving from one particular age group to the subsequent age group



Crude death and birth rates

- Crude death rate (CDR) equals total number of deaths (I₀) divided by total population (T₀)
- Crude birth rate (CBR) equals total number of births (I₀) divided by total population (T₀)

 $CDR = CBR = I_0 / T_0 = 1 / (T_0 / I_0) = 1 / e_0$



Alternative interpretations

• **Synthetic cohort** (history of a hypothetical cohort)

- Lifetime mortality experience of a single cohort of newborn babies, who are subject to specific age-specific mortality rates
- Used in public health/mortality studies, calculation of survival rates for estimating population, fertility, net migration...

<u>Stationary population</u>

- Results from unchanging schedule of age-specific mortality rates and a constant annual number of births/deaths (radix)
- Used in the comparative measurement of mortality and in studies of population structure



Same interpretation

• x to x+n

- Period of life between two exact ages
- For instance, 20–25 means the 5-year interval between the 20th and 25th birthdays

n**q**x_

- Proportion of persons in the cohort alive at the beginning of an indicated age interval (x) who will die before reaching the end of that age interval (x+n)
- Probability that a person at his/her xth birthday will die before reaching his/her x+nth birthday

e_x (life expectancy)

 Average remaining lifetime (in years) for a person who survives to the beginning of the indicated age interval



 Number of persons living at the beginning of the indicated age interval (x) out of the total number of births assumed as the radix of the table

Stationary population

Number of persons who reach the beginning of the age interval each year





 Number of persons who would die within the indicated age interval (x to x+n) out of the total number of births assumed in the table

Stationary population

 Number of persons that die each year within the indicated age interval





 Number of person-years that would be lived within the indicated age interval (x to x+n) by the cohort of 100,000 births assumed

Stationary population

 Number of persons in the population who at any moment are living within the indicated age interval



 Total number of person-years that would be lived after the beginning of the indicated age interval by the cohort of 100,000 births assumed

I_x

Stationary population

 Number of persons in the population who at any moment are living within the indicated age interval and all higher age intervals



Interpretation as stationary population

ABRIDGED LIFE TABLE FOR THE FEMALE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 2007

						Of 100,000 bor	n alive	Statio	nary population	
Age group	Width	Population	Deaths	Age-specific death rates	Proportion dying	# living at beginning of interval	# dying during interval	In the age interval	In this and following ages	Average remaining lifetime
	n	nPx	nDx	nMx	nqx	lx	ndx	nLx	Тх	ex
0	1	1,998,761	12,845	0.0064	0.0064	100,000	641	99,684	8,103,588	81.0
1-4	4	8,109,371	2,069	0.0003	0.0010	99,359	101	397,248	8,003,904	80.6
5-9	5	9,720,587	1,192	0.0001	0.0006	99,258	61	496,150	7,606,656	76.6
10-14	5	9,918,543	1,370	0.0001	0.0007	99,197	68	495,828	7,110,506	71.7
15-19	5	10,617,178	3,741	0.0004	0.0018	99,129	175	495,242	6,614,678	66.7
20-24	5	10,073,754	4,925	0.0005	0.0024	98,954	242	494,215	6,119,436	61.8
25-29	5	10,122,681	5,824	0.0006	0.0029	98,713	284	492,910	5,625,222	57.0
30-34	5	9,469,789	6,956	0.0007	0.0037	98,429	361	491,314	5,132,312	52.1
35-39	5	10,666,827	11,126	0.0010	0.0052	98,068	510	489,165	4,640,998	47.3
40-44	5	11,155,652	18,375	0.0016	0.0082	97,558	800	485,944	4,151,834	42.6
45-49	5	11,572,428	29,834	0.0026	0.0128	96,757	1,240	480,926	3,665,890	37.9
50-54	5	10,709,011	40,396	0.0038	0.0187	95,518	1,786	473,463	3,184,963	33.3
55-59	5	9,339,919	50,868	0.0054	0.0269	93,732	2,521	462,827	2,711,501	28.9
60-64	5	7,636,068	62,624	0.0082	0.0402	91,211	3,670	447,543	2,248,674	24.7
65-69	5	5,725,079	74,499	0.0130	0.0631	87,541	5,528	424,827	1,801,131	20.6
70-74	5	4,738,379	96,395	0.0203	0.0971	82,012	7,962	391,395	1,376,304	16.8
75-79	5	4,314,403	139,360	0.0323	0.1500	74,050	11,109	343,929	984,910	13.3
80-84	5	3,582,388	192,519	0.0537	0.2378	62,941	14,970	278,566	640,981	10.2
85+		3,511,395	464,781	0.1324	1.0000	47,971	47,971	362,415	362,415	7.6

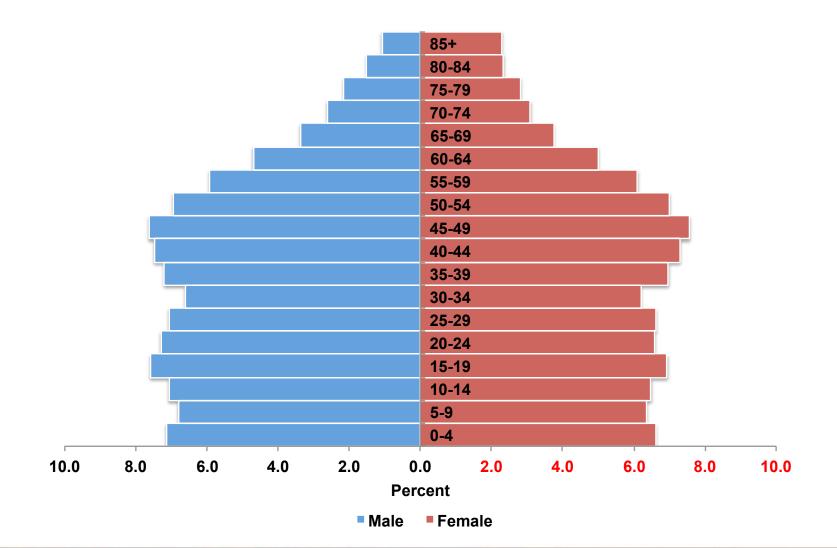
ABRIDGED LIFE TABLE FOR THE MALE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 2007

						Of 100,000 bor	n alive	Statio	nary population		
Age group	Width	Population	Deaths	Age-specific death rates	Proportion dying	# living at beginning of interval	# dying during interval	In the age interval	In this and following ages	Average remaining lifetime	
	n	nPx	nDx	nMx	nqx	lx	ndx	nLx	Тх	ex	
0	1	2,079,846	16,293	0.0078	0.0078	100,000	780	99,615	7,582,342	75.8	
1-4	4	8,507,893	2,634	0.0003	0.0012	99,220	123	396,648	7,482,726	75.4	
5-9	5	10,095,353	1,519	0.0002	0.0008	99,097	75	495,313	7,086,078	71.5	
10-14	5	10,484,813	2,066	0.0002	0.0010	99,022	98	494,887	6,590,765	66.6	
15-19	5	11,252,863	9,558	0.0008	0.0042	98,925	419	493,658	6,095,878	61.6	
20-24	5	10,828,130	15,758	0.0015	0.0073	98,505	714	490,881	5,602,220	56.9	
25-29	5	10,489,470	15,107	0.0014	0.0072	97,791	702	487,338	5,111,340	52.3	
30-34	5	9,802,132	14,685	0.0015	0.0075	97,089	725	483,776	4,624,002	47.6	
35-39	5	10,684,227	19,755	0.0018	0.0092	96,364	887	479,777	4,140,226	43.0	
40-44	5	11,085,591	30,350	0.0027	0.0136	95,477	1,299	474,390	3,660,450	38.3	
45-49	5	11,318,167	47,904	0.0042	0.0210	94,179	1,974	466,332	3,186,060	33.8	
50-54	5	10,313,298	66,552	0.0065	0.0318	92,205	2,931	454,237	2,719,728	29.5	
55-59	5	8,790,943	81,590	0.0093	0.0454	89,274	4,055	436,954	2,265,491	25.4	
60-64	5	6,979,426	92,028	0.0132	0.0640	85,218	5,451	413,393	1,828,537	21.5	
65-69	5	5,003,042	100,492	0.0201	0.0959	79,767	7,651	380,904	1,415,144	17.7	
70-74	5	3,889,104	117,852	0.0303	0.1414	72,116	10,196	336,467	1,034,240	14.3	
75-79	5	3,192,676	149,669	0.0469	0.2107	61,920	13,046	278,295	697,773	11.3	
80-84	5	2,235,826	171,134	0.0765	0.3220	48,874	15,739	205,629	419,478	8.6	
85+		1,606,146	248,866	0.1549	1.0000	33,135	33,135	213,850	213,850	6.5	

Source: Formulas from Kintner (2003); Population data from 2007 ACS; Death data from CDC ((http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/dvs/mortfinal2007 worktable310.pdf).



Population, U.S., 2007



$_{n}L_{x}$ from previous life tables, U.S., 2007

10.0	8.0	6.0	4.0	2.0	0.0 2.0 Percent	4.0	6.0	8.0	10.0
					0-4				
					5-9				
					10-14				
					15-19				
					25-29 20-24				
					30-34				
					35-39				
					40-44				
					45-49				
					50-54				
					55-59				
					60-64				
					65-69				
					70-74				
					80-84 75-79				
					85+				

Problems with life tables

- We saw life tables based on complete empirical data
- We might experience some issues
 - Have partial information to build our life table
 - Have data for only some age groups
 - Information for some ages may be more reliable than for other ages
 - Have ideas about mortality level, but not a full life table to make projections
- We can use model life tables to solve these issues



Model life tables

- A life table constructed from mathematical formulas is called a model life table
 - Use mathematical formulas to fill in missing parts
 - Have a whole life table from partial information
 - Identify suspicious and poor quality data with model expectations
 - Supply standard assumptions for projections
 - Find regularities for the invention of indirect measures
 - Reconstruct rates from historical counts of births and deaths (inverse projection)





Short history of mortality in the world

- Defining the health and mortality transition
- Health and mortality changes over time
- Life span and longevity
- Disease and death over the life cycle
- Causes of poor health and death
- Health and mortality inequalities



Morbidity and mortality

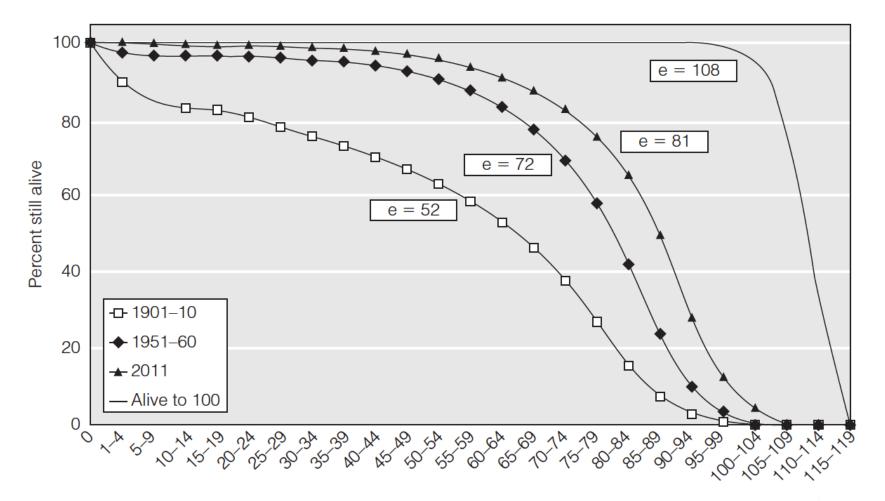
- Health, death: two sides of morbidity, mortality
 - Morbidity: prevalence of disease in a population
 - Mortality: pattern of death
- Health and mortality transition
 - Epidemiologic transition (Omran 1971)
 - Shift from prevailing poor health (high morbidity) and high death rates (high mortality) primarily from communicable diseases, occurring especially among the young...
 - To prevailing good health and low deaths rates from infectious diseases, with most people dying at older ages from degenerative diseases

Death at older ages

- For virtually all of human history, early death was commonplace
- Beginning about 200 years ago, we have been steadily pushing death to older ages
- The survival of more people to ever older ages is a key contribution to the demographic transition
- Most people now survive to advanced ages and die pretty quickly
- The variability by age in mortality is compressed, leading to an increased rectangularization of mortality...



Rectangularization of mortality, United States

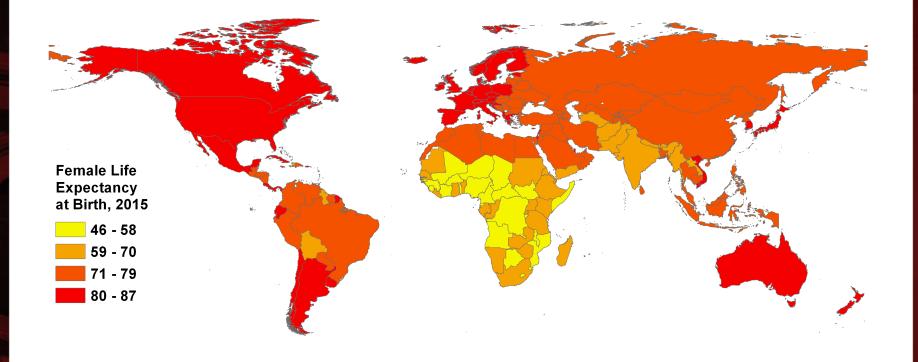


Changes over time

- For most of history, life expectancy fluctuated between 20 and 30 years
- About 2/3 of babies survived to their first birthday, and about 1/2 were still alive at age five
 - Now it's 99%
- Around 10% of people made it to age 65 in a premodern society
 - Now it's 90%



Female life expectancy at birth





Health improvements

Period and regions		% surviving to age				Births
	Life expectancy (females)	1	5	25	65	required for ZPG
Premodern	20	63	47	34	8	6.1
	30	74	61	50	17	4.2
US/Europe, late 18 th /early 19 th	40	82	73	63	29	3.3
Lowest Sub-Saharan	46	89	82	75	34	2.7
World average circa 2015	73	98	98	97	77	2.1
Mexico	78	99	99	98	84	2.1
United States	81	99	99	99	88	2.1
Canada	84	99	99	99	91	2.1
Japan (highest in the world)	86	99	99	99	93	2.1



The Roman era

• Life expectancy in the Roman era is estimated to have been 22 years

 People who reached adulthood were not too likely to reach a very advanced age, although of course some did



The Middle Ages

- The plague (black death) hit Europe in the 14th century, having spread west from Asia
 - An estimated 1/3 of the population of Europe may have perished from the disease between 1346 and 1350
- It appears to be the same disease that exists today
 - Not really known why it was so fatal back then
 - Probably due to generally poor health and few resources to battle the disease



The Columbian exchange

- Columbus and other European explorers took diseases, horses, and guns to the Americas
 - Brought back new foods and few new diseases
- One explanation for relative ease with which Spain dominated Latin America after arriving around 1500
 - Explorers had immunity to the diseases they brought
 - Compared to the devastation the diseases affected indigenous populations



Industrial Revolution, 1760–1840

- Plague and Little Ice Age had receded
- Income improved nutrition, housing, and sanitation
- Life expectancy in Europe and the U.S.: ≈ 40 years
 - Was population growth a cause or effect of rising living standards?
- There were as many deaths to children under 5 as there were at 65 and over
 - Infectious diseases were still the dominant reasons for death, but their ability to kill was diminishing



19th century

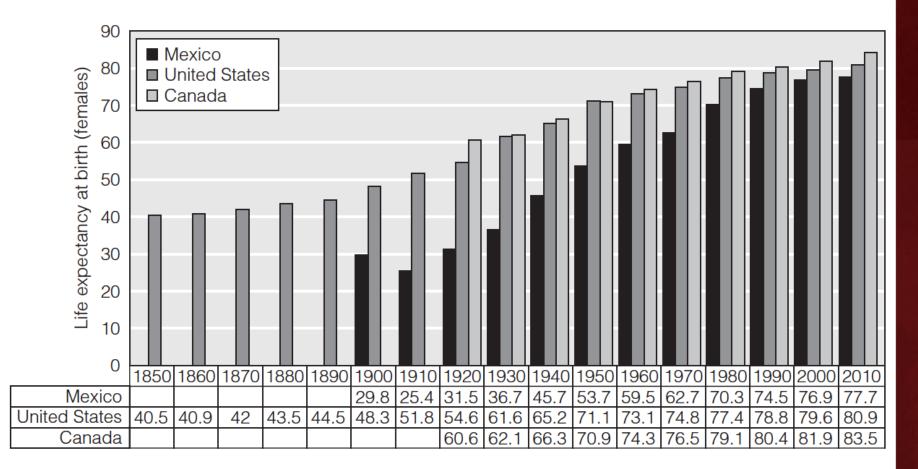
- Key elements in postponing death
 - Belief in the power of human intervention (Western science)
 - Improved nutrition: occurred first in Western Europe
 - Clean water, toilets, bathing facilities
 - Sewerage in cities: sanitation studies in Liverpool
 - Small pox vaccinations: Edward Jenner in England
- Validation of germ theory
 - Ignaz Semmelweis in Vienna: pioneer of antiseptic procedures
 - Joseph Lister in Glasgow: cleanliness principals in surgery
 - Louis Pasteur in Paris: formal experiments about germs, diseases

20th century

- Health as a social movement
 - Leading to government-organized universal health care systems in all rich countries except the U.S.
- Antibiotics emerging around WWII
- More vaccinations
- Oral rehydration therapy for infants and adults
- Advanced diagnoses, drugs, and other treatments for degenerative diseases to keep older people alive longer

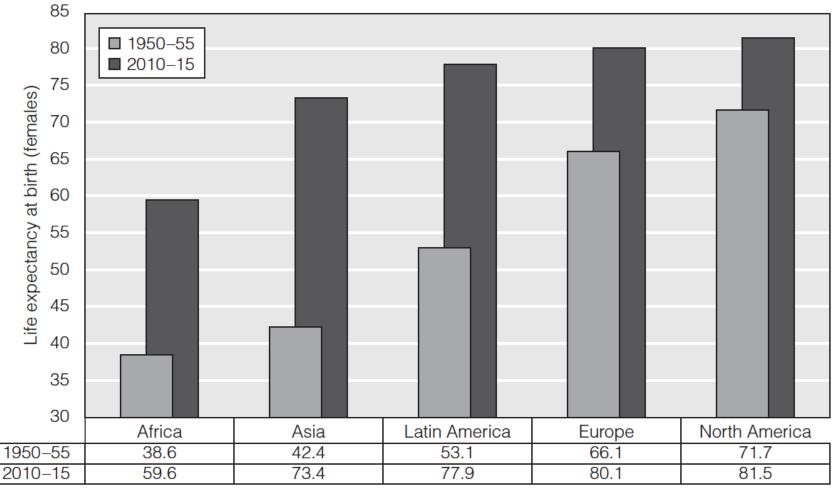


Improvements in life expectancy





World War II: a turning point





Postponing death

- Two ways to postpone death to the oldest possible ages
- Prevent diseases from occurring or spreading when they do occur (prevention)
 - Vaccinations, clean water, sanitation, good nutrition
 - No physicians needed
- Curing people of disease when they are sick
 - Diagnostic technology, drugs, skilled physicians



Nutrition transition and obesity

 Poor were skinny because only the rich could afford to access enough quantities of food

Not any more

- Nutrition transition is a worldwide shift toward
 - Diet high in fat and processed foods
 - Diet low in fiber
 - Less exercise
 - Increases in degenerative diseases



Life span and longevity

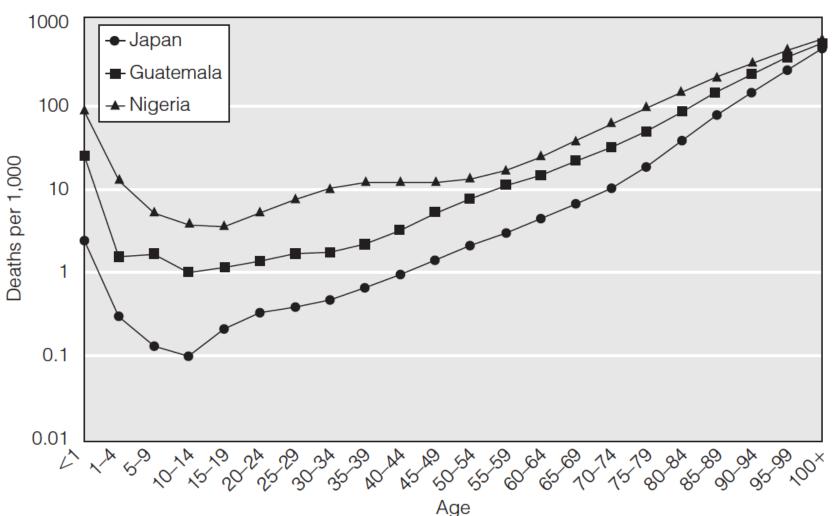
- Life span: oldest age to which human beings can survive
 - 122 years and 164 days (by 2016)
 - It is almost entirely a biological phenomenon
- Longevity/life expectancy: age at which we actually die
 - Expected number of years to be lived, on average, by a particular population at a particular time
 - Currently about 71 for all humans
 - It has biological and social components
- Populations with high mortality tend to have high morbidity
 - This is not a one-to-one relationship
 - We may live longer even though not being very healthy

Mortality by age

- Humans are like most other animals with respect to the general pattern of death by age
 - The very young and the old are most vulnerable
 - Young adults are least likely to die
- Risks of death are relatively low
 - After the initial year of life, lasting at least until middle age
 - Corresponds to reproductive ages
- Beyond middle age
 - Mortality increases
 - Although at a decelerating rate



Highest death rates, 2011: very young and the old



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Mortality by sex (gender)

- Women (sex)
 - Have a lower probability of death at every age from the moment of conception'

- Women (gender)
 - Unless society intervenes with a lower status for women that gives them less food, less access to health care, less education, lower earnings...



Other mortality differentials

- Urban and rural differentials
 - Urban now better than rural
- Neighborhood inequalities
 - Slums are bad for your health
- Educational differentials
 - Better educated live longer
- Social status differentials
 - The rich live longer
- Race and ethnicity differentials
 - Being different will be used against you
- Marital status
 - Being married is good for your health





Mortality trends and causes of death

- Categories of diseases according to the World Health Organization
 - Communicable diseases
 - Noncommunicable diseases
 - Injuries

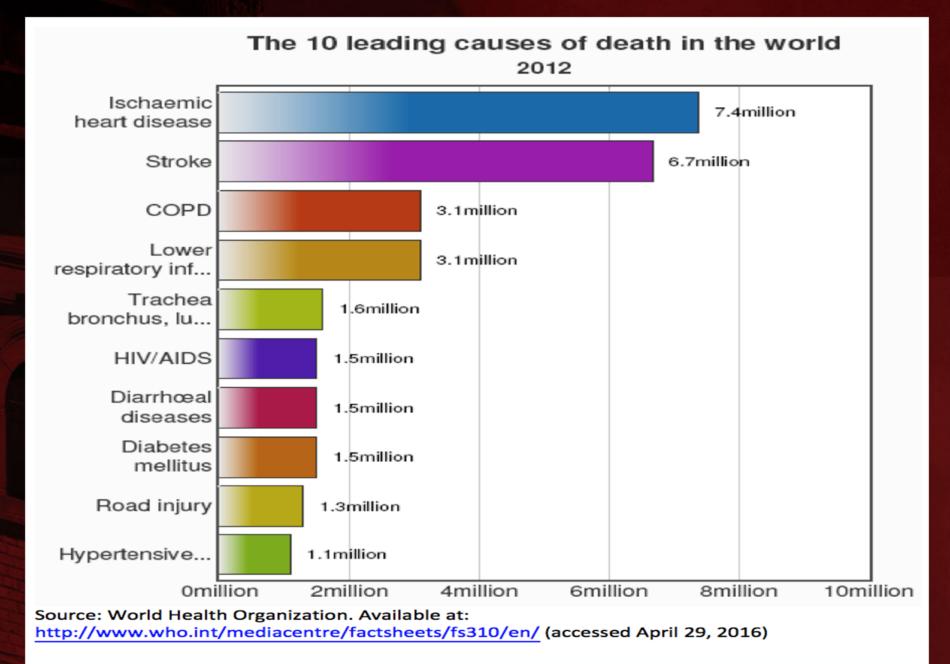


Communicable diseases

- Bacterial (e.g., tuberculosis)
- Viral (e.g., measles)
- Protozoan (e.g., malaria)
- Maternal conditions
 - Lack of prenatal care
 - Delivering somewhere besides a hospital
 - Seeking an unsafe abortion
- Perinatal conditions
 - "Surrounding birth" just before and just after birth
- Nutritional deficiencies



NumberTop ten death rates (per 100,000 population),								
Cause of death	Broad category of cause	of deaths in world 2011 (millions)	High income countries	Upper middle income countries	Lower middle income countries	Low income countries		
Ischemic heart disease	Non-Com.	7.0	119	120	93	47		
Stroke	Non-Com.	6.2	69	126	75	56		
Lower respiratory infection	Com.	3.2	32	22	60	98		
Chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD)	Non-Com.	3.0	32	45	51			
Diarheal diseases	Com.	1.9			47	69		
HIV/AIDS	Com.	1.6			24	70		
Tranchea bronchus, lung cancers	Non-Com.	1.5	51	28				
Diabetes mellitus	Non-Com.	1.4	21	20	20			
Road injury	Injury	1.3		21	19			
Prematurity	Com.	1.2			27	43		
Alzheimer's disease and other dementias	Non-Com.		48					
Colon rectal cancers	Non-Com.		27					
Hypertensive heart disease	Non-Com.		20	18				
Breast cancer	Non-Com.		16					
Malaria	Com.					38		
Tuberculosis	Com.				22	32		
Protein-energy malnutrition	Com.					32		
Birth asphyxia and birth trauma	Com.					30		
Liver cancer	Non-Com.			19				
Stomach cancer	Non-Com.			18				
Life expectancy at birth (both sexes)			80	74	66	60		



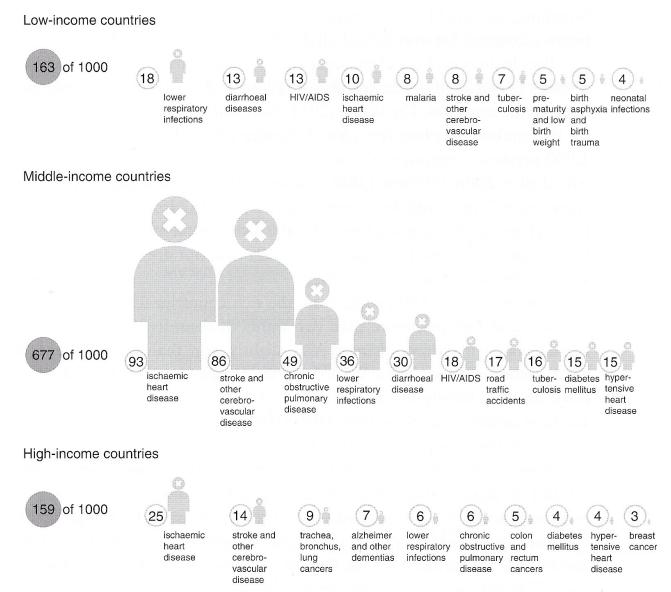
Adults and children estimated to be living with HIV, 2013



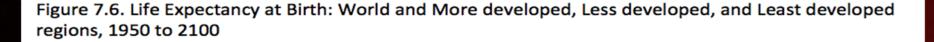
Total: 35.0 million 95% confidence interval: [33.2 million – 37.2 million]

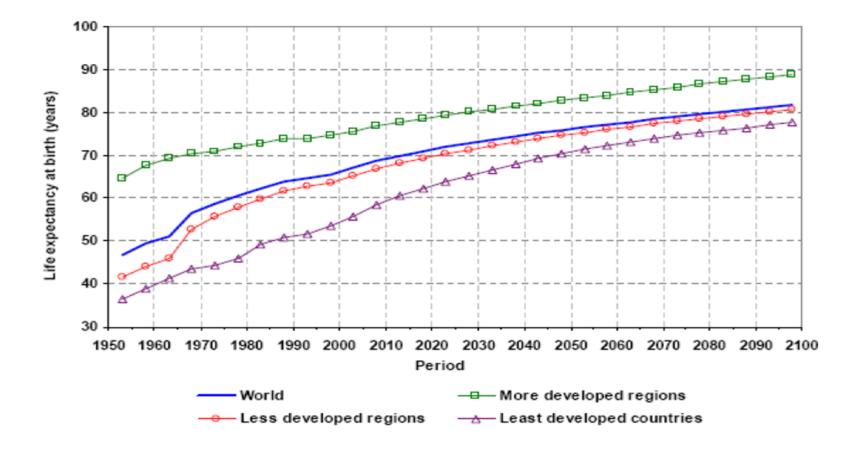
Source: UNAIDS (http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/01_Epi_slides_2014July.pdf).

Top ten causes of death, 2008



Source: World Health Organization, 2011; Poston, Bouvier, 2017.







Mortality and longevity in the U.S.

- Mortality started dropping gradually
 - In response to changes in the socioeconomic conditions and the environment of modernization
 - Much of the mortality reduction started to happen before the initiations of any appreciable public health measures
- Life expectancy increased
 - 46 for males and 48 for females in 1900
 - 76 for males and 81 for females in 2013



Mortality in the United States

- Most improvements happened from 1900 to 1950
 - Germ theory: control of infectious and parasitic diseases
 - Boiling bottles and milk, washing hands, protecting food from flies, isolating sick children, ventilating rooms, improving water supply, sewage disposal
- Since 1950s, life expectancy improvements is due to prevention and control of chronic diseases
 - Heart disease, stroke ...

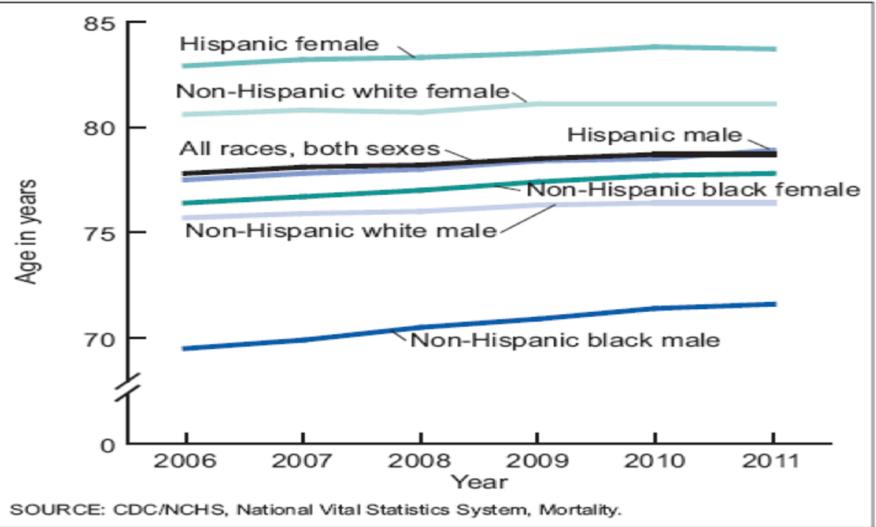


Hispanic paradox

- The Hispanic epidemiological paradox is the empirical finding that Hispanics have death rates of about the same magnitude as, and sometimes lower than, whites
- Also known as the Latino mortality paradox
- These findings are more evident for those of Mexican origin



Life expectancy at birth by race/ethnicity: U.S., 2006–2011



Source: Poston, Bouvier, 2017.

Explaining the Hispanic paradox

- Data artifacts
 - Underreporting of Hispanic-origin identification on death certificates
 - Misstatement of age, perhaps overstatement, at the older ages
- Migration effects
 - Healthy migrant effect: self-selection of immigrants in better physical and mental health
 - Salmon bias: Mexican Americans in poor health return to Mexico at old ages (return migrant effect)
- Cultural effects
 - Better dietary practices of Latinos and stronger family obligations and relationships

Racial crossover

- Life expectancy at birth is the lowest for blacks compared with Hispanics and whites
- For most of their lives, blacks have higher death rates than Hispanics and whites
- The situation changes at the very oldest ages
- By late life, death rates for blacks become lower than those for whites, and in some cases lower than those for Hispanics



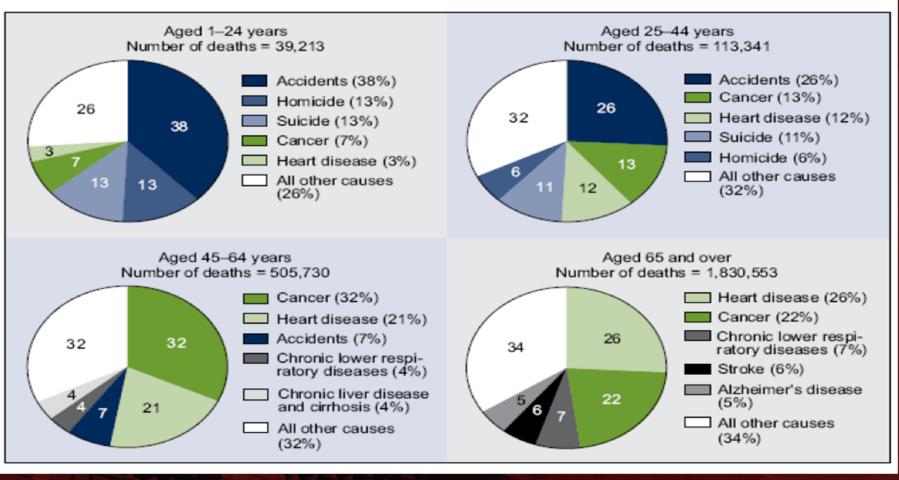
Life expectancy at ages 70, 80, 90, and 100 by race/ethnicity and sex: United States, 2010

	Hispanics		NH-Whites		NH-Blacks	
Age	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
70	15.4	18.0	14.2	16.4	12.8	15.7
80	9.0	10.8	8.1	9.6	7.8	9.6
90	4.5	5.4	4.0	4.8	4.4	5.2
100	2.3	2.6	2.0	2.3	2.5	2.8

Explaining the racial crossover

- Age misreporting on death certificates
 - Overstatement of age
 - But this would only postpone crossover to later ages, not eliminating it
- Population heterogeneity in frailty
 - The surviving elderly black population is a more robust group of disadvantaged individuals
 - The more frail blacks die before the age of 80 or 90
 - This produces a more robust group of blacks that live longer than the majority

Percent distribution of five leading causes of death by age group: United States, 2011





Infant mortality

- The infant mortality rate (IMR) is the most common measure of infant death
 - It is the number of deaths in a year to children under age 1 per 1,000 babies born in the year
- Declining infant mortality is key to population growth
- Reduction attributable especially to the development of oral rehydration therapy (ORT)
 - A solution of salts and sugars taken orally
 - Treats diarrhea: A major cause of death in young children
 - Developed in labs, tested in the field, especially Bangladesh
 - One of its founders still holds a teaching position at Harvard School of Public Health (Dr. Richard Cash)



Infant mortality, 2015

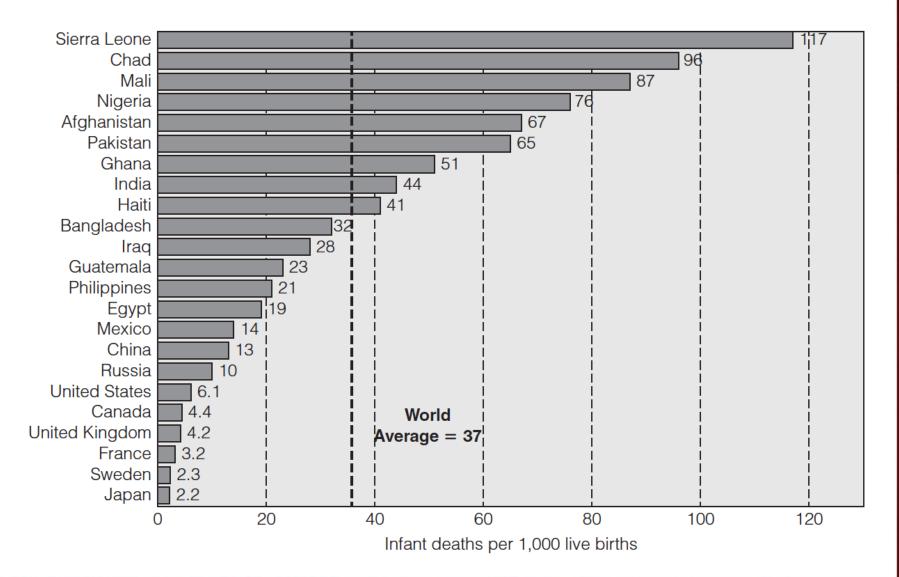
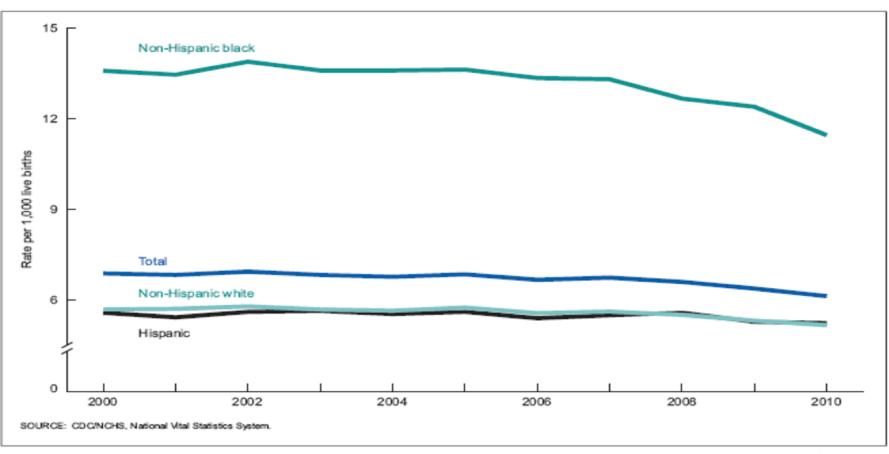


Table 7.4. Countries with the Highest and the Lowest Infant Mortality Rates in the World, 2013

Highest infant mortality rates	Lowest infant mortality rates		
Central African Republic	116	Iceland	1.8
Congo, Dem. Rep.	109	Finland	1.8
Chad	96	Japan	1.9
Angola	96	Singapore	2.0
Guinea-Bissau	94	Estonia	2.1
Sierra Leone	92	Sweden	2.3

Source: Population Reference Bureau, 2014.

Infant mortality rates by mother's race/ethnicity: United States, 2000–2010



Neonatal and postneonatal mortality rates

- The infant mortality rate (IMR) may be thought of as the sum of two rates
- Neonatal mortality rate (NMR)
 - Deaths of babies aged 28 days or less per 1,000 live births
- Postneonatal mortality rate (PMR)
 - Deaths of babies aged between 29 days and 1 year per 1,000 live births



Neonatal mortality rates and number of neonatal deaths

	N (de:	leonatal mortali aths per 1,000 li		Number of neonatal deaths (thousands)	
Region	1990	2013	Decline (percent) 1990–2013	1990	2013
Developed regions	8	3	55	118	48
Developing regions	36	22	40	4,554	2,714
Northern Africa	30	13	56	109	53
Sub-Saharan Africa	46	31	32	977	1,066
Latin America and the Caribbean	22	9	58	255	101
Caucasus and Central Asia	26	15	42	51	26
Eastern Asia	25	8	69	784	150
Excluding China	12	8	35	11	7
Southern Asia	51	30	42	1,940	1,086
Excluding India	49	30	39	578	338
South-eastern Asia	27	14	47	321	160
Western Asia	28	14	50	111	67
Oceania	26	21	19	5	6
World	33	20	40	4,672	2,763

Endogenous and exogenous

 Endogenous cause of death in an infant can occur because of genetic issues or conditions associated with fetal development or the birth process

• Exogenous cause of death is due mainly to environmental or external factors, such as infections or accidents



Causes of neonatal deaths

- The main causes of neonatal deaths are endogenous conditions
- Congenital malformations, chromosomal abnormalities, complications of delivery, low birthweight, genetic disorders...
- However, endogenous causes dominate infant mortality mainly in the early days of life, and not for the entire first month of life



Causes of postneonatal deaths

- Postneonatal mortality rate was 18 per 1,000 live births for the world in 2013
 - Rate was 2 in developed countries
- Deaths in postneonatal period and in first few years of life are mainly due to exogenous causes
 - Infectious disease, accidents, injury
- Improved living standards, better healthcare, and public health programs have greater effects on exogenous causes then on endogenous causes

Stillbirth rate (SBR)

- Stillbirths (miscarriages, fetal deaths)
 - A stillbirth is a fetus not born alive and is not registered as a death
 - SBR: stillbirths per 1,000 live births plus stillbirths in the year
 - Stillbirths are often identified in hospital reports dealing with obstetric procedures
- WHO: interventions can be planned if we know at what point before birth the fetus died
 - 2.6 million stillbirths in the world in 2009
 - 18.9 stillbirths per 1,000 live births plus stillbirths



Perinatal mortality rate (PeMR)

- PeMR relates to stillbirths and deaths of babies who lived for only seven days or less per 1,000 live births plus stillbirths in the year
- Endogenous causes of mortality in the 1st week after birth are similar to the causes of stillbirths
- PeMR in 2010
 - World (47)
 - Developed world (10); less developed world (50)
 - Czech Republic and Singapore (4); Mauritania (111)
- U.S.: 6.5 in 2006; 6.3 in 2011



Maternal mortality ratio (MMR)

- MMR measures the extent to which mothers die immediately before, during, or after giving birth because of problems associated with the pregnancy or childbirth
 - Numerator: number of deaths in a year of women dying as a result of complications of pregnancy, childbirth, and the puerperium (condition of the woman immediately following childbirth)
 - Denominator: live births occurring in the year
 - Multiplied by 100,000, because it is increasingly rare in developed countries

Examples of maternal deaths

- World
 - 529,000 maternal deaths in 2000
 - 313,000 maternal deaths in 2015
- Developing regions in 2015
 - 99% of all maternal deaths
 - 66% in sub-Saharan Africa
 - 21% in southern Asia
- MMR in 2015
 - World: 216 per 100,000 live births
 - Sierra Leone: 1,360
 - Sub-Saharan Africa: 546
 - U.S., Iran, Hungary: 21
 - Greece, Singapore (3); Estonia (2)



Factors associated with MMR

- Maternal deaths are mostly due to age, parity (number of children), birth spacing
 - Younger and older women are more likely, compared to women in their 20s and 30s
 - High-parity women are at high risk
 - Women with short birth intervals are also at high risk
- Other factors
 - Chronic disease and malnutrition, poverty, unwanted pregnancies, inadequate prenatal and obstetric care, lack of access to a hospital





Future course of mortality

- Is it likely that mortality rates will continue to fall resulting in even higher levels of life expectancy than those attained by developed countries?
- There are two positions
 - One argues for a limit
 - The other argues against one
- Poston argues against a fixed biological maximum life expectancy (more optimistic view)



Mortality reversals

 Modern medical and public health techniques will surely bring about further reductions in mortality from the major causes

- However, there is evidence since the early 1980s of mortality reversals
 - First in Eastern Europe
 - Later in sub-Saharan Africa



Eastern Europe

- What is causing mortality reversals in Eastern Europe?
- Possible factors include
 - Lack of preventative health programs
 - Inadequate quality of medical services
 - Smoking and alcohol abuse
 - General neglect of individual health
- These were caused by
 - Lack of life choices under the former communist regimes
 - Unemployment, relative deprivation, and inability to cope with economic challenges of the capitalist regime



Sub-Saharan Africa

 The AIDS epidemic has halted or reversed gains in life expectancy in many of the sub-Saharan African countries



Degenerative diseases

- Degenerative diseases are the major causes of death in the developed world
- Future improvements in the treatment of these diseases is likely
 - However, eliminating a specific degenerative disease would result in small increases to life expectancy because these diseases occur to older individuals
 - Eliminating heart disease would raise life expectancy in the U.S. by 5 years, and eliminating cancer would raise it by 3 years



Important question

• The important question is not "will life expectancy increase?"

• The important question is "by how much will life expectancy increase?"



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