# Social divides and health divides in America

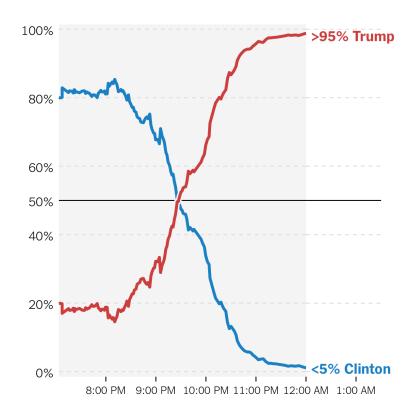
Sandro Galea, MD, DrPH



1. Something extraordinary this way came

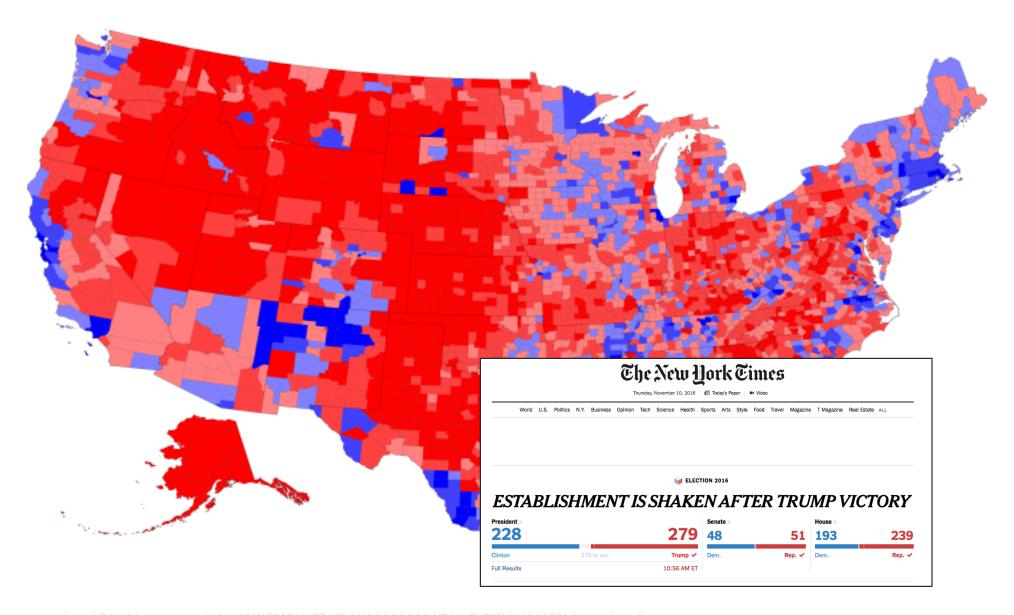


# **Chance of Winning Presidency**



## **Total Electoral Votes**

The estimates below include an estimate of uncertainty. We expect the uncertainty around these estimates to narrow, especially after races are called.



# Star-Telegram

# **President Trump**



President-elect Donald Trump speaks early on Wednesday during his election night rally in New York. He said it is now time for Americans to

### Supreme Court may shift to the right for decades to come

Monney or Person of the Control of t

key cases.
Replacing any of these three would significantly tilt
the court rightward
Kennedy, for instance, joined the court's liberals in
June in a decision, denounced at the time by the
Trump supporters who oppose women's right to an

#### GOP voters keep Texas solidly red on Election Day

An Donald Trump prepares for his move into the White House next year, Texans can rest assured that they helped puth into kept the state solidly red.

While some though Texan significant to the control of the selection year, election results shown proper than the president presults shown properties that the control of the selection year, election results shown properties that the control of the selection year, election results shown properties that the selection year, election results shown properties that the control of the selection year, election results shown properties that the control of the selection year, election year, election year, election properties that the selection with the selection year, election yea

### Texas popular vote results

#### Republicans say victory gives them mandate to govern

WASHINGTON

Republicans claimed a mandate with the control of the

SEE MANDATE, 6A

Latinos, Muslims in DFW wary of repercussions after frump win 3A
 Protest following Trump's victory turns destructive in California; othe demonstrations around the nation are mostly peaceful 3A
 GOP Texans in Congress figure prominently in Trump's plans 5A

# Texas Rangers request fan input on new stadium

ideas on food, technology and anything else that would help create the "ultimate fan experi-

community debate over the retractable-roofed, climate-controlled stadium.

The ballot initiative lost in just five of the city's 137 voting precincts. A whopping 62.7 percent of the 186,000 registered voters cast ballots, most of them cast

cast bands, income as it did last night," Rangers spokesman John Blake said.

The Rangers' new website asks for help creating "an atmosphere that is welcoming to form and intimidating to oppo-

ownership to be seeking ran input."

Blake said designing the stadi-Blake said designing the stantum is "the first process, and that's where we feel this input is vital." The Rangers are close to choosing an architect for the project, he said. Construction is expected to begin next summer, with the new stadium opening in time for the 2020 baseball



A resounding echo of underlying divides

White Trash.

NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLE

The 400-Year Unfold History of Class in America.

Nancy Isenberg

Converiented Manarial

Fallen Founder

**NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER** 

JOSEPH E. STIGLITZ

WINNER OF THE NOBEL PRIZE IN ECONOMICS

"A searing read." -Nicholas Kristof

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HOW TODAY'S DIVIDED SOCIETY ENDANGERS OUR FUTURE

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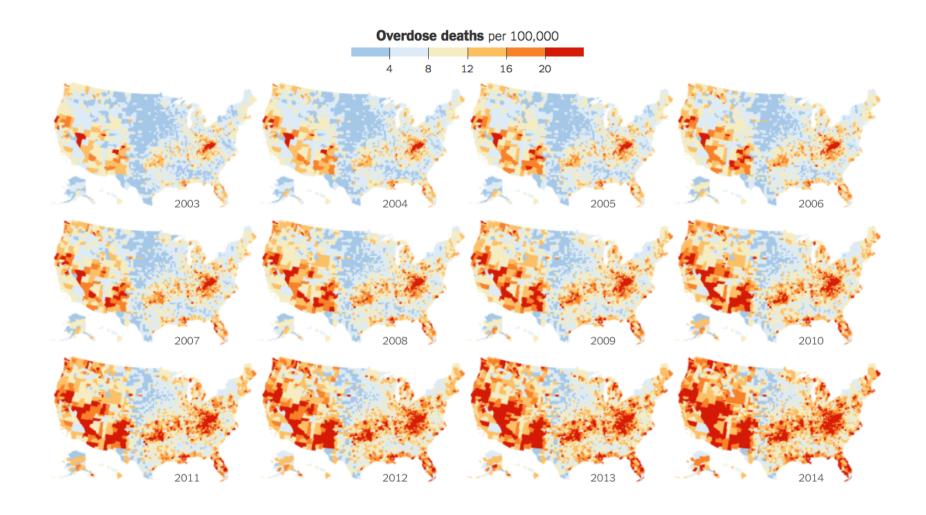
POVERTY AND PROFIT IN THE AMERICAN CITY

nishing . . Desmond has set a new standard for reporting on poverty.

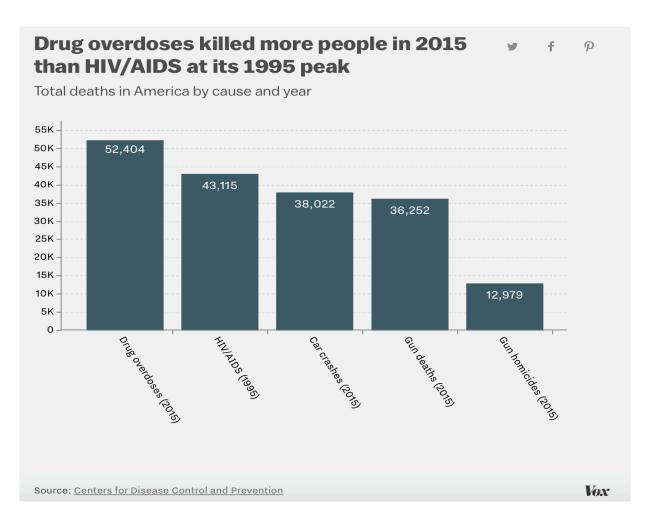
— BARBARA EHRENREICH . New York Timer Book Review

Ol "This is required reading." -Toni Morrison

And underlying health?



Park H & Block M. How the epidemic of drug overdose deaths ripples across America. The *New York Times* January 19, 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/07/us/drug-overdose-deaths-in-the-us.html.



Lopez G, Frostenson S. How the opioid epidemic became America's worst drug crisis ever, in 15 maps and charts. Vox. March 23, 2017. <a href="http://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2017/3/23/14987892/opioid-heroin-epidemic-charts">http://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2017/3/23/14987892/opioid-heroin-epidemic-charts</a> Accessed March 26, 2017.

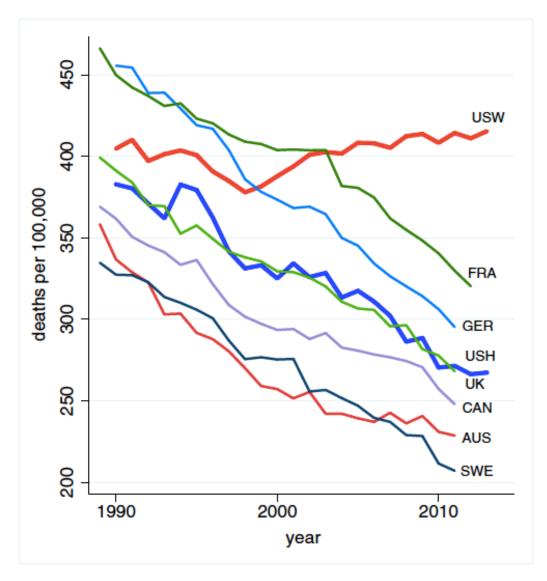


Fig. 1. All-cause mortality, ages 45–54 for US White non-Hispanics (USW), US Hispanics (USH), and six comparison countries: France (FRA), Germany (GER), the United Kingdom (UK), Canada (CAN), Australia (AUS), and Sweden (SWE).

Case A, Deaton A. Rising morbidity and mortality in midlife among white non-Hispanic Americans in the 21st century.PNAS. 112(49); 15078–15083, doi: 10.1073/pnas.1518393112.

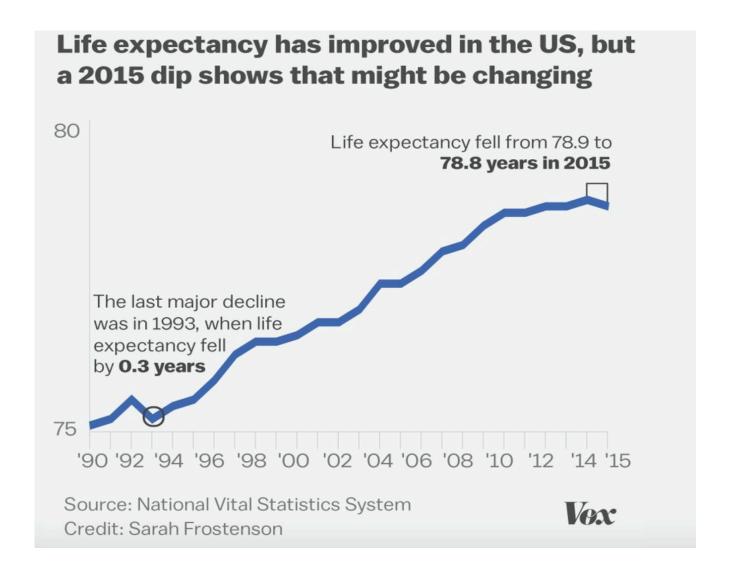
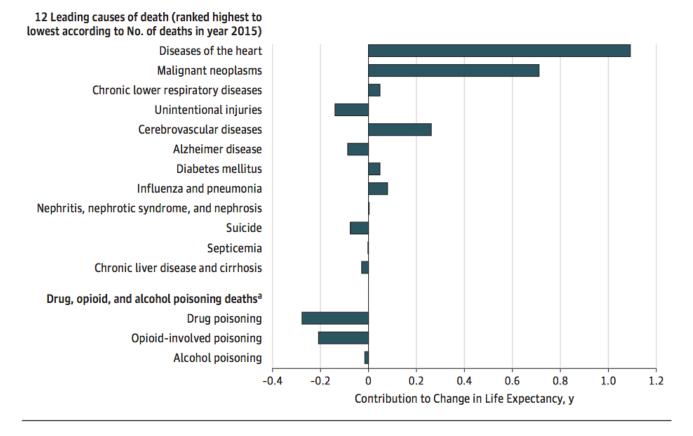
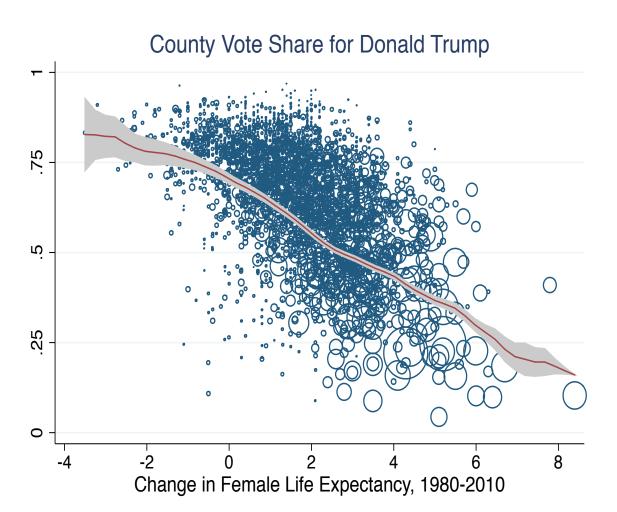


Figure. Contributions of Selected Causes of Death to the Change in Life Expectancy in the United States, 2000-2015

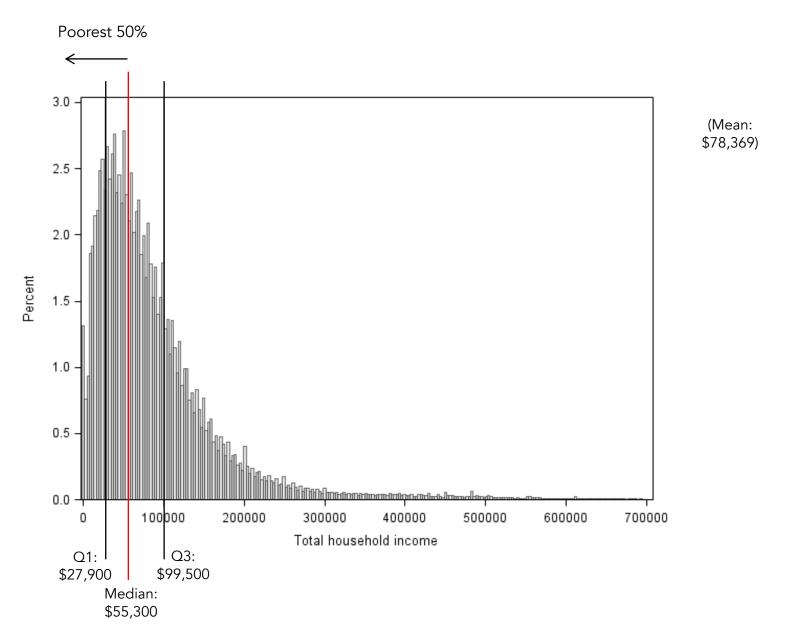


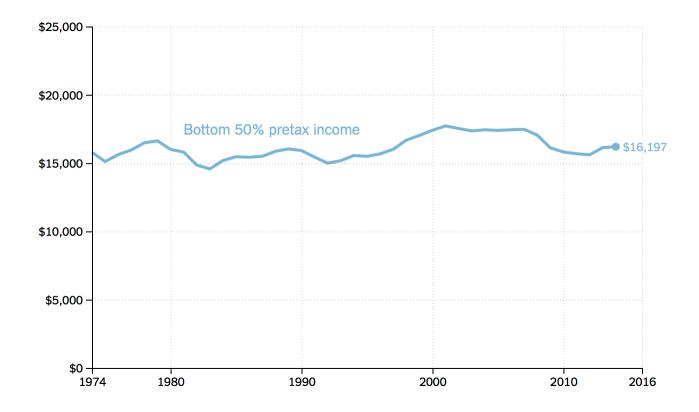
a In ranked cause-of-death classification, drug, opioid, and alcohol poisoning are not considered to be unique cause-of-death categories. Instead, poisoning deaths are classified as either accidental poisonings (which contribute to unintentional injuries), suicides, or homicides (ranked 16th in leading causes of death). Contributions from drug, opioid, and alcohol poisoning deaths overlap with both unintentional injury deaths and suicides and cannot be summed with these leading ranked causes of death.

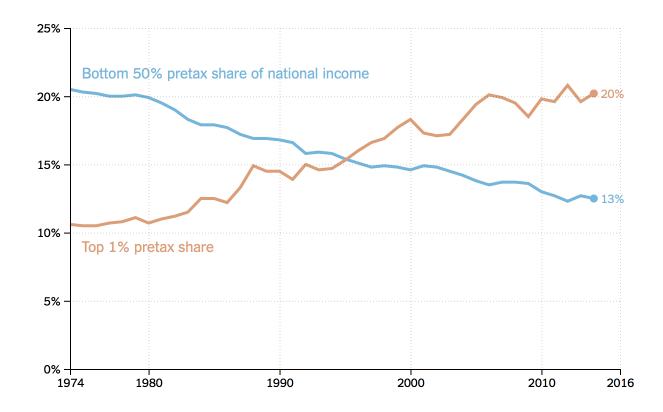


2. On social divides on multiple axes

# Household income, 2015







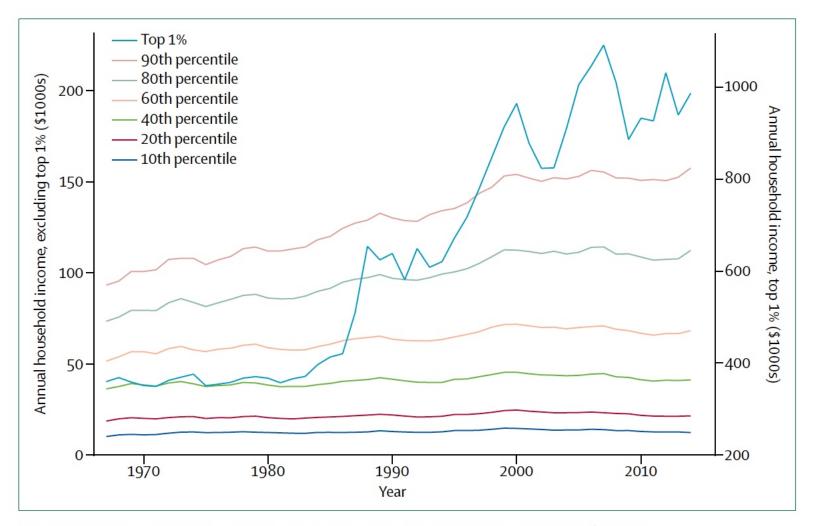


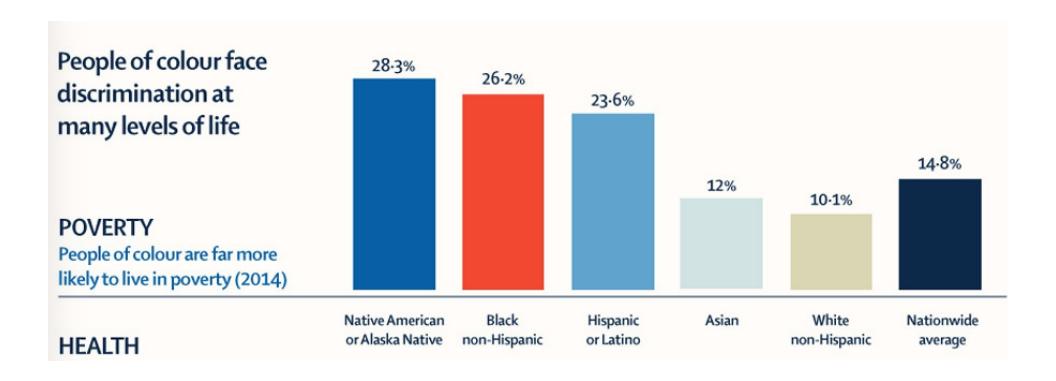
Figure 1: Inflation-adjusted annual household income at selected percentiles, 1967-2014

All series show percentiles of the distribution except for top 1%, which shows the mean of the top 1%. All income series except for the top 1% are plotted against the left vertical axis, displaying incomes from \$0 to \$200 000. The top 1% is plotted against the right vertical axis, displaying incomes from \$200 000 to \$1000 000. Data are from the US Census Bureau Current Population Survey, 1968–2015 Annual Social and Economic Supplements and World Wealth and Income Database. Income is expressed in 2014 US\$.

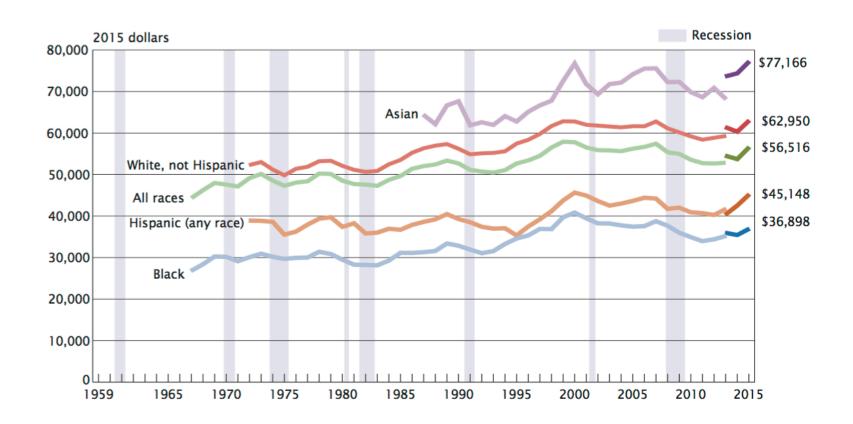


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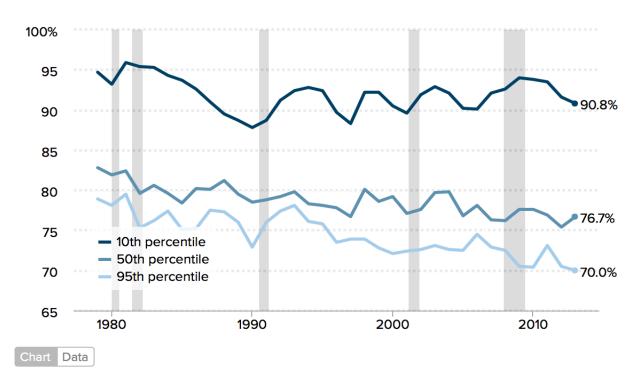




# Black and Hispanic Americans have consistently had the lowest median household income of all racial/ethnic groups for the past several decades



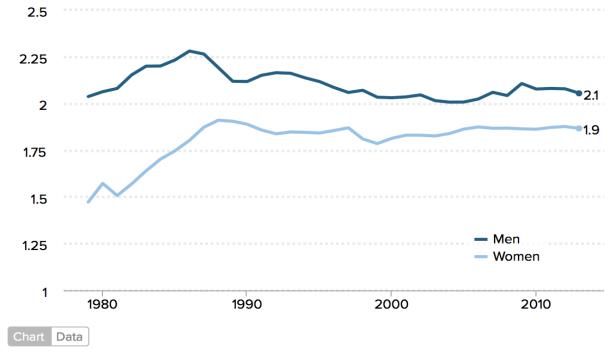
# Hourly wages of black workers as a percent of white hourly wages, at the 10th, 50th, and 95th wage percentiles, 1979–2013



**Note:** The xth-percentile wage is the wage at which x% of wage earners earn less and (100-x)% earn more. Shaded areas denote recessions. Race/ethnicity categories are mutually exclusive (i.e., white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, and Hispanic any race).

Source: Authors' analysis of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

# Wage gap\* between the 50th and the 10th wage percentiles,\*\* by gender, 1979–2013

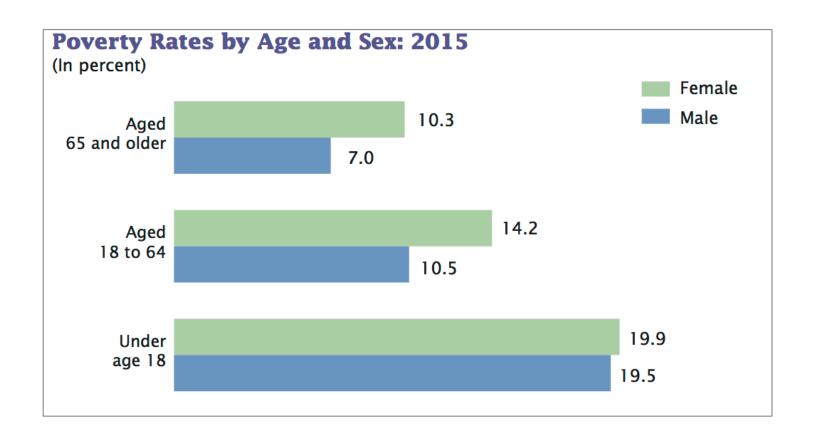


<sup>\*</sup> Ratio of workers' wages at the higher earnings percentile to workers' wages at the lower percentile

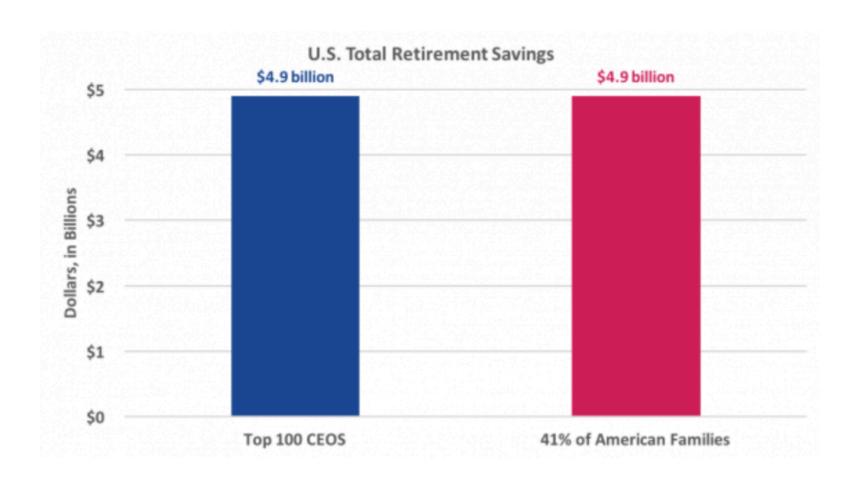
Source: Authors' analysis of Current Population Survey Outgoing Rotation Group microdata

<sup>\*\*</sup> The xth-percentile wage is the wage at which x% of wage earners earn less and (100-x)% earn more.

# Women are more likely to live in poverty than men, in all age groups

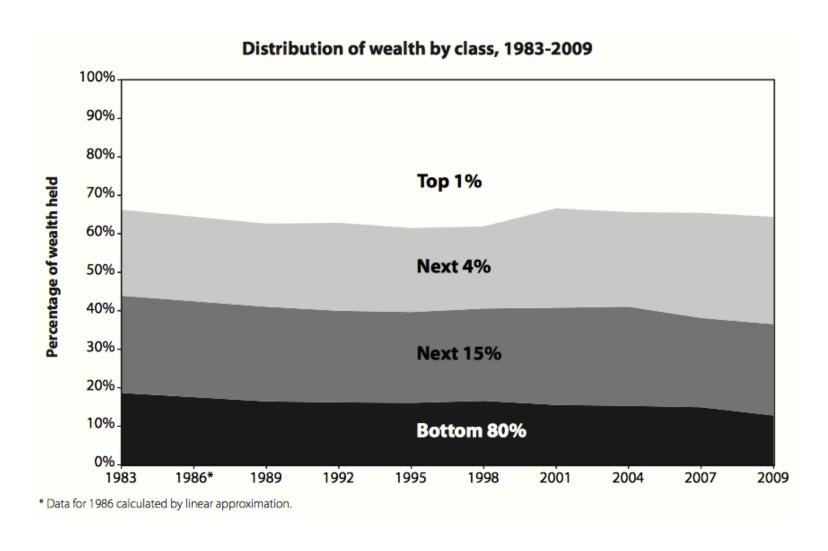


# The distribution of wealth in the U.S. is highly concentrated at the top



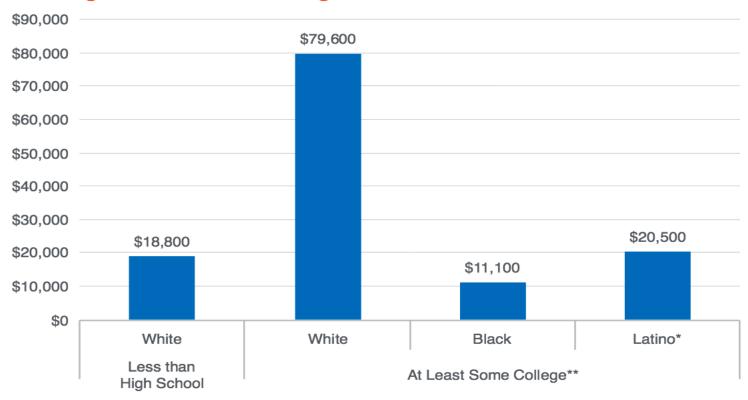
<sup>&</sup>quot;Inequality and Health." Inequality.org: A project of the Institute for Policy Studies. <a href="http://inequality.org/inequality-health/">http://inequality.org/inequality-health/</a>

# The distribution of wealth in the U.S. is highly concentrated at the top



Allegretto SA. The State of America's Wealth, 2011: Through volatility and turmoil, the gap widens. Economic Policy Institute Briefing Paper March 2011. <a href="http://epi.3cdn.net/2a7ccb3e9e618f0bbc\_3nm6idnax.pdf">http://epi.3cdn.net/2a7ccb3e9e618f0bbc\_3nm6idnax.pdf</a>

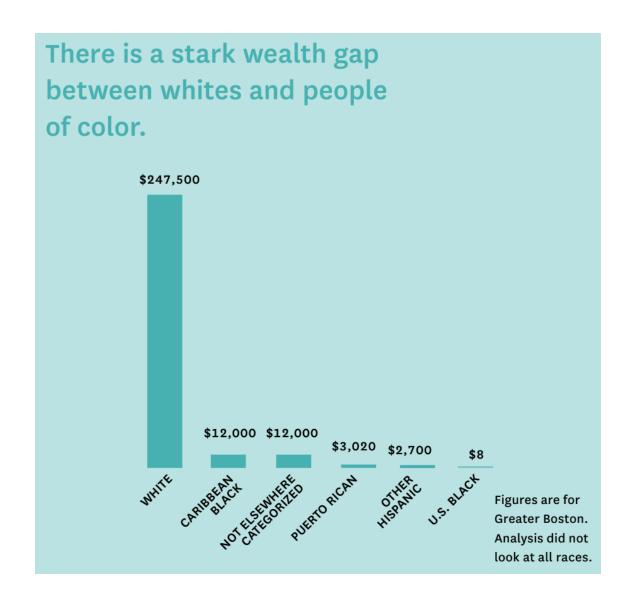
Figure 1. Median Wealth by Educational Attainment for Working Households under Age 55



Source: Authors' calculations of the Survey of Consumer Finances, 2013

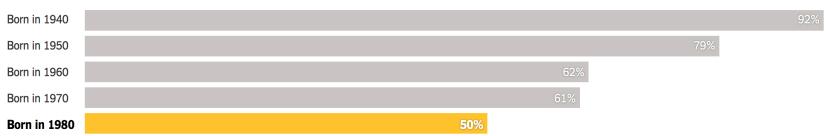
<sup>\*</sup> Latino refers to anyone who identified as Hispanic or Latino on the Survey of Consumer Finances and may be of any race.

<sup>\*\*</sup> This group includes households who attended college but attained no degree as well as those with associate's or bachelor's degrees. Households with graduate and professional degrees are not included.

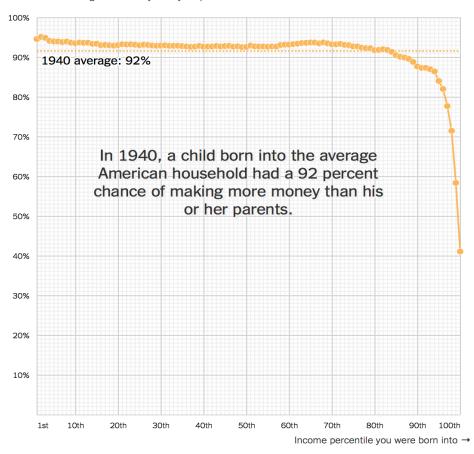


3. On perpetuating these social divides

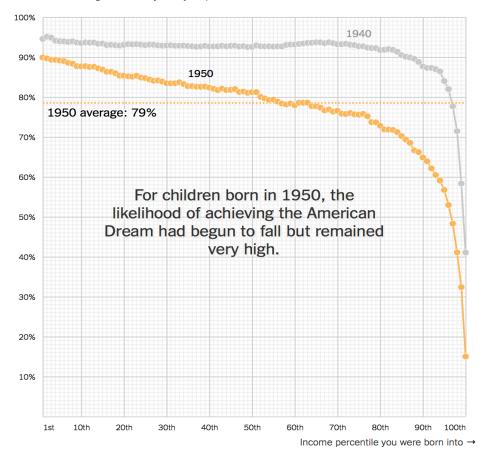
## Chance of making more money than your parents if you were $\dots$



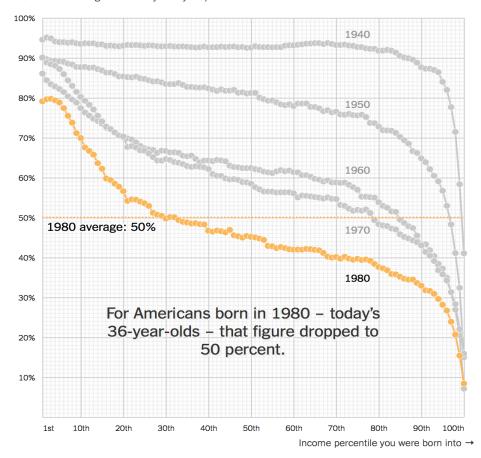
#### 1 Chance of making more money than your parents



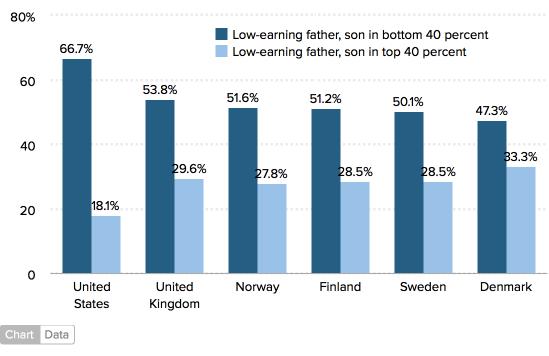
#### 1 Chance of making more money than your parents



#### † Chance of making more money than your parents



# Probability that sons of fathers in the bottom 20 percent of the earnings distribution end up in the bottom or top 40 percent as adults, by country



**Source:** Authors' analysis of Jantti et al. (2006)

# Lower-income individuals have difficulty voting and traveling due to lack of ID's and passports

HOUSEHOLD INCOME*	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	CONFIRMED ID	NO CONFIRMED ID
Below 25,000	14%	88%	12%
25,000 to 29,999	4%	92%	8%
30,000 to 34,999	4%	90%	10%
35,000 to 39,999	4%	94%	6%
40,000 to 49,999	5%	91%	9%
50,000 to 59,999	5%	94%	6%
60,000 to 74,999	8%	94%	6%
75,000 to 84,999	4%	94%	6%
85,000 to 99,999	4%	95%	5%
100,000 to 124,999	6%	96%	4%
125,000 to 149,999	3%	96%	4%
Over 150,000	4%	98%	2%
Inapplicable	35%	94%	6%
Total	100%	93%	7%

## The US is a world leader in incarceration

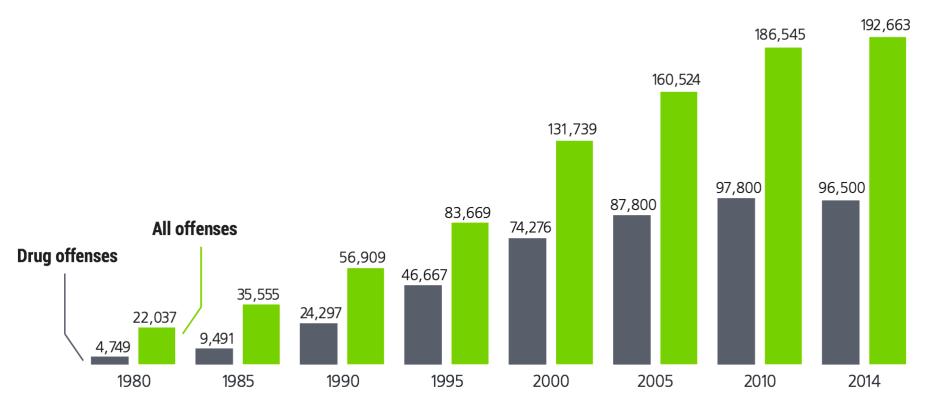




THE LANCET

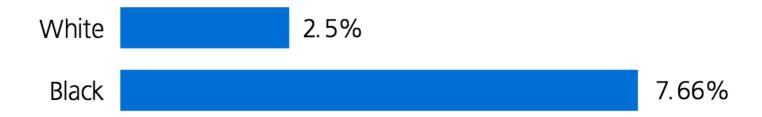
Read the Series: www.thelancet.com/us-health

### Number of People in Federal Prisons for Drug Offenses, 1980-2014

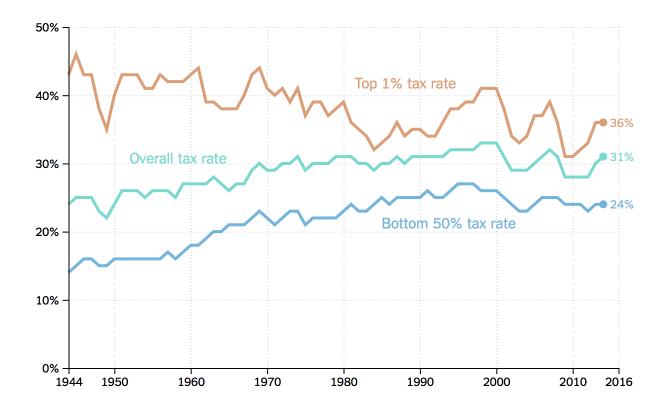


Sources: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics Online; Carson, E.A. (2015). Prisoners in 2014. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

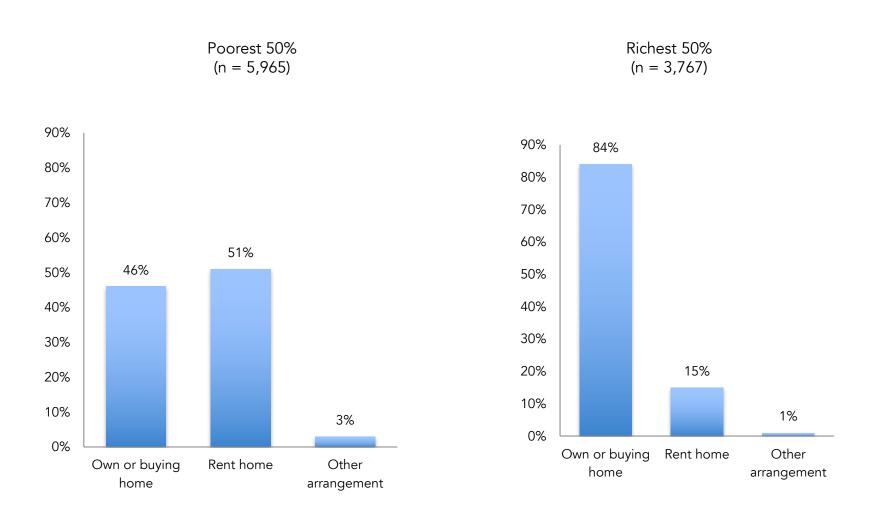
### Rate of Disenfranchisement, by Race, 2010



**Source**: Uggen, C., Shannon, S., & Manza, J. (2012). *State-Level Estimates of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States, 2010*. Washington, DC: The Sentencing Project.

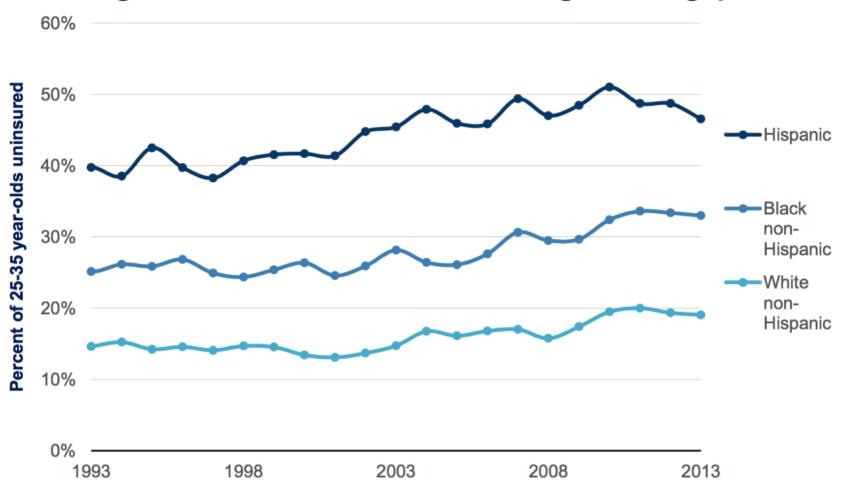


### Poorest 50% almost half as likely to own their home

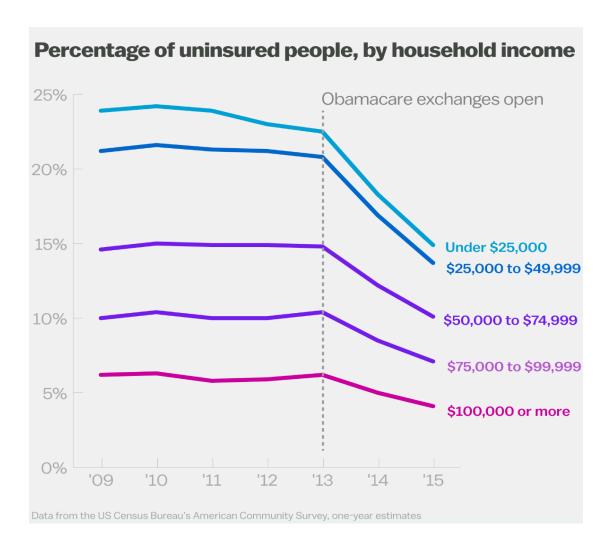


Data extracted from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, 2013-2014. National Center for Health Statistics, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

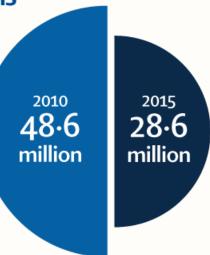
Figure 10. Health insurance coverage: Race gaps



Source: Author's tabulations of IPUMS CPS; University of Minnesota







# Those with serious illness commonly face FINANCIAL HARDSHIP

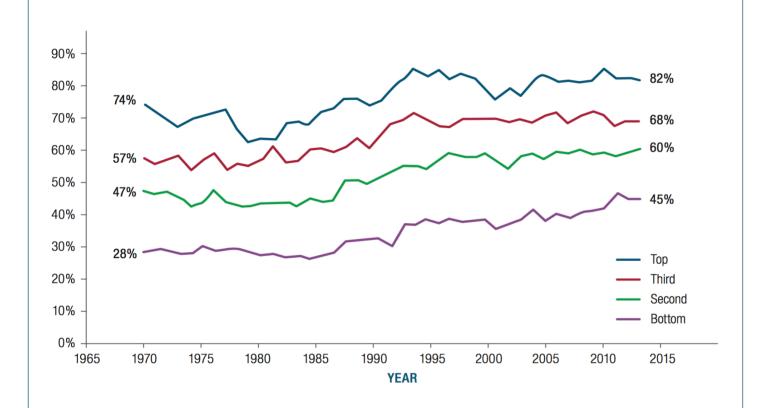


1 in 10 families with problems paying medical bills has declared bankruptcy

THE LANCET

Read the Series: www.thelancet.com/us-health

### Equity Indicator 1a: Cohort College Continuation Rate (CCCR) by family income quartile for dependent 18 to 24 year olds: 1970 to 2012



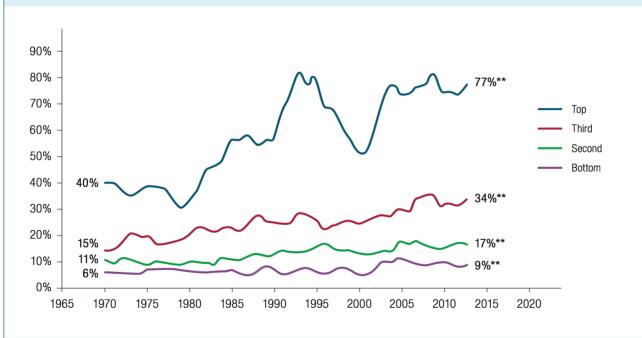
#### How Are We Doing? High Inequity Despite Small Narrowing of Gap

37 percentage-point gap between top and bottom quartiles in 2012, compared with 46 percentage-point gap in 1970

**Note**: Cohort College Continuation rate (CCCR) is tabulated based on the total number in the cohort year and includes those that have not completed high school in the denominator of the tabulation.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau; School Enrollment Data, Compiled by Tom Mortenson, graph by Pell Institute, July 2014

### Equity Indicator 5a: Bachelor's degree attainment by age 24 for dependent family members by family income quartile: 1970-2013



#### How Are We Doing? High Inequality and Widening Gap

In 2013 those from high-income families were 8 times more likely to obtain a bachelors' degree by age 24 than those from low-income families. In 1970 individuals from high-income families were 6 times more likely to obtain a bachelor's degree than those from low-income families.

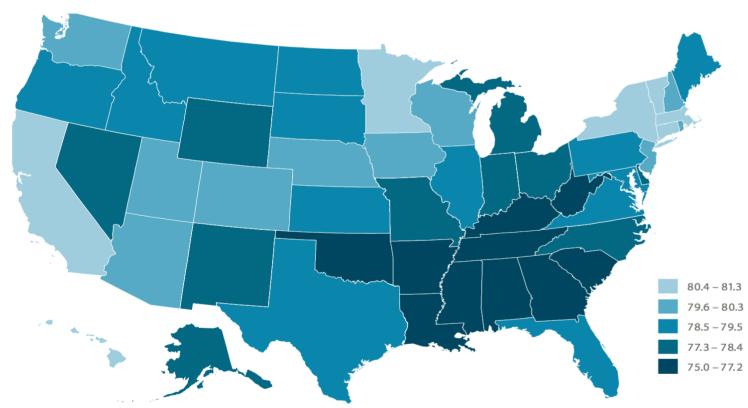
Note: \*\*These data represent dependent students only and cannot be assumed to represent the percent of the entire population of individuals who have obtained a bachelor's degree by the family income quartiles. Data for the top quartile for dependent students are especially likely to overestimate degree attainment relative to entire population of individuals from the top family quartile.

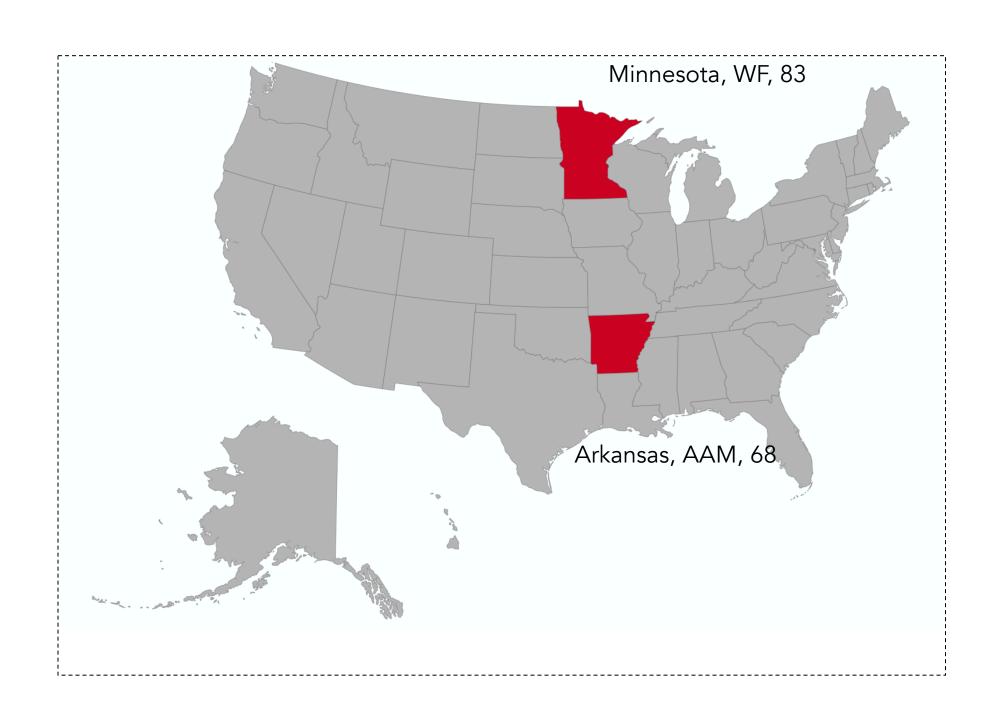
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, October Education Supplement. Data from 1970 to 1986 consider unmarried 18 to 24 year olds and data from 1987 to 2013 are based on dependent 18 to 24 year olds. We used data in Table 14 in Census Bureau P20 report on School Enrollment. After 2006, the Census Bureau no longer published Table 14. We received unpublished data. Mortenson, Thomas, 2014, "Unequal Family Income and Unequal Higher Education Opportunity, 1970 to 2013", Postsecondary Educational Opportunity, no. 267, Pell Institute for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education, Washington DC, September. http://www.postsecondary.org/

4. On health divides

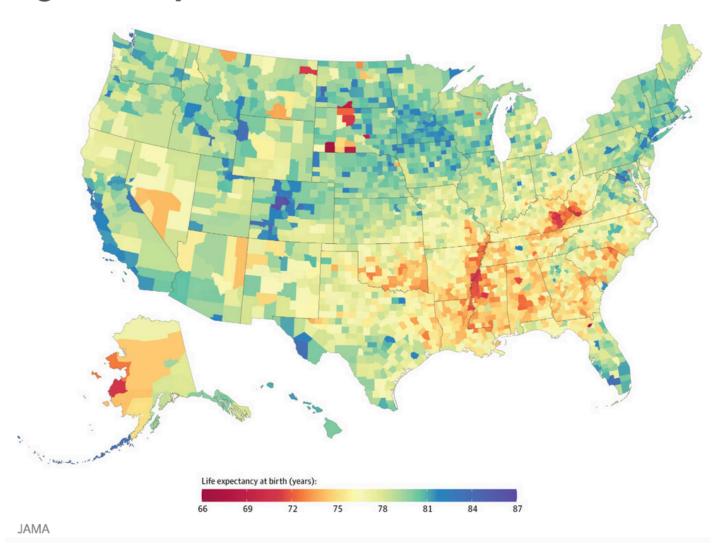
FIGURE 1.

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH (YEARS) BY STATE (2010)



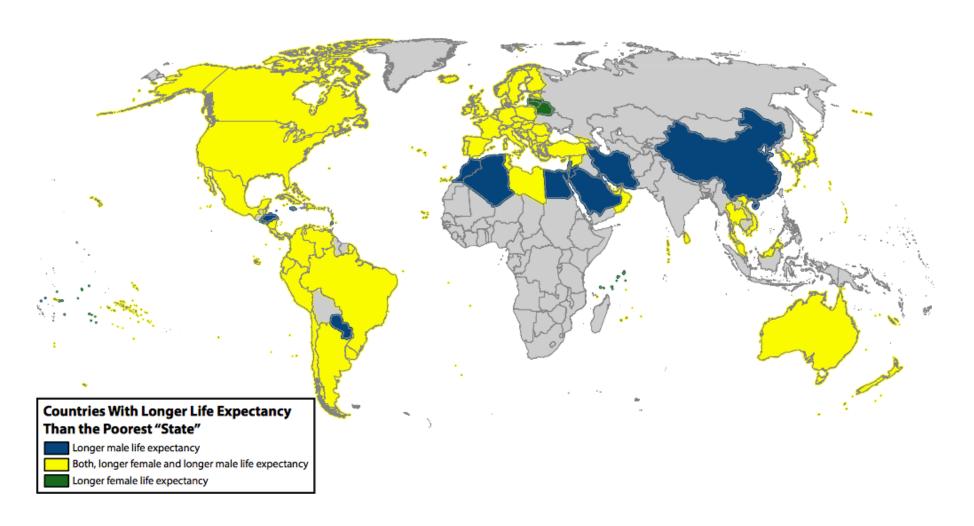


## There is a 20-year gap between counties with the lowest and highest life expectancies



Belluz J, Frostenson S. These maps show how Americans are dying younger. It's not just the opioid epidemic. Vox. May 9, 2017. https://www.vox.com/2016/12/13/13926618/mortality-trends-america-causes-death-by-county Accessed May 14, 2017.

More than half of the countries in the world have longer life expectancies than the poorest "state" in the U.S.



Egan O, Beatty K, Blackley DJ, Brown K, Wykoff R. Health and social conditions of the poorest versus wealthiest counties in the United States. American Journal of Public Health 2017; 107(1): 130-135.

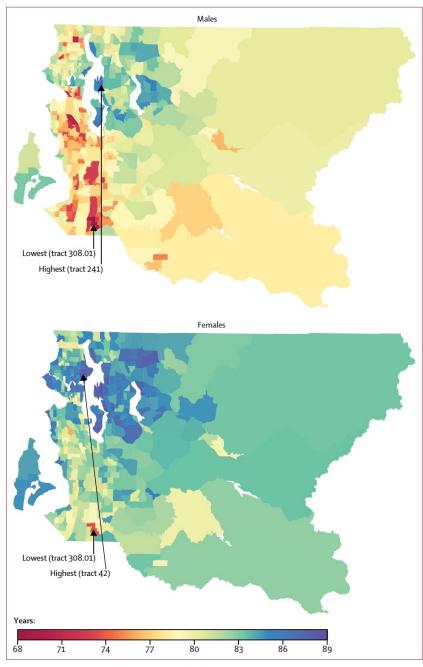
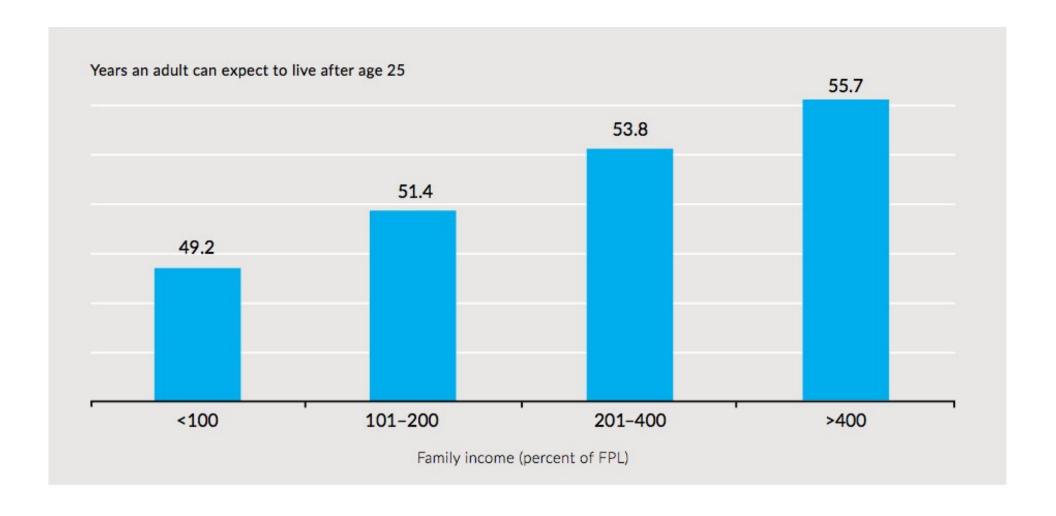
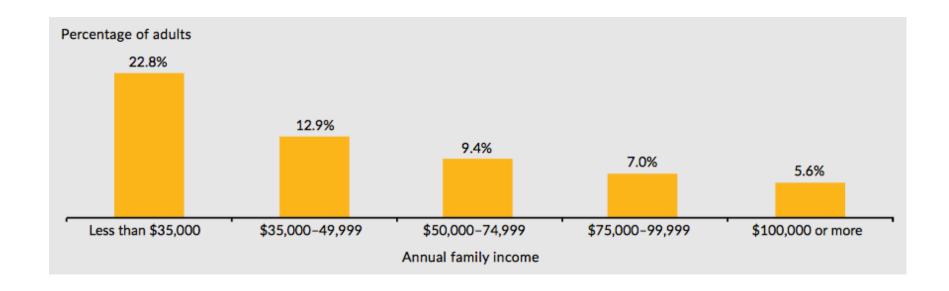


Figure 1: Life expectancy at birth by census tract in King County, WA, 2014

Dwyer-Lindgren L et al. Variation in life expectancy and mortality by cause among neighbourhoods in King County, WA, USA, 1990–2014: a census tract-level analysi for the Global Burden of Disease Study 2015. Lancet Public Health. 2017:



### Poor self-rated health



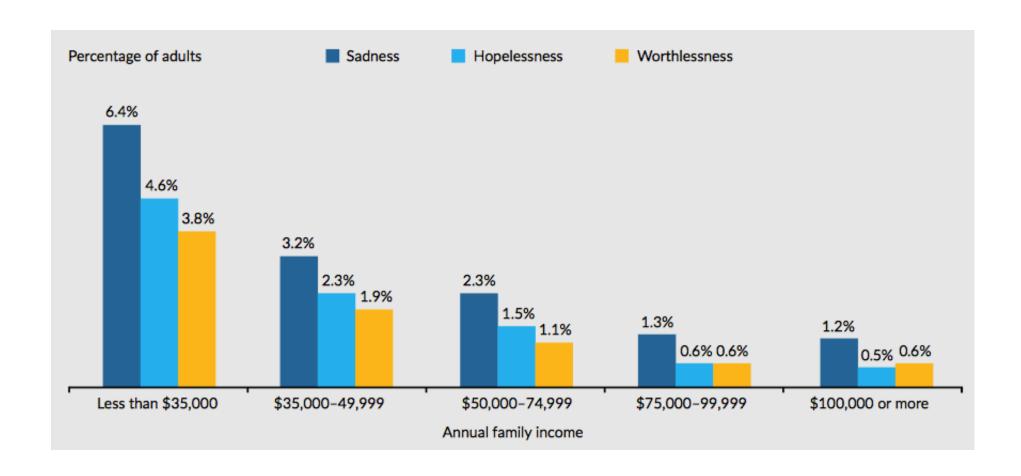
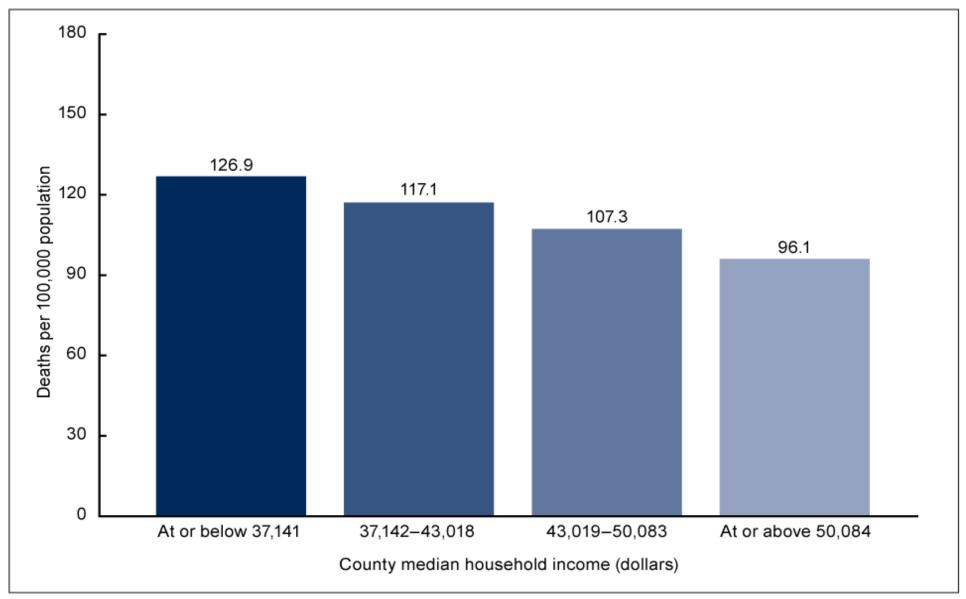


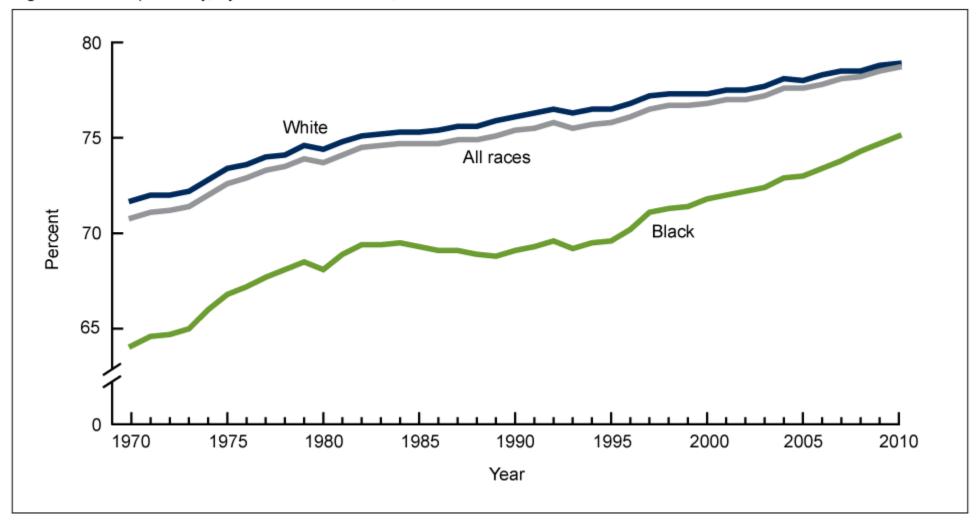
Figure 3. Age-adjusted stroke death rates among persons aged 45 and over, by county median household income quartile: average annual, 2010–2013



NOTES: Income categories are quartiles of county median household income. There is a significant linear trend across the categories (*p* < 0.05). SOURCES: CDC/NCHS, Compressed Mortality File, 1999–2013 (reference 9) and 2012 U.S. Census Bureau Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (reference 12).

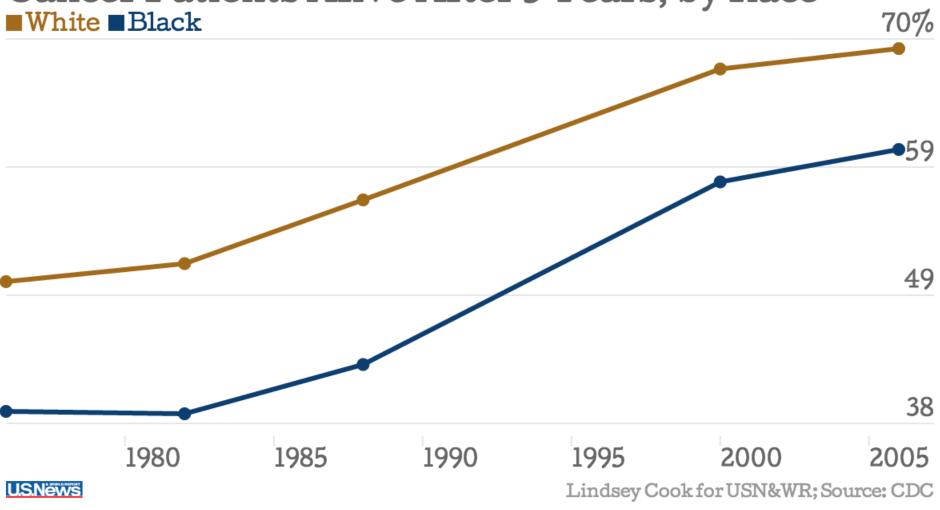
Differences in Stroke Mortality Among Adults Aged 65 and Over: United States, 2010-2013. <a href="http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db207.htm">http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db207.htm</a> Accessed March 18, 2016

Figure 1. Life expectancy, by race: United States, 1970–2010

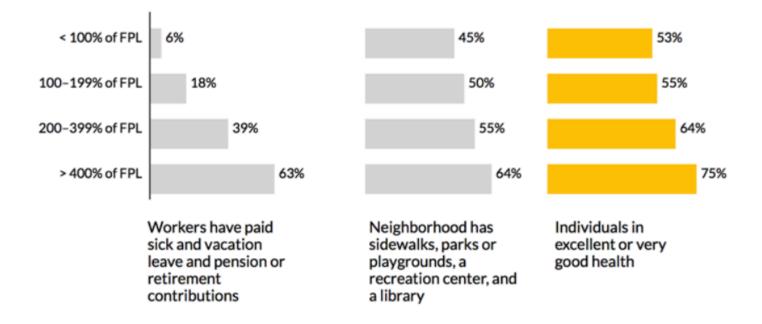


SOURCE: CDC/NCHS, National Vital Statistics System, Mortality.

## Cancer Patients Alive After 5 Years, by Race



### How income drives health



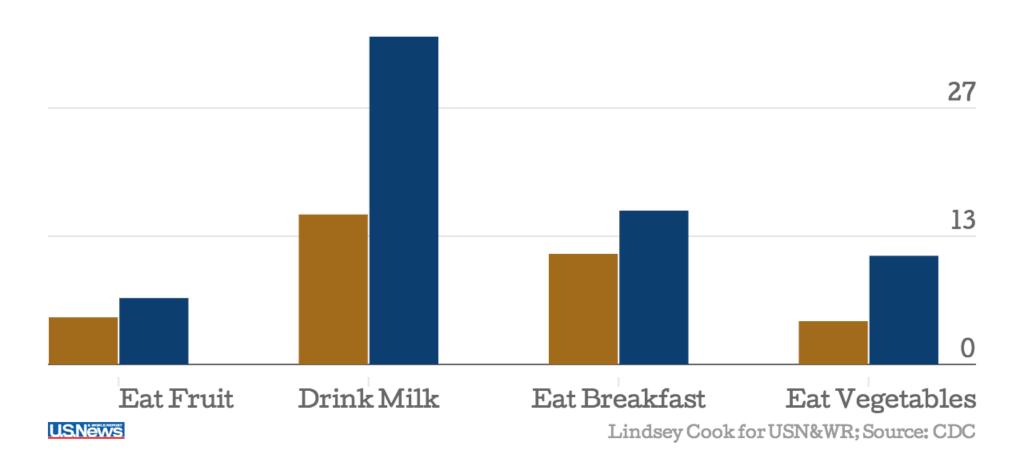
FPL = Federal poverty level

The Picture of Health: At Home, at Work, at Every Age, in Every Community. Urban Institute. <a href="http://apps.urban.org/features/picture-of-health/index.html">http://apps.urban.org/features/picture-of-health/index.html</a> Accessed November 28, 2016.

## High Schoolers Did Not ... in Last 7 Days (2013)

■White ■Black

40%



5. Do social divides kill?



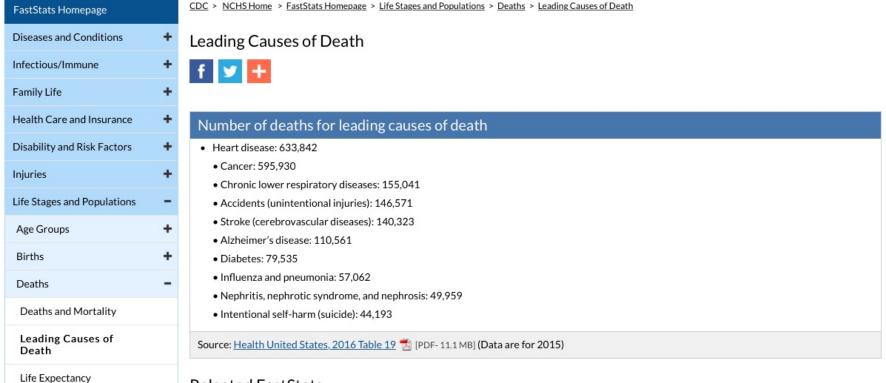
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blind\_Willie\_Johnson



CDC A-Z INDEX Y

### National Center for Health Statistics

Race and Ethnicity



### Releated FastStats

Deaths and mortality

### Actual Causes of Death in the United States in 1990 and 2000

Actual Cause	No. (%) in 1990	No. (%) in 2000
Tobacco	400 000 (19)	435 000 (18.1)
Poor diet and physical inactivity	300 000 (14)	365 000 (15.2)*
Alcohol consumption	100 000 (5)	85 000 (3.5)
Microbial agents	90 000 (4)	75 000 (3.1)
Toxic agents	60 000 (3)	55 000 (2.3)
Motor vehicles	25 000 (1)	43 000 (1.8)
Firearms	35 000 (2)	29 000 (1.2)
Sexual behavior	30 000 (1)	20 000 (0.8)
Illicit drug use	20 000 (<1)	17 000 (0.7)
Total	<b>1 060 000</b> (50)	1 159 000 (48.2)

### Deaths attributable to social factors

Social Factor	No. (%) in 2000		
Individual-level factors			
Low education	193 626 (8.3)		
Poverty	102 672 (4.4)		
Low social support	179 937 (7.7)		
Area-level factors			
Area-level poverty	39 553 (1.7)		
Income inequality	145 388 (6.2)		
Racial segregation	153 796 (6.6)		

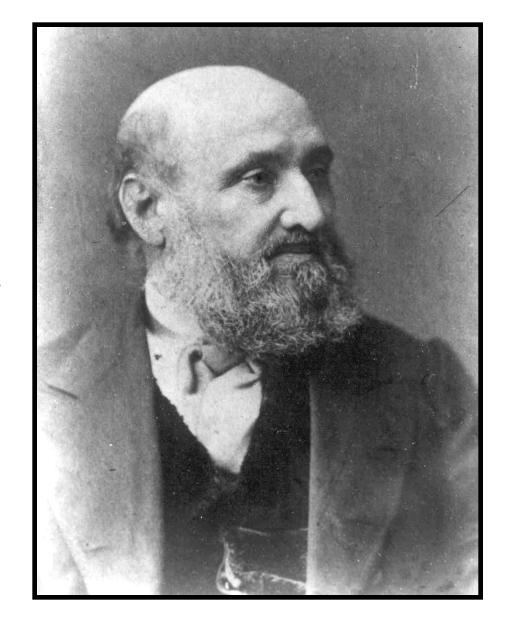
Galea S, Tracy M, Hoggatt KJ, DiMaggio C, Karpati A. Estimated deaths attributable to social factors in the United States. American Journal of Public Health. 2011;101(8):1456-65. PMID: 21680937.

### 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)



VS



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

6. Are social divides killing us more?

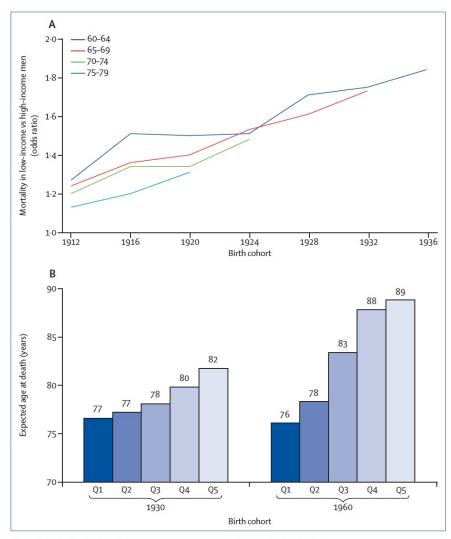


Figure 5: Widening income-related inequalities in survival across birth cohorts

(A) Excess mortality (odds ratio) associated with lifetime income in the lower (vs upper) 50% of the income distribution is shown at different ages for men born in 1912–38. Birth cohorts were grouped into 3-year intervals; the start of the interval is labelled on the horizontal axis. The association between income and mortality increased across birth cohorts for all observed age groups. Data are from Waldron (2007). (B) The projected life expectancy at age 50 is shown for 1930 and 1960 birth cohorts, by income quintile—Q1 (poorest) to Q5 (richest). Life expectancy is displayed as expected age at death, conditional on reaching age 50. Estimates for 1930 cohort are based on observed and projected age-specific mortality rates; estimates for 1960 cohort are based entirely on projections. Underlying data for these projections come from the Health and Retirement Study. Projections presented are for men; similar divergence in life expectancy by income was projected for female birth cohorts. Cohort life expectancy for the bottom two quintiles of the 1930 birth cohort was 76-6 years (Q1) and 77-2 years (Q2). Data are from the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine study.

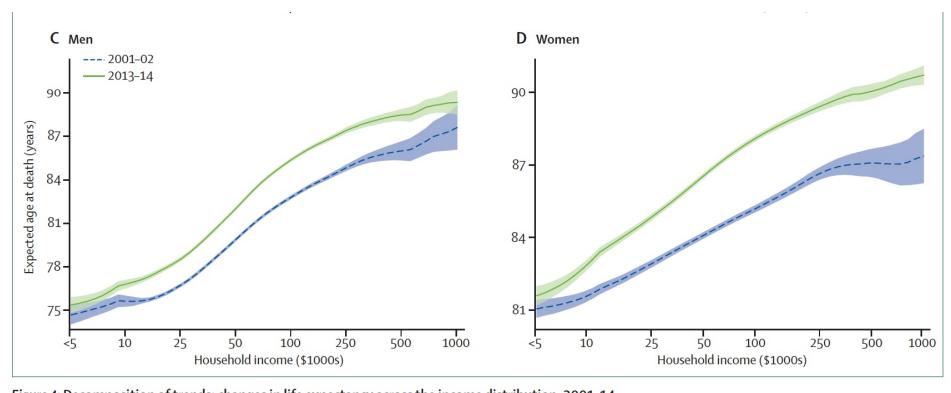


Figure 4: Decomposition of trends: changes in life expectancy across the income distribution, 2001–14

Graphs show (A) percentage change in household income from 2001 to 2014, by income percentile, for men (similar trends were observed for women);

(B) the average annual change in life expectancy by household income category over the period 2001–14 (whereas figure 3 shows changes by income percentile); and the income-life expectancy gradient in 2001–02 and 2013–14 for men (C) and women (D), shown as a kernel-weighted moving average. Household income is expressed in 2012 US\$, based on US tax records, and is presented on a log scale. In (B), income categories were defined in 0·5 log-point bins: 8·5, 9·0, 9·5, ..., 14.0; male datapoints are offset for visualisation purposes. Differential changes in life expectancy by income percentile were the result of both (A) falling incomes among the poor and (B–D) a steeper gradient between income and life expectancy. Data are from Chetty et al.<sup>6</sup>

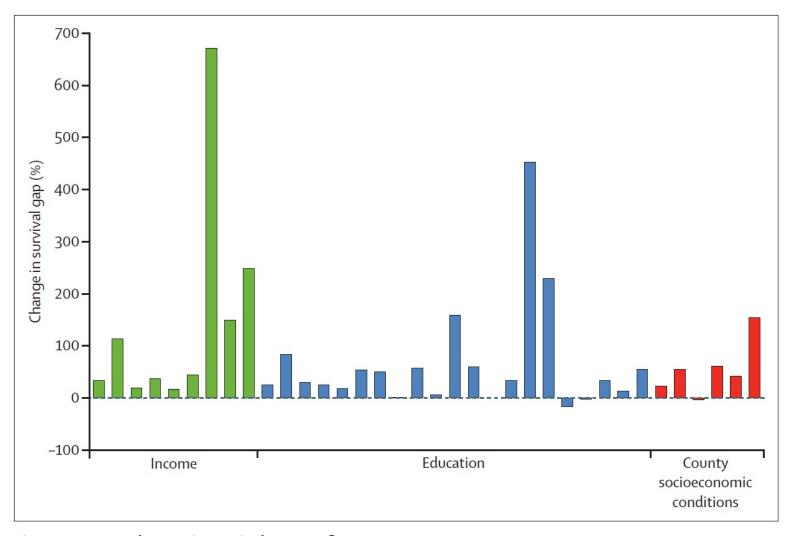
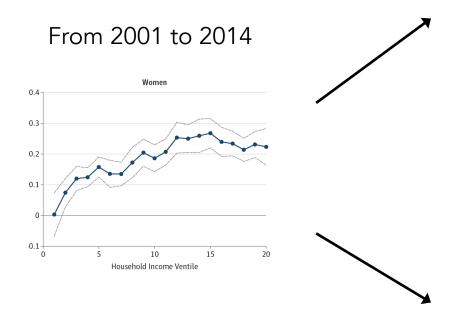


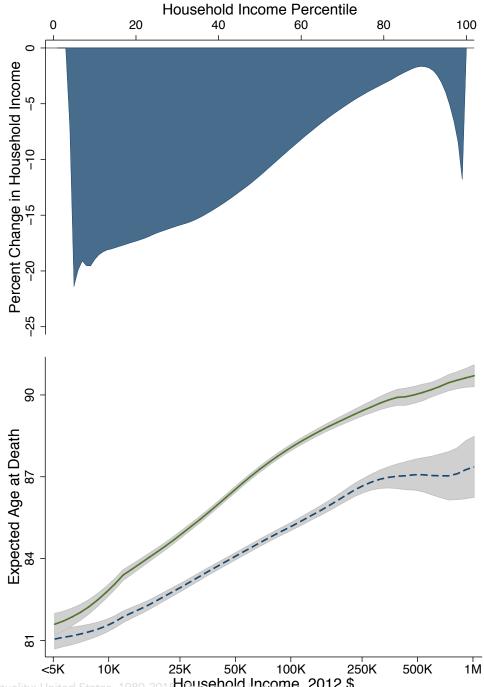
Figure 2: Percent changes in survival gaps, 1980-2014

Chart shows percent changes in income, education, and county socioeconomic condition-related survival gaps reported in the literature reviewed. Each bar represents a row in the table. The vast majority of studies reported widening survival gaps.

# Incomes have fallen for the poor and middle class



The income-health gradient has become steeper

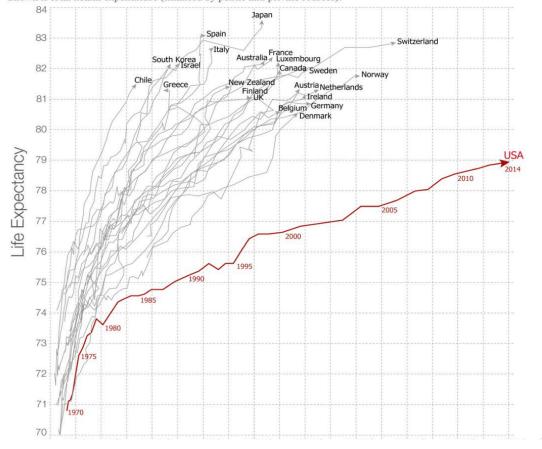


Bor J, Cohen G, Galea S. Population Health in an Era of Rising Income Inequality: United States, 1980-2015 Household Income, 2012 \$

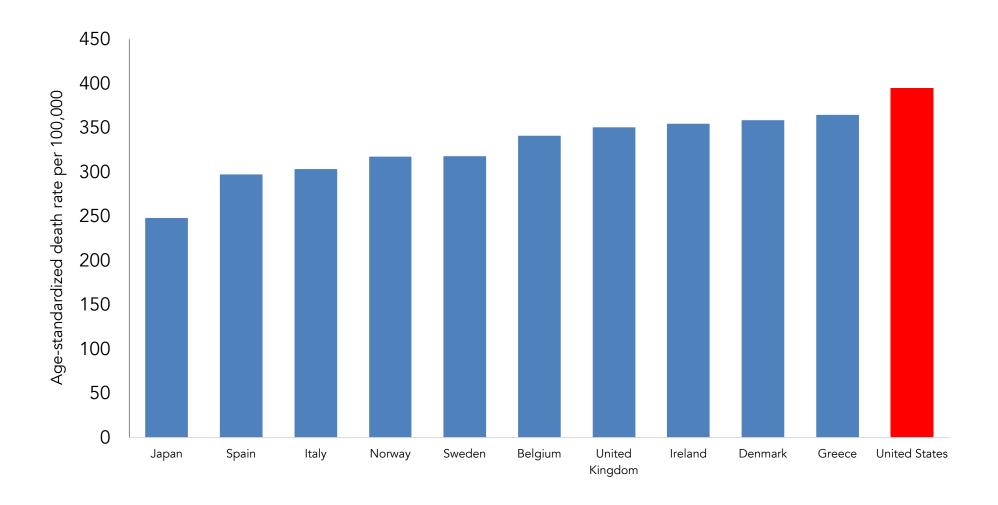
7. Not a solution

#### Life expectancy vs. health expenditure over time (1970-2014) Our World

Health spending measures the consumption of health care goods and services, including personal health care (curative care, rehabilitative care, long-term care, ancillary services and medical goods) and collective services (prevention and public health services as well as health administration), but excluding spending on investments. Shown is total health expenditure (financed by public and private sources).



#### Non-communicable diseases mortality rate in selected countries, 2015



Total NCD mortality (age-standardized): Data by country. Global Health Observatory data repository, World Health Organization 2016. <a href="http://apps.who.int/gho/data/view.main.1390?lang=en">http://apps.who.int/gho/data/view.main.1390?lang=en</a> Accessed October 2, 2017.

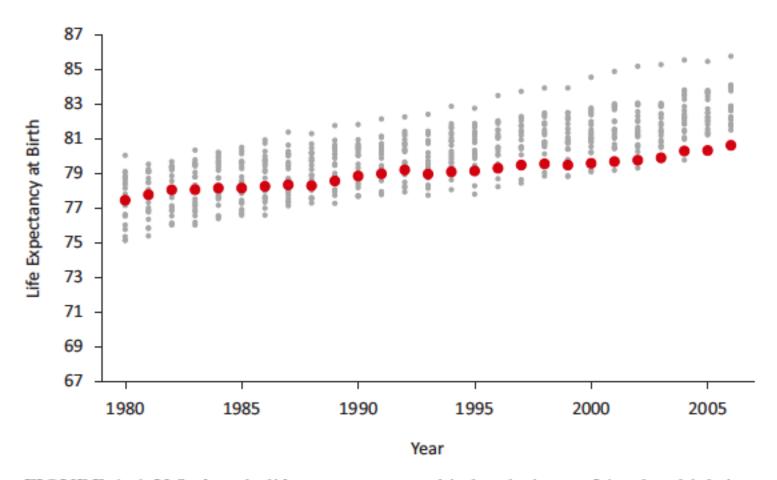
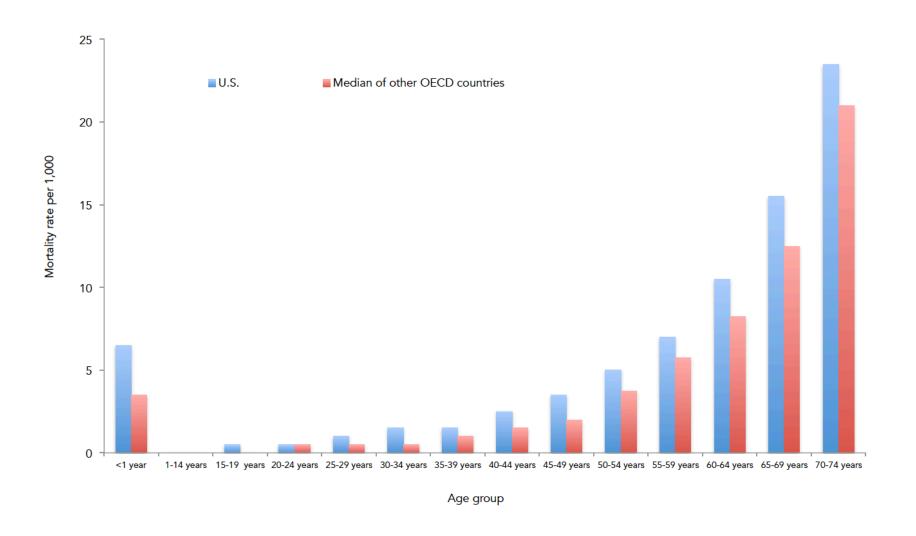


FIGURE 1-6 U.S. female life expectancy at birth relative to 21 other high-income countries, 1980-2006.

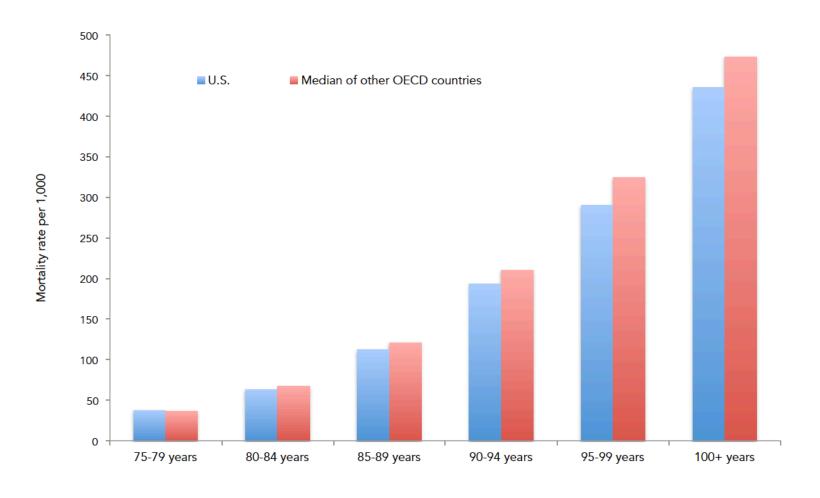
NOTES: Red circles depict newborn life expectancy in the United States. Grey circles depict life expectancy values for Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland,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

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

### U.S. vs. median mortality rates, age 0-75



### U.S. vs. median mortality rates, age 75+



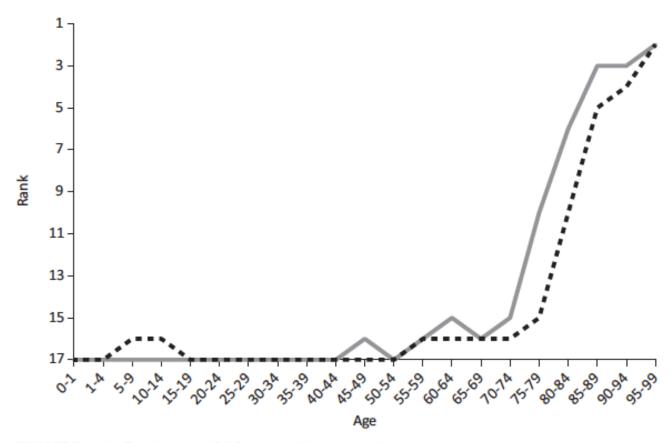
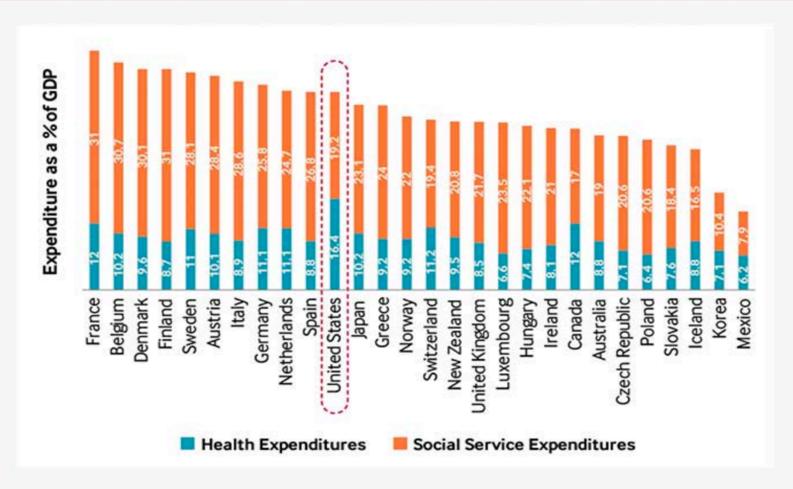


FIGURE 1-9 Ranking of U.S. mortality rates, by age group, among 17 peer countries, 2006-2008.

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).

### Health Care Compensates for a Lack of Social Services Spending in US



Source: Bradley E, et al. Health and social services expenditures: associations with health outcomes. BMJ Quality & Safety, 2011 March 29.

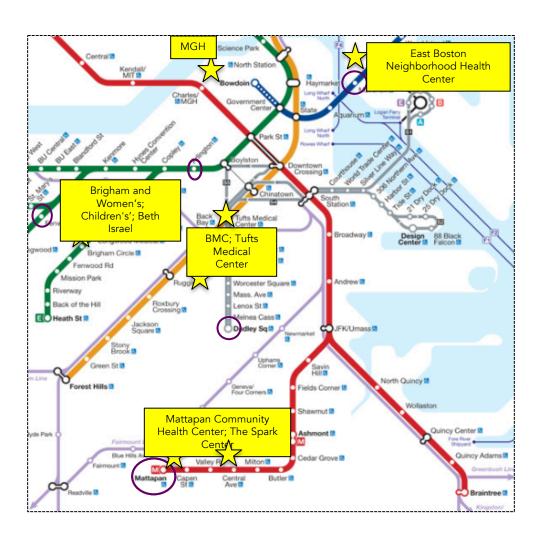
Updated using OECD Health Data 2014; OECD Social Expenditure Dataset 2014.

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## In Boston, the prevalence of diabetes is also clustered in the same areas where poverty is most prevalent



### Despite geographic proximity to health services

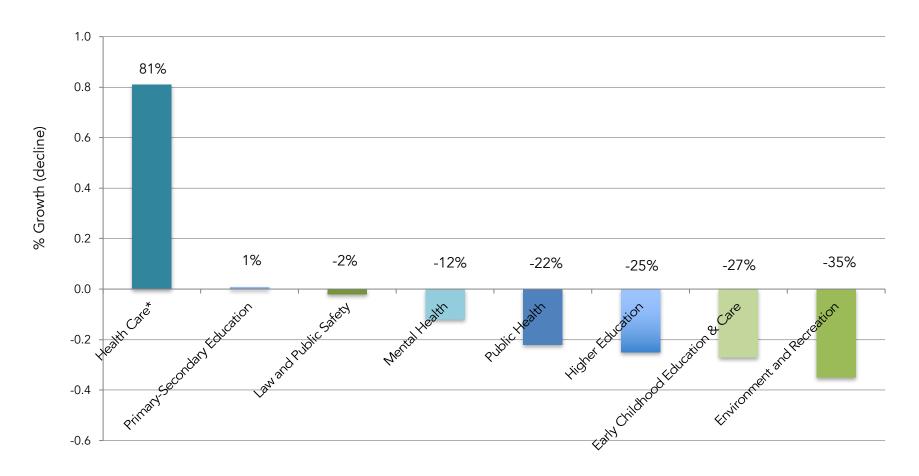


### Prevalence of poverty across Boston



Poverty in Boston. Boston Redevelopment Authority, Research Division. March 2014. <a href="http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/getattachment/01cef762-956d-4343-a49a-b41c280168ae/">http://www.bostonredevelopmentauthority.org/getattachment/01cef762-956d-4343-a49a-b41c280168ae/</a> Accessed February 23, 2015

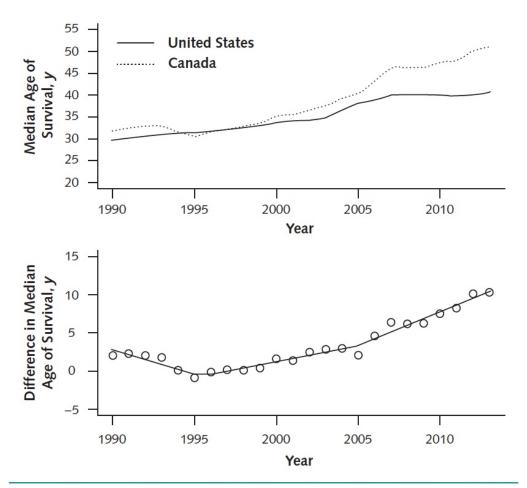
### Change in Massachusetts State Government spending: 2001-14



<sup>\*</sup> 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. <a href="http://www.tbf.org/tbf/56/hphe/Health-Crisis">http://www.tbf.org/tbf/56/hphe/Health-Crisis</a>

Figure 1. Median age of survival over time.

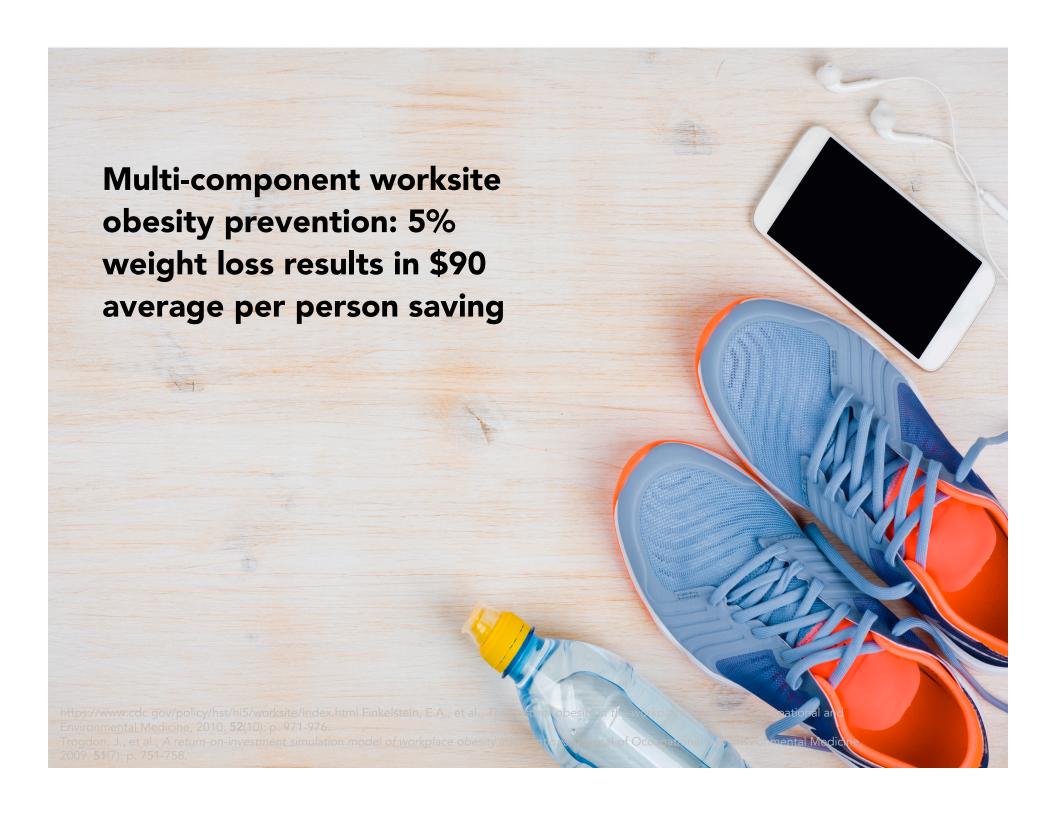


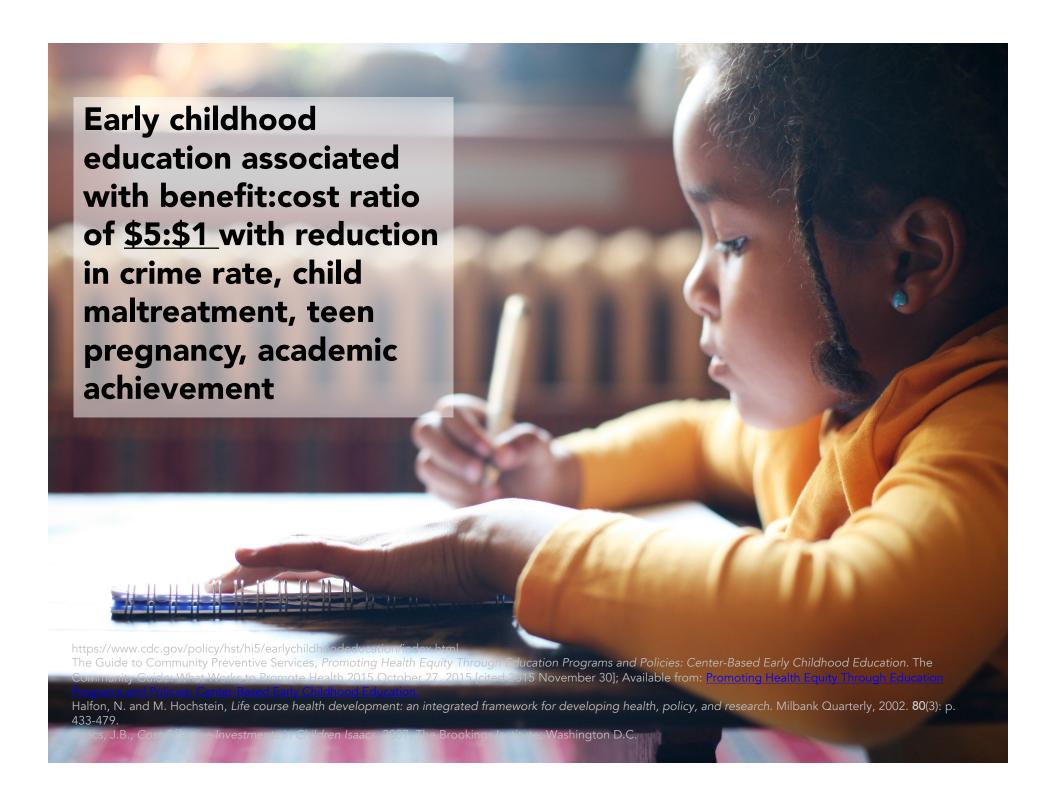
**Top.** Median survival age obtained by using a 5-year rolling window, Canada versus the United States, 1990-2013. **Bottom.** Difference in median age of survival between Canada and the United States, 1990-2013. Circles represent the point estimates for the difference.

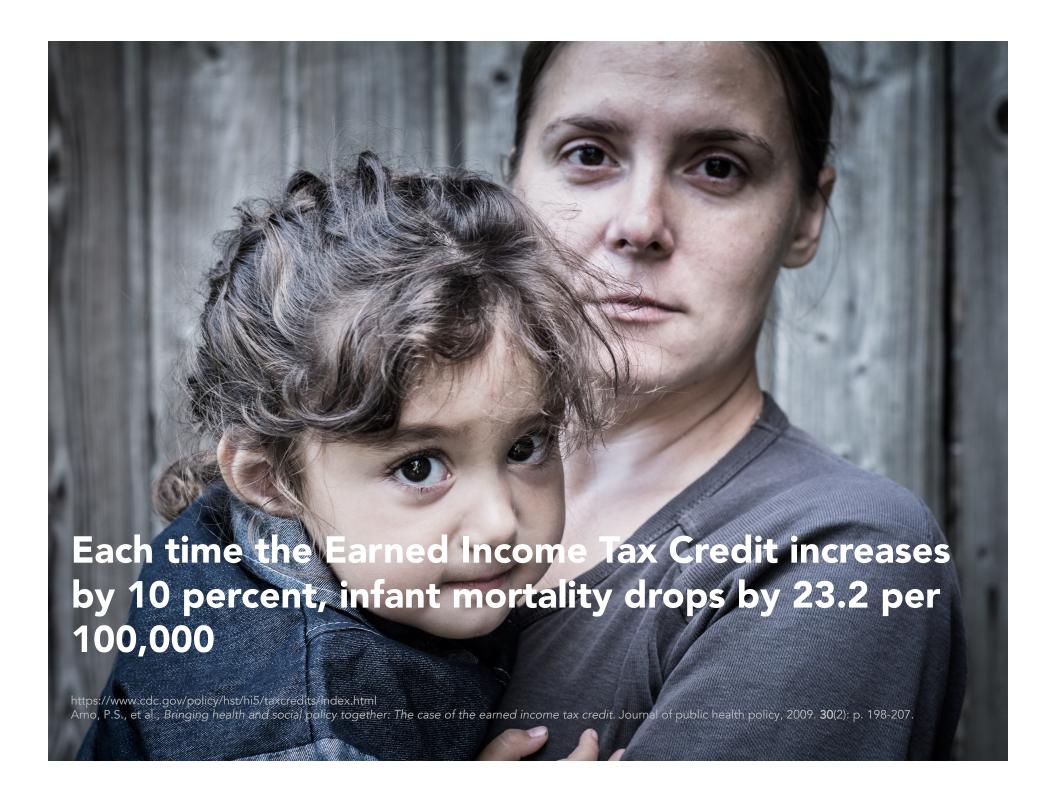
8. Solutions



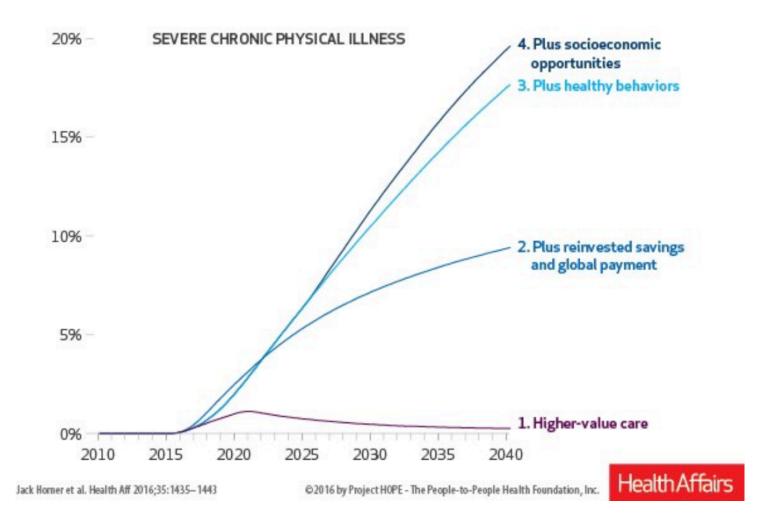


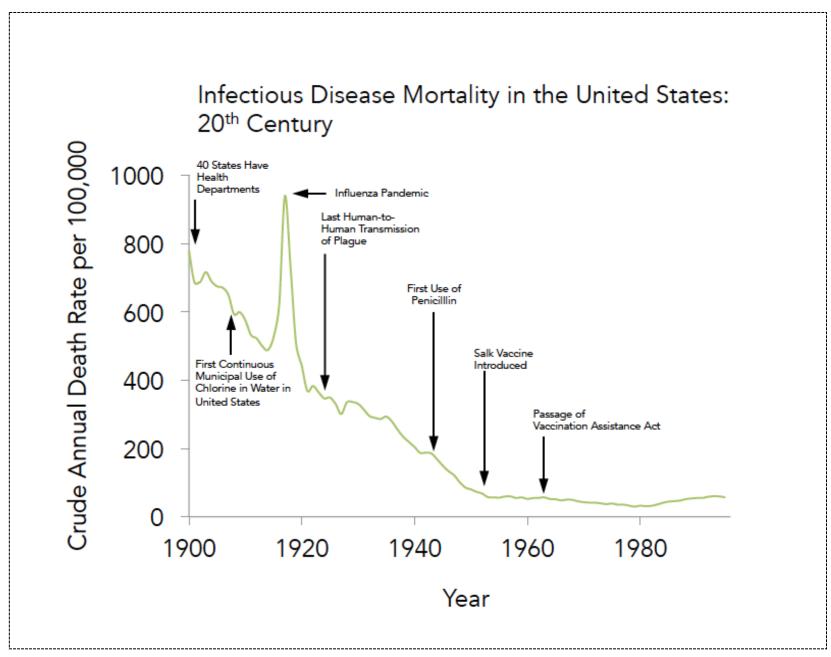




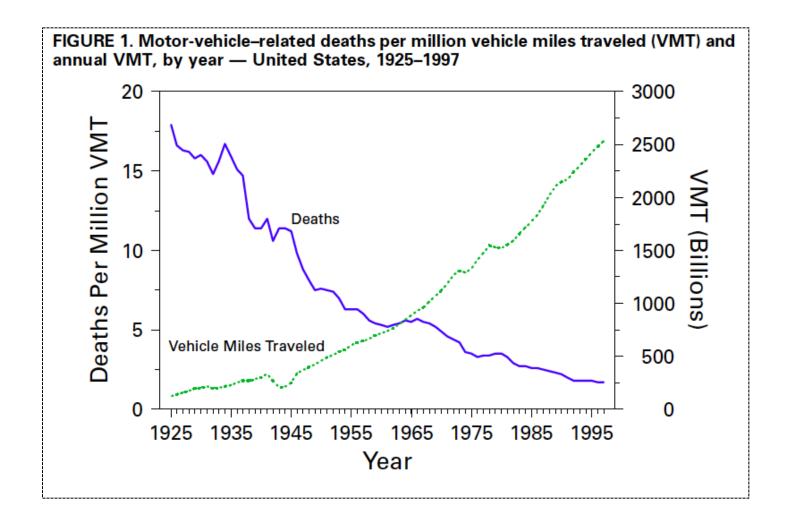


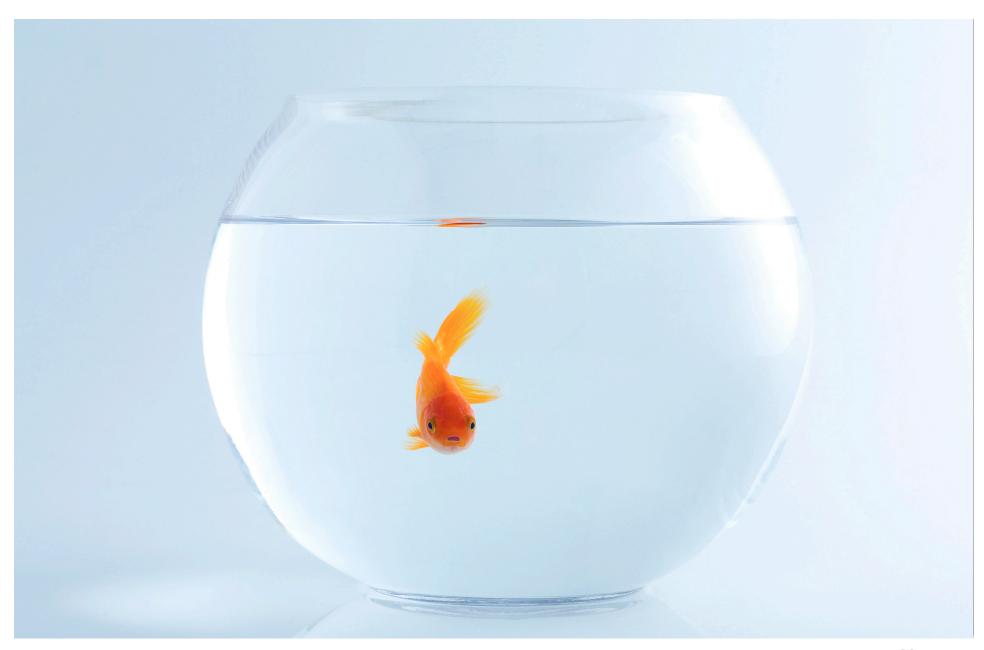
### Combined intervention improvements in **severe chronic physical illness** in the population, expressed as percentage decreases relative to baseline

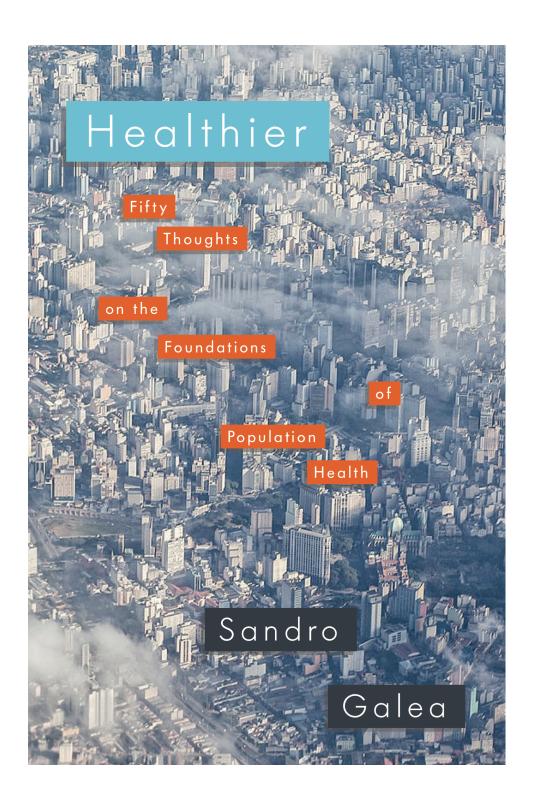




9. The art of the (im)possible







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