Mortality Inequality in the United States and Europe

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Introduction

- ► Income-mortality gradient of broad interest (Kitagawa & Hauser 1973, Marmot et al. 1991, Deaton & Paxson 2001, Chetty et al. 2016, Currie & Schwandt 2016, and many others)
- ► For past 2-3 decades, many studies find steepening gradients among older adults (Murray et al. 2006, Waldron 2007, Meara et al. 2008, Cutler et al. 2011, Olshansky et al. 2011, Bosworth & Burke 2015, Chetty et al. 2016, and many others)
- Using spatial approach, we find declines in inequality at younger ages (Currie & Schwandt 2016, Science)
- ▶ Particularly strong improvements among Black Americans contribute to inequality reductions (Currie & Schwandt 2016, *JEP*)
- ⇒ How do they compare to Europe and what happened during pandemic?



Inequality in mortality between Black and White Americans by age, place, and cause and in comparison to Europe, 1990 to 2018

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Special Issue on the Evolution of Mortality Inequality in 11 OECD Countries,1990–2018: A Geographical Approach



- . The Evolution of Mortality Inequality in 11 OECD Countries:
- Inequality in Mortality: Updated Estimates for the United States, Canada and France
- 3. Mortality Inequality in England over the Past 20 Years
- Diverging Mortality Inequality Trends among Young and Old in the Netherlands
- Inequality in Mortality in Spain
- Gender and Age Differences in Socio-economic Inequalities in Total and Avoidable Mortality in **Portugal**: A Trend Analysis
- 7. Geographic Inequality in Income and Mortality in Germany
- 8. Mortality Inequality in the Czech Republic
- 9. Income Inequality and Mortality: A Norwegian Perspective
- 10. Mortality Inequality in Finland

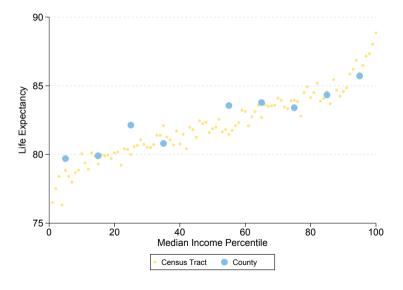
Comparing mortality inequality in U.S. and Europe

- Compare mortality gradients for Black and White Americans to 9 European countries from 1990 to 2018
- Challenges:
 - Mortality rare
 - Numerator (deaths) and denominator (population) not linked
 - No income information
- ▶ But typically available: location, which can be linked to area-level income
 - \Rightarrow Rank small areas by income, bin them into percentiles of the population, and calculate mortality by percentile bin (Currie & Schwandt, 2016)
- Calculate contributions of place, age, cause to racial life expectancy gap
- ► Taking stock of pre-pandemic development, not about causal drivers

Data and method

- Deaths from national Vital Statistics offices, population based on Censuses
- ► Applying Currie & Schwandt (2016)
 - "How does the 5% living in the richest U.S. counties compare to 5% living in richest EU areas?"
 - Areas ranked by poverty rate if available, otherwise median income or deprivation index. Areas chosen to have size comparable to medium-sized US counties.
- Advantages
 - Including entire population at all ages
 - Accounting for compositional changes over time
 - Applicable to most countries
- Disadvantage: Does not account for inequality within counties

Gradient based on county vs census tract bins in California (in 2015)



Preview of findings

Bad news

- Americans die at higher rates at all ages and continue to lose ground compared to Europe
- Mortality gradients much steeper in U.S.
- ▶ And U.S. mortality higher than in Europe even in richest areas

Good news

- Strong improvements for Black Americans, 1990-2018
- ▶ Black-White life expectancy gap fell by almost 50% to 3.6 years (lowest ever)
- ► Improvements in CVD mortality, cancer, HIV, homicides, and infancy causes particularly important

Additional news

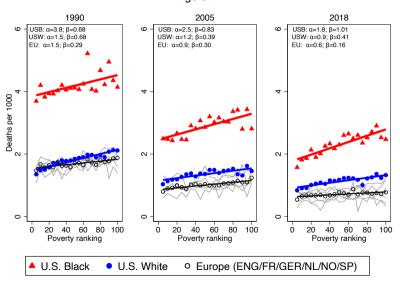
▶ Life expectancy stagnation after 2012, both in U.S. and Europe

Development of mortality gradients for

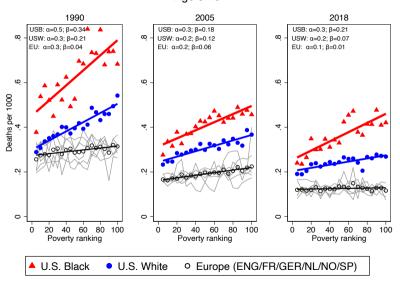
Black and White Americans

and European countries

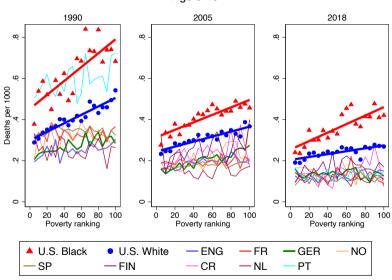
Age 0-4



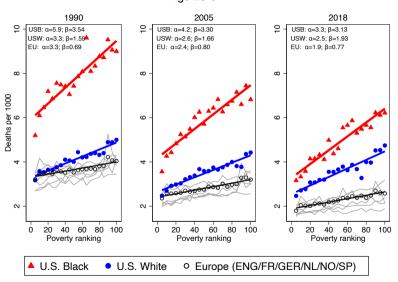
Age 5-19



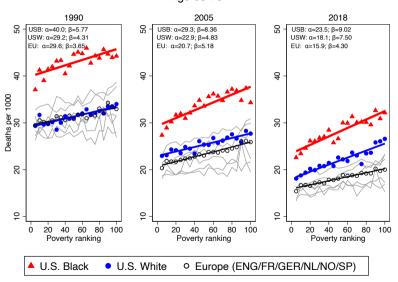
Age 5-19



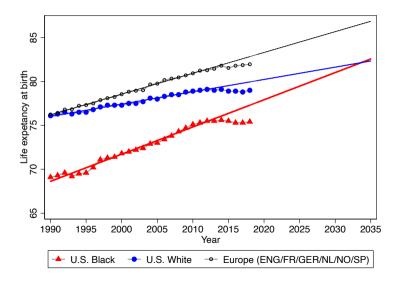
Age 20-64



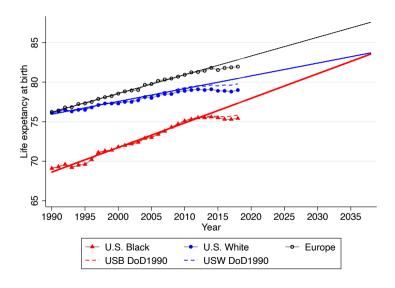
Age 65-79



Overall life expectancy U.S. Black, U.S. White, Europe



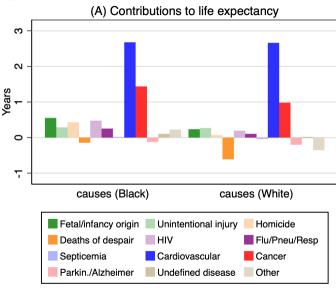
Keeping U.S. "deaths of despair" at 1990 levels



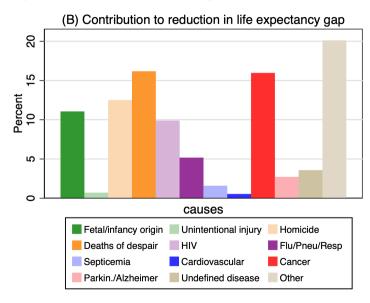
Which causes of death reduced racial life

expectancy gap?

Causes improving Black and White life expectancy

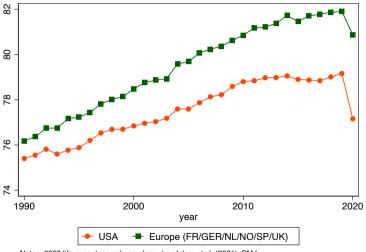


Causes reducing racial life expectancy gap



What happened during the pandemic?

Life expectancy 1990–2020, U.S. vs Europe



Notes: 2020 life expectancy change based on Islam et al. (2021), BMJ



Summary

- ▶ America has a death problem in poor and in rich places and across all ages
- Manifested once more during pandemic
- Core questions
 - Why is U.S. increasingly falling behind Europe?
 - What can we learn from strong mortality improvements among Black Americans during three decades prior to pandemic?
 - What can we learn from the strong improvements in life expectancy over a fairly short time in some European countries?