The social in context: On rational directions in quantitative population health science

Sandro Galea

Boston University School of Public Health





1. What are we trying to do?



http://graphics8.nytimes.com/images/2009/03/11/opinion/13population.480.jpg







66

Public health is what we, as a society, do collectively to assure the <u>conditions</u> for people to be healthy **99**

2. Is this what we do?

HEALTH

In Single Gene, a Path to Fight Heart Attacks

By GINA KOLATA JUNE 18, 2014

PHARMA & HEALTHCARE 6/19/2014 @ 7:00AM 13,561 views

Mutations That Prevent Heart Attacks Upend The Search For New Drugs

+ Comment Now + Follow Comments

Thu, Jun 19, 2014, 3:38pm EDT - US Markets close in 22 mins

Broken gene found to protect against heart disease

Loss-of-function mutations in APOC3 gene lower blood lipids and lower risk of coronary artery disease



"And that's why the budget I send this Congress on Monday will include a new Precision Medicine Initiative that brings America closer to curing diseases like cancer and diabetes, and gives all of us access, potentially, to the personalized information that we need to keep ourselves and our families healthier."

> President Barack Obama January 30, 2015



Personalized medicine: inevitable



The Path to Personalized Medicine

Margaret A. Hamburg, M.D., and Francis S. Collins, M.D., Ph.D.

hund

ajor investments in basic science have created the NIH and the FDA will invest in advancing translational and clinic

Journal of Diabetes Science and Technology Volume 3, Issue 4, July 2009 © Diabetes Technology Society

SYMPOSIUM

The Case for Personalized Medicine

Edward Abrahams, Ph.D.¹ and Mike Silver, Ph.D.²



Among NIH funding for the current fiscal year, only 0.4% was awarded to projects with the terms "population" or "public" in the title



Proportion of NIH funding awarded to projects with the terms "population" or "public" in the title, 2004-2014



NIH RePORTER. Search results for projects for which funding data is available. http://projectreporter.nih.gov/reporter.cfm Accessed on November 20, 2014.

3. What does this get us?



http://www.commonwealthfund.org/~/media/files/publications/fund-report/2014/jun/1755_davis_mirror_2014.pdf



FIGURE 1-1 Mortality from noncommunicable diseases in 17 peer countries, 2008. SOURCE: Data from World Health Organization (2011a, Table 3).



FIGURE 1-6 U.S. female life expectancy at birth relative to 21 other high-income countries, 1980-2006.

NOTES: Red circles depict newborn life expectancy in the United States. Grey circles depict life expectancy values for Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and West Germany.

SOURCE: National Research Council (2011, Figure 1-4).





NOTES: The top rank is number 1, indicating the lowest death rate, and the bottom rank is number 17, indicating the highest death rate. Rankings are based on all-cause mortality rates for 2006-2008. Data for this figure were drawn from (1) the Human Mortality Database, 2011, University of California, Berkeley (USA), and Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (Germany), available at http:// www.mortality.org or http://www.humanmortality.de (data downloaded July 18, 2011) and (2) Arias, Elizabeth, 2011, United States Life Tables, 2007. *National Vital Statistics Reports*, 59(9), Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics. SOURCE: Adapted from Ho and Preston (2011, Figure 1).

US Health in International Perspective. Shorter lives, poorer health. S Woolf, L Aron, eds. NRC and IOM. 2012.

Under five mortality rates per 1,000 live births in selected countries



Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000 live births). The World Bank Data, 2012. United Nations Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation (UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, UN DESA Population Division). http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.DYN.MORT> Accessed October 29, 2013.

Under five mortality rates per 1,000 live births in selected countries



Mortality rate, under-5 (per 1,000 live births). The World Bank Data, 2012. United Nations Inter-agency Group for Child Mortality Estimation (UNICEF, WHO, World Bank, UN DESA Population Division). http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.DYN.MORT> Accessed October 29, 2013.

The world, by preventable deaths



Percent of adults with diabetes by T stop, 2010



Health of Boston 2012-2013: A neighborhood focus. Boston Public Health Commission. <http://www.bphc.org/healthdata/health-of-boston-report/Pages/Health-of-Boston-Report.aspx> Accessed February 9, 2015.

Despite geographic proximity to health services



Google Maps. <https://www.google.com/maps/> Accessed March 17, 2015.



Figure 3: New England Journal of Panic-Inducing Gobbledygook. Source: Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer (27 April 1997, E4).

4. Why this state of affairs?

a. A fascination with individual health





Meigs JB, Shrader P, Sullivan LM, McAteer JB, Fox CS, Dupuis J, Manning AK, Florez JC, Wilson PW, D'Agostino RB Sr, Cupples LA. Genotype score in addition to common risk factors for prediction of type 2 diabetes. N Engl J Med. 2008 Nov 20;359(21):2208-19



Meigs JB, Shrader P, Sullivan LM, McAteer JB, Fox CS, Dupuis J, Manning AK, Florez JC, Wilson PW, D'Agostino RB Sr, Cupples LA. Genotype score in addition to common risk factors for prediction of type 2 diabetes. N Engl J Med. 2008 Nov 20;359(21):2208-19



FIGURE 2. Probability distributions of a marker, X, in cases (solid curves) and controls (dashed curves) consistent with the logistic model logit $P(D = 1|X) = \alpha + \beta X$. It has been assumed that X has a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 0.5 in controls so that a unit increase represents the difference between the 84th and 16th percentiles of X in controls. The marker is normally distributed, with the same variance in cases. The odds ratio (OR) per unit increase in X is shown.

Pepe MS, Janes H, Longton G, Leisenring W, Newcomb P. Limitations of the odds ratio in gauging the performance of a diagnostic, prognostic, or screening marker. American Journal of Epidemiology 2004; 159:882-890.

The Telegraph

Home Video News World Sport Finance Comment Culture Travel Life Women Fas USA | Asia | China | Europe | Middle East | Australasia | Africa | South America | Central Asia | E HOME » NEWS » WORLD NEWS » US ELECTION Nate Silver: politics 'geek' hailed for Barack Obama wins US election forecast An American political blogger, Nate Silver, has emerged as the other major winner during the US election for predicting all major results and Barack Obama's victory. Image 1 of 2 Nate Silver, a former economist, writes the FiveThirtyEight blog for the New York Times. Photo: GETTY IMAGES /IDEO /IDEO Obama's victory Obama supporters Romney concedes defeat speech in full party through night By Andrew Hough Print this article 6:30PM GMT 07 Nov 2012 Share 220 Follow 4,508 followers Facebook 461 Nate Silver, who writes the FiveThirtyEight blog for the New York Times, basked in worldwide adulation, after his polling correctly forecast V Twitter 39 the presidential outcome in 49 states. 🔀 Email The statistician, who tracked the president's statistical odds, will have correctly foreseen the result in every US state if Mr Obama's lead is in LinkedIn 20 maintained in Florida. 8+1 0 On election day, the 34 year-old, who had became a target for conservatives, also offered a 90.9 per cent probability of an Obama win in US Election the US election.







b. A focus on identifying *individual causes*
Estrogen Hormone Replacement Therapy associated with lower incidence of cardiovascular disease in observational data

Table 3. Relative Risks of Coronary Heart Disease, According to Postmenopausal Hormone Use, after Simultaneous Adjustment for Potential Risk Factors in Proportional-Hazards Model.*

COEFFICIENT	Relative Risk [†]	P VALUE
-1.22	0.30 (0.14, 0.64)	0.002
-0.52	0.59 (0.33, 1.06)	0.08
-1.08	0.34 (0.14, 0.82)	0.02
-0.43	0.65 (0.33, 1.28)	0.11
	COEFFICIENT -1.22 -0.52 -1.08 -0.43	COEFFICIENT RELATIVE RISK [†] -1.22 0.30 (0.14, 0.64) -0.52 0.59 (0.33, 1.06) -1.08 0.34 (0.14, 0.82) -0.43 0.65 (0.33, 1.28)

*The potential risk factors were a paternal history of infarction (none, at ≤ 60 yr, at >61 yr), a maternal history of infarction (none, at ≤ 60 yr, at >61 yr), type of menopause (natural or surgical), time period (1976-1978, 1978-1980), smoking status (current [at three levels of intensity], past, or never), hypertension (yes, no), diabetes (yes, no), past use of oral contraceptives (yes, no), high serum cholesterol level (yes, no), age (five categories), obesity (three categories), current hormone use (yes, no), and past hormone use only (yes, no).

†Figures in parentheses are 95% confidence limits.

Stampfer, M. J., Willett, W. C., Colditz, G. A., Rosner, B., Speizer, F. E., & Hennekens, C. H. (1985). A prospective study of postmenopausal estrogen therapy and coronary heart disease. New England Journal of Medicine, 313(17), 1044-1049.

Estrogen Hormone Replacement Therapy associated with higher incidence of cardiovascular disease in RCT data



Writing Group for the Women's Health Initiative Investigators. (2002). Risks and benefits of estrogen plus progestin in healthy postmenopausal women: principal results from the Women's Health Initiative randomized controlled trial. Jama, 288(3), 321-333.

Ginkgo Biloba associated with lower incidence of dementia in observational data

Variable to be Explained		Model	
	р	OR	95% CI
Pfeiffer test in 1992	.0082	0.60	0.41-0.87
Age (y)	.0004	1.16	1.07-1.26
Income (ref: >915 euros)	.0063		
457-915	.0033	2.91	1.43-5.94
<457	.0168	5.56	1.36-22.70
Unknown	.0106	2.62	1.25-5.47
Perceived health (poor vs good)	.0333	2.02	1.06-3.86
Hearing problem	.0765	0.58	0.32-1.06
C4A treatment (ref: not exposed)	.0698		
Nonconsecutive exposure(s)	.7261	0.87	0.41-1.86
2 consecutive exposures	.4915	1.34	0.59-3.04
≥3 consecutive exposures	.0180	0.31	0.12-0.82
Adequacy of the model	.7175		
(Hosmer-Lemeshow test)			
Notes: For variable to be expla	ined, dementi	ia of the A	lzheimer's type

Andrieu, S., Gillette, S., Amouyal, K., Nourhashemi, F., Reynish, E., Ousset, P. J., ... & Grandjean, H. (2003). Association of Alzheimer's disease onset with ginkgo biloba and other symptomatic cognitive treatments in a population of women aged 75 years and older from the EPIDOS study. The Journals of Gerontology Series A: Biological Sciences and Medical Sciences, 58(4), M372-M377.

Ginkgo Biloba not associated with lower incidence of dementia in RCT data



DeKosky, S. T., Williamson, J. D., Fitzpatrick, A. L., Kronmal, R. A., Ives, D. G., Saxton, J. A., ... & Ginkgo Evaluation of Memory (GEM) Study Investigators. (2008). Ginkgo biloba for prevention of dementia: a randomized controlled trial. Jama, 300(19), 2253-2262.

Beta-carotene associated with reduced risk of lung cancer in observational data

Lung Cancer Cell Type	NO. OF Sets*				
		RETINOL	β-CAROTENE	VITAMIN E	SELENIUM
		relative odds (95% confidence limits) [†]			
Squamous cell	26	1.15	4.30	2.33	0.24
		(0.47, 2.84)	(1.38, 13.41)	(0.78, 6.98)	(0.08, 0.69)
Small cell 25	25	1.36	1.09	1.84	0.77
		(0.53, 3.49)	(0.41, 2.91)	(0.67, 5.08)	(0.28, 2.08)
Adenocarcinoma	27	0.80	1.33	1.76	0.72
		(0.31, 2.05)	(0.53, 3.33)	(0.66, 4.71)	(0.30, 1.75)
Large cell and	21	0.10	1.54	2.00	0.27
unspecified		(0.01, 0.77)	(0.46, 5.17)	(0.62, 6.45)	(0.07, 1.04)

Menkes, M. S., Comstock, G. W., Vuilleumier, J. P., Helsing, K. J., Rider, A. A., & Brookmeyer, R. (1986). Serum beta-carotene, vitamins A and E, selenium, and the risk of lung cancer. New England Journal of Medicine, 315(20), 1250-1254.

Beta-carotene associated with slightly higher risk of lung cancer in RCT data



Omenn, G. S., Goodman, G. E., Thornquist, M. D., Balmes, J., Cullen, M. R., Glass, A., ... & Hammar, S. (1996). Effects of a combination of beta carotene and vitamin A on lung cancer and cardiovascular disease. New England journal of medicine, 334(18), 1150-1155.

Figure 5.3: The four key variables in the obesity system map and their relationships to the central engine.^{17,18} The key variables are 'level of primary appetite control', 'force of dietary habits', 'level of physical activity' and 'level of psychological ambivalence'. Variables are represented by boxes, positive causal relationships are represented by solid arrows and negative relationships by dotted lines. The central engine is highlighted in orange at the centre of the map.





Foresight - Tackling Obesities: Future Choices: http://www.foresight.gov.uk/OurWork/ActiveProjects/Obesity/KeyInfo/Index.asp

c. Misplaced emphasis in thinking about causes





Hamlin C. Could you starve to death in England in 1839? The Chadwick-Farr controversy and the loss of the "social" in public health. American Journal of Public Health 1995; 85:856-66

Comparing deaths from social factors to other causes

Social Factor	No. (%)	Cause of Death	No. (%)
Low education	193 626 (8.3)	Acute MI	192 898 (8.0)
Low social support	179 937 (7.7)	Stroke	167 661 (7.0)
Racial segregation	153 796 (6.6)	Lung cancer	155 521 (6.5)
Income inequality	145 388 (6.2)	Chronic lower resp. dis.	122 009 (5.1)
Poverty	102 672 (4.4)	Unintentional injuries	97 900 (4.1)
Area-level poverty	39 553 (1.7)	Renal failure	36 471 (1.5)

Minino et al. Deaths: Final data for 2000. Natl Vital Stat Rep. 2002; 50: 1-120.

Galea S, Tracy M, Hoggatt KJ, DiMaggio C, Karpati A. Estimated deaths attributable to social factors in the United States. American Journal of Public Health. 2011;101(8):1456-65. PMID: 21680937. PMCID: PMC3134519. <u>http://dx.doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2010.300086</u>



d. Forgetting about context, what matters most

Crack Babies: The Worst Threat Is Mom Herself

September 17, 1989

Crack's Toll Among Babies: A Joyless View

September 6, 1988

Cocaine: Litany of Fetal Risks Grows



AST WEEK in this city, Greater Southeast Community Hospital released a 7-week-old baby to her homeless, drug-addicted mother even though the child was at severe risk of pulmonary arrest. The hospital's explanation: "Because [the mother], demanded that the baby be released."

The hospital provided the mother with an apnea monitor to warn her if the baby stopped breathing while asleep, and trained her in CPR. But on the very first night, the mother went out drinking and left the child at a friend's house—without the monitor. Within seven hours, the baby was dead. Like Dooney Waters, the 6year-old living in his mother's drug den, whose shocking story was reported in The Washington Post last

week, this child was all but abandoned by ities.



CHILDREN OF COCAINE (By Charles Krauthammer)





Predictor for Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test score	Coefficient	P-value
Gestational cocaine exposure	-2.89	0.26
Assessment no.	2.72	<0.001
Gestational cocaine exposure x assessment no.	0.58	0.51
Age at 1st assessment	-0.36	0.76
Female gender	-4.93	0.058
Parental nurturance	-0.31	0.89
Environmental stimulation	5.91	0.039
Caregiver BDI-II depression score	0.03	0.84

Betancourt LM et al. Adolescents with and without gestational cocaine exposure: Longitudinal analysis of inhibitory control, memory and receptive language. *Neurotoxicol Teratol* 2011; 33(1): 36-46.

e. Misinvestment of money, time, and energy

Editorial

Annals of Internal Medicine

We Can Reduce Dietary Sodium, Save Money, and Save Lives

Most Americans consume far more salt than is healthy; the average sodium intake has increased over the past 30 years from already high levels to more than double the recommended amount (1, 2). Excess sodium consumption increases blood pressure (3); each 20-mm Hg increase in systolic blood pressure above 115 mm Hg doubles the

savings of \$18 billion in direct health care costs (15). Stilllarger decreases in sodium intake than were examined in this study would probably result in even larger health improvements and cost savings and would be more costeffective than using medications to lower blood pressure in people with hypertension (13).

After tobacco control the most cost effective intervention to control chronic disease might be reduction of sodium intake.

(7). In the United States, approximately 100 000 deaths each year have been attributed to excess sodium intake (8). Because about one third of U.S. adults have hypertension and another 28% have levels above the desirable range (9), and because sodium consumption contributes to the increase in blood pressure observed with increasing age (9), reductions in salt intake will lead to substantial populationwide improvements in health.

Clinical care and health education require considerable individual attention and effort to help one person at a time through medical treatment or to adopt healthy behaviors. Policy interventions that chanse the environment to make United Kingdom introduced a voluntary strategy to decrease the sodium content of processed and packaged food, which has resulted in reductions of 20% to 30% in most processed food sold in stores (14). New sodium reduction targets in the United Kingdom are being established and are expected to lead to a total 40% reduction in population sodium intake by 2012 (14). Japan and Finland have also implemented effective salt reduction programs; Ireland, Australia, and Canada have recently begun similar initiatives; and many other countries have committed to reducing sodium intake at the population level (14).

Although substantial changes in food production will

REDUCING POPULATION SALT INTAKE

The sodium phantom

Niels Graudal senior consultant¹, Gesche Jürgens MD²

Department
PharmacologIt is surprising that many countries have uncritically
adopted sodium reduction, which probably is the
largest delusion in the history of preventive
medicine.

BM

PATTERNS OF CITATIONS BETWEEN PUBLICATIONS ABOUT THE HEALTH IMPACT OF SALT

Every line shows a citation link from one article to another.



Galea S. This is why you can't always trust data. http://fortune.com/2015/12/21/research-bias-data/

RED ARC:

Health determinants vs. health expenditures



"Healthy People/Healthy Economy: An Initiative to Make Massachusetts the National Leader in Health and Wellness." 2015. Data from NEHI 2013. http://www.tbf.org/tbf/56/hphe/Health-Crisis

Tarlov A. Social determinants of health: the sociobiological translation. In: Blane D, Brunner E, Wilkinson R, editors. <u>Health and social organization: towards a health policy for the 21st century</u>. London: Routledge; 1996 pp. 71-93.

Change in Massachusetts State Government spending: 2001-14



* Health care expenditure is Group Insurance Commission spending plus MassHealth (Medicaid)

"Healthy People/Healthy Economy: An Initiative to Make Massachusetts the National Leader in Health and Wellness." 2015. Data from Massachusetts Budget and Policy Center Budget Browser. http://www.tbf.org/tbf/56/hphe/Health-Crisis



http://www.commonwealthfund.org/publications/issue-briefs/2015/oct/us-health-care-from-a-global-perspective



4. Fixing this state of affairs?

a. Focus on the ineluctable role of context

Failure of State Soda Tax Plan Reflects Power of an Antitax Message



An ad against the soda tax on the back of a Pepsi delivery truck in Brooklyn.

"...The beverage industry has outspent the pro-tax side and has succeeded in painting the soda tax as a naked money grab cleverly disguised as a health policy." –New York Times, July 2010



New soda wars: infringement on freedoms?

June 06, 2012 | Daily News Editorial

SHEINEMAN TERMENT







New York Appellate Court Strikes Down Bloomberg's Soda Ban

The law would have banned certain businesses from selling sodas and sugary drinks larger than 16 ounces.



Latest Galleries

ADVERTISEMENT



Follow U.S. News

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg's plans to appeal Tuesday's appellate court ruling, which

How much of our cognitive ability is determined by our genes?















Scenario 1



 $\oint = GE + \quad \oint = CA + \quad \oint = ENV +$


 $\oint = GE + \quad \oint = CA + \quad \oint = ENV +$



 $\oint = GE + \quad \oint = CA + \quad \oint = ENV +$











$\oint = GE + \quad \oint = CA + \quad \oint = ENV +$

Is this all theoretical?

Proportion of total Full-Scale IQ variance accounted for by A, C, and E plotted as a function of observed socioeconomic status (SES).



b. By any methods necessary



Poor food environment in New York City



Research report

Neighbourhood food environments and body mass index among New York City adults

Research

Neighborhood Food Environment and Walkability Predict Obesity in New York City

Education Modifies Genetic and Environmental Influences on BMI





http://www.usnews.com/cmsmedia/13/cf/75a042c94c0fb078efa0790b2e73/141110-hechingerabsenteeism-graphic.absenteeism.png

Where is our greatest return on investment to lower obesity: improving food store availability, or improving school quality?

Black Body Mass Index change by policy



Orr MG, Galea S, Kaplan GA. Neighborhood food, physical activity, and educational environments and black/white disparities in obesity: A complex systems simulation analysis. Under review.

c. Embrace concern with health equity and efficiency tradeoffs





Keyes KM, Galea S. <u>Population health science</u>. Oxford University Press; 2016.



Keyes KM, Galea S. Population health science. Oxford University Press; 2016.

d. Focus on what matters most



https://www.rit.edu/cla/criminaljustice/sites/rit.edu.cla.criminaljustice/files/docs/WorkingPapers/2014/Firearm%20Injuries%20to%20Children%20Dec%202013.pdf

Maybe the answer is to make sure that guns are not in the hands of those with mental illness?

Psychiatric disorders increase the risk of violent behavior in the United States

Percentage of respondents reporting violent behavior by number of diagnoses on the Diagnostic Interview Schedule



Swanson JW, Holzer CE, Ganju VK, Jono RT. Violence and psychiatric disorder in the community: Evidence from the Epidemiologic Catchment Area Surveys. In: Violent Behavior and Mental Illness: A Compendium of Articles from Psychiatric Services and Community Psychiatry. 1997; American Psychiatric Association.

House Approves Modest Funding Boost For Gun Background Checks Sandy Hook Panel Fo

Posted: 05/29/2014 6:48 pm EDT | Updated: 05/29/2014 9:59 pm EDT

Sandy Hook Panel Focusing On Guns, School Safety, Mental Health

Mental Illness and New Gun Law Reforms The Promise and Peril of Crisis-Driven Policy

FEDERAL FIREARMS PROHIBITION UNDER 18 U.S.C. § 922(g)(4)

Persons Adjudicated as a Mental Defective or Committed to a Mental Institution

What We Actually Know About the Connections Between Mental Illness, Mass Shootings, and Gun Violence



BY LOIS BECKETT · June 10, 2014 · 3:40 PM

High-profile mass shootings and the accumulation of mental health records in National Instant Check System



Swanson JW, McGinty EE, Fazel S, Mays VM. Mental illness and reduction of gun violence and suicide: bringing epidemiologic research to policy. Annals of Epidemiology 2014.

Is this likely to matter much to firearm-related violence in the U.S? Let us consider the case of Canada.

Lifetime prevalence of psychiatric disorders are comparable in Canada and the U.S.



Schaffer A et al. Community survey of bipolar disorder in Canada: lifetime prevalence and illness characteristics. *Can J Psychiatry* 2006; 51(1): 9-16. Patten SB et al. Descriptive Epidemiology of Major Depression in Canada. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* February 2006. Kessler RC et al. Lifetime Prevalence and Age-of-Onset Distributions of DSM-IV Disorders in the National Comorbidity Survey Replication. *JAMA* 2005; 62 (6). "Mental Health and Mental Illness". Anxiety Disorders Association of Canada. http://anxietycanada.ca/english/pdf/kirby.pdf Accessed November 21, 2014. Firearm homicide rate per 100,000 in 2009



Beatty, Sarah, Cotter, Adam. (2010) "Homicide in Canada, 2009," *Juristat* 30 via "An Overview of Gun Control in US, Canada and Globally." Coalition for Gun Control. http://guncontrol.ca/overview-gun-control-us-canada-global/ Accessed November 14, 2014.

What is causing this difference?

Proportion of households owning firearms



"An Overview of Gun Control in US, Canada and Globally." Coalition for Gun Control. http://guncontrol.ca/overview-gun-control-us-canada-global/ Accessed November 14, 2014.

Differences in <u>firearm availability</u> underlie the differences in the measure of association that we observe in the relation between mental illness and firearm violence across these two geographic contexts.

e. Embrace the intellectual and moral challenges of our time





Do we choose to invest in

a. More driving lessons for every driver?

b. Better roads, better cars?



Inequality in life expectancy widens for women



Wealthier women can expect to live longer than their parents did, while life

Life expectancy for 50-year-olds in a given year, by quintile of income over the previous 10 years

Source: National Academies of Science, Engineering and Medicine
5. Ending on metaphors





twitter/@sandrogalea

sgalea@bu.edu