

Life expectancy and disparity: an **DEN** international comparison of life table data

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ABSTRACT

Objectives: To determine the contribution of progress in averting premature deaths to the increase in life expectancy and the decline in lifespan variation.

Design: International comparison of national life table data from the Human Mortality Database.

Setting: 40 developed countries and regions. 1840-2009.

Population: Men and women of all ages.

Main outcome measure: We use two summary measures of mortality: life expectancy and life disparity. Life disparity is a measure of how much lifespans differ among individuals. We define a death as premature if postponing it to a later age would decrease life disparity.

Results: In 89 of the 170 years from 1840 to 2009, the country with the highest male life expectancy also had the lowest male life disparity. This was true in 86 years for female life expectancy and disparity. In all years, the top several life expectancy leaders were also the top life disparity leaders. Although only 38% of deaths were premature, fully 84% of the increase in life expectancy resulted from averting premature deaths. The reduction in life disparity resulted from reductions in early-life disparity, that is, disparity caused by premature deaths; late-life disparity levels remained roughly constant.

Conclusions: The countries that have been the most successful in averting premature deaths have consistently been the life expectancy leaders. Greater longevity and greater equality of individuals' lifespans are not incompatible goals. Countries can achieve both by reducing premature deaths.

INTRODUCTION

The increase in life expectancy, from under 40 years in all areas of the world two centuries ago to over 80 years today in many developed countries, has fundamentally improved the human condition. ^{1 2} Equally significant and closely linked to the increase in life expectancy has been the reduction in differences among individuals in the age at death.³⁻⁶ Even in the most egalitarian societies before the mid-19th century, the fate of most newborns was to die young, although

ARTICLE SUMMARY

Article focus

- We examined the relationship between high life expectancy and low life disparity.
- We determined the relative importance of premature versus late deaths in increasing life expectancy and reducing life disparity.
- We examined whether policies to increase life expectancy were compatible with those to reduce lifespan variation.

Key messages

- Most of the gains in life expectancy are the result of reducing disparities in how long people live, by averting premature mortality.
- Progress in reducing death rates for people who live longer than average has had little effect on life disparity levels and has contributed only modestly to life expectancy gains.
- The countries that have been most successful at reducing premature mortality enjoy the highest life expectancies and the greatest equality in individuals' lifespans.

Strengths and limitations

- We are the first to examine this issue using a large, comparable database of 40 developed countries from 1840 to 2009 containing 7056 life
- Our analysis was limited to countries with data of high enough quality to be included in the database.
- Although this database contains high mortality life tables from historic populations, it is unknown whether the patterns we observed would also be seen in contemporary emerging and developing countries.

a fortunate minority survived to old age. Death rates today in health leaders such as Japan, Spain and Sweden, imply that threequarters of babies will survive to celebrate their 75th birthdays.²

The negative correlation between high life expectancy and low lifespan variation has been investigated for several countries, including the USA, 4-6 7 England and Wales, 7

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Sweden⁶ and Japan.⁶ The correlation is strong, but there are discrepancies. Some countries, notably the USA, have substantially greater lifespan disparity than might be predicted from their high levels of life expectancy.^{3–5}

Progress in reducing premature deaths reduces variation in lifespans, whereas progress in reducing deaths at older ages increases variation in lifespans. A recently-developed demographic formula permits ready determination of the ages at which deaths are premature. We use this new formula and apply it to a large dataset on developed countries to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between high life expectancy and low lifespan variation. We find that the countries that have been the most successful in reducing premature deaths, and consequently in reducing lifespan variation, have consistently been the life expectancy leaders.

METHODS

Our calculations are based on all period life tables of the Human Mortality Database (HMD) from 1840 to the most recent year available in the data set (7056 life tables covering 170 years).² This is a freely available database with reliable, comparable data covering 40 countries and areas (online supplementary table 1 lists the countries or regions and years used in the analysis).

We measure dispersion in age-at-death by the life disparity measure, e^{\dagger} (a technical description is given in the online supplementary appendix).^{8 9} Life disparity is defined as the average remaining life expectancy at the ages when death occurs; it is a measure of life years lost due to death. The more egalitarian the lifespan distribution is, the lower the life disparity. In the Swedish female life table for 2008, life expectancy reached 83 years; for those women who survived to age 83, remaining life expectancy was 7.5 additional years. Hence, a death shortly after birth would contribute 83 years, whereas a death at age 83 would contribute 7.5 years. The average of such values over the Swedish female population, weighted by the number of deaths at each age, gives a life disparity of 9. In 1840, life expectancy for Swedish women was only 46 and life disparity was 24. Over time, as deaths became concentrated at later ages, the average gap was reduced between the age at which a person died and the remaining lifespans of people who survived beyond this age.

Saving lives (ie, averting deaths) at any age increases life expectancy. Lifespan disparity, on the other hand, narrows or widens depending on the balance between saving lives at 'early' ages, which compresses the distribution of lifespans, and saving lives at 'late' ages, which expands this distribution by increasing the average remaining life expectancy of survivors. Separating the two is a unique threshold age, a^{\dagger} , which is generally just below life expectancy. Henceforth, we refer to deaths occurring before the threshold age as 'premature deaths', while those occurring after this age are 'late deaths'. Thus 'premature deaths' according to our definition are defined relative to the mortality level of

the population. This is in contrast to other definitions which use a fixed age, for example, age 65; use of a fixed age is problematic over long periods of time. This new definition implies that deaths at surprisingly old ages can be premature deaths. In 2008 deaths up to age 82 were premature deaths for Swedish females (table 1).

Table 1 Countries and regions in the Human Mortality Database² used in our analysis, ranked by female life expectancy for the latest year available

Country or region		Females			Males	
	e ₀ 86.4	e [†]	a [†] 85.3	e ₀	e [†]	a [†] 78.0
Japan	(86.3, 86.4)	(9.1,9.2)	(85.3, 85.4)	(79.6, 79.6)	(10.6, 10.6)	(77.9, 78.0)
France	84.4 (84.3, 84.4)	9.3 (9.3, 9.4)	83.8 (83.7, 83.8)	77.4 (77.4, 77.5)	11.4 (11.3, 11.4)	76.5
Switzerland	84.1 (83.9, 84.2)	9.0 (8.9, 9.1)	83.2 (83.1, 83.4)	79.3 (79.2, 79.5)	(10.1, 10.3)	78.0 (77.9, 78.3)
Italy	84.1	8.8	82.9	78.8	10.2	77.3
Spain	(84.0, 84.1) 84.1	(8.8, 8.9) 8.8	(82.8, 82.9) 82.9	(78.8, 78.9) 77.6	(10.1, 10.2) 11.1	(77.2, 77.3) 76. 0
	(84.0, 84.1) 83.7	(8.7, 8.8) 9.3	(82.9, 83.0) 82.9	(77.5, 77.6) 79.3	(11.0, 11.1) 10.6	(76.0, 76.1) 78.0
Australia	(83.7, 83.8)	(9.2, 9.3)	(82.8, 83.0)	(79.2, 79.4)	(10.5, 10.6)	(77.9, 78.1) 75.3
Finland	83.1 (83.0, 83.3)	9.1 (9.0, 9.2)	82.4 (82.2, 82.6)	76.5 (76.3, 76.7)	11.2 (11.1, 11.3)	(75.1, 75.5)
Sweden	83.1 (83.0, 83.2)	8.9 (8.8, 8.9)	82.2 (82.1, 82.3)	79.1	9.8 (9.7, 9.8)	77.9
Austria	83.0 (82.9, 83.0)	8.9 (8.8, 8.9)	82.1 (82.0, 82.2)	77.6 (77.5, 77.7)	(10.5, 10.7)	76.6 (76.4, 76.8)
Norway	83.0	9.1	81.9	78.3	10.0	77.2
iceland	(82.8 ,83.1) 83.0	(9.0, 9.2) 8.7	(81.7, 82.0) 81.9	(78.2, 78.5) 79.7	(9.9, 10.1) 9.8	(77.0, 77.4, 78.2
	(82.5, 83.7) 82.9	(8.3, 9.1) 10.0	(81.4, 82.6) 81.9	(79.0, 80.4) 78.3	(9.3, 10.3) 11.0	(77.1, 79.2) 76.9
Canada	(82.9, 83.0)	(9.9, 10.0)	(81.8, 82.0)	(78.3, 78.4)	(10.9, 11.0)	(76.8, 77.0)
Israel	82.9 (82.7, 83.0)	9.2 (9.1, 9.3)	81.1 (81.0, 81.3)	79.0 (78.8, 79.2)	10.9 (10.7, 11.0)	77.0
England & Wales	82.5 (82.4, 82.5)	9.8 (9.8, 9.8)	81.1 (81.1, 81.2)	78.3 (78.3, 78.4)	10.9 (10.9, 10.9)	76.6
West Germany	82.4	8.9 (8.9, 9.0)	81.7	77.5	10.5	76.1
East Germany	(82.4, 82.5) 82.4	9.1	(81.7, 81.8) 81.2	(77.5, 77.6) 76.5	(10.4, 10.5) 11.0	(76.0, 76.1) 74.8
· ·	(82.2, 82.5) 82.4	(9.0, 9.1) 8.9	(81.1, 81.2) 81.5	(76.4, 76.6) 76.4	(10.9, 11.1) 11.0	(74.7, 74.9, 75.5
Portugal	(82.4,82.5) 82.3	(8.8, 8.9)	(81.4, 81.6) 81.6	(76.3, 76.5)	(10.9, 11.0)	(75.3, 75.6) 75.7
Belgium	(82.2, 82.4)	(9.4, 9.5)	(81.5, 81.7)	76.9	(10.8, 10.9)	(75.5, 75.8,
Netherlands	82.3 (82.3, 82.4)	9.6 (9.5, 9.7)	80.9 (80.8, 81.0)	78.3 (78.2, 78.4)	9.8 (9.8,9.9)	76.7
Slovenia	82.2 (82.0, 82.5)	8.9 (8.8, 9.1)	81.0 (80.7, 81.2)	75.7 (75.5, 76.0)	(10.8, 11.2)	73.5
Luxembourg	82.1	9.2	81.4	76.6	10.0	76.0
New Zealand non-Maori	(81.6, 82.6) 82.1	(8.9, 9.6) 9.6	(80.8, 82.0) 81.2	(76.1, 77.2) 77.8	(9.7, 10.4) 10.4	(75.2, 76.7) 76.6
	(81.9, 82.3) 82.0	(9.4, 9.7) 10.1	(81.0, 81.4) 80.5	(77.6, 78.0) 75.9	(10.3, 10.6) 12.6	(76.3, 76.8, 73.7
Taiwan	(81.9,82.1)	(10.0, 10.2)	(80.4, 80.6)	(75.8, 76.0)	(12.5, 12.7)	(73.6, 73.9,
Ireland	81.9 (81.7, 82.1)	9,4 (9.3, 9.6)	80.3 (80.1, 80.6)	77.3 (77.1, 77.4)	10.2 (10.1, 10.4)	75.5 (75.3, 75.8)
Northern Ireland	81.3 (81.0,81.6)	9,9 (9.7, 10.1)	80.6 (80.3, 80.9)	77.2 (76.9, 77.5)	11.0 (10.8, 11.3)	76.1 (75.7, 76.4)
Denmark	80.9 (80.8, 81.0)	9.9	79.4 (79.2, 79.6)	76.5 (76.3, 76.6)	(10.6, 10.8)	74.9
USA	80.8	11.1	79.8	75.6	12.5	74.5
Chile	(80.7, 80.8) 80.7	(11.0, 11.1) 10.7	(79.8, 79.8) 78.9	(75.6, 75.6) 75.0	(12.5, 12.5) 12.7	(74.4, 74.5, 72.3
	(80.6, 80.8) 80.4	(10.6, 10.8)	(78.8, 79.0) 78.9	(74.9, 75.1) 75.9	(12.5, 12.8)	(72.0, 72.5, 74.0
Scotland	(80.3, 80.6)	(10.2, 10.4)	(78.7, 79.1)	(75.7, 76.0)	(11.5, 11.7)	(73.8, 74.2,
Czech Republic	80.3 (80.2, 80.4)	9.3 (9.2, 9.4)	78.9 (78.8, 79.0)	74.0 (73.9, 74.1)	11.2 (11.2, 11.3)	71.7
Estonia	80,0 (79,7,80,3)	9,9 (9.6, 10.1)	79.0 (78.8, 79.3)	69.7 (69.4, 70.1)	12.9 (12.7, 13.2)	66.3
Poland	79.9 (79.8, 80.0)	10.0 (9.9, 10.0)	78.9 (78.8, 79.0)	71.5	12.5 (12.5, 12.6)	68.7
Slovakia	78.8	9.8	77.2	70.8	12.2	67.8
	(78.7, 79.0) 78.6	(9.6, 9.9) 10.2	(77.0, 77.3) 78.0	(70.6, 71.0) 67.5	(12.1, 12.3) 13.6	(67.6, 68.0) 64.0
Lithuania	(78.4,78.7)	(10.1, 10.4)	(77.8, 78.2)	(67.3, 67.7)	(13.4, 13.7)	(63.6,64.3)
China [*] Latvia	78.2 78.0	11.7 10.5	76.5 77.5	73.4 68.3	12.6 13.2	72.0 64.8
	(77.8,78.3) 77.7	(10.4, 10.7) 10.7	(77.2, 77.7) 76.1	(68.0, 68.5) 69.2	(13.0, 13.3) 12.9	(64.5, 65.1) 65.0
Hungary	77.7 (77.5, 77.8)	(10.7, 10.8)	(76.0, 76.2)	(69.0, 69.3)	(12.8, 13.0)	(64.8, 65.1)
Bulgaria	77.3 (77.1,77.4)	10.1 (10.0, 10.2)	76.3 (76.1, 76.4)	70.0 (69.9, 70.2)	12.6 (12.5, 12.7)	67.3 (67.2, 67.5)
Belarus	76.1 (76.0, 76.3)	10.9	74.7 (74.6, 74.9)	64.5	13.7	60.4
Russia	74.2	11.9	73.4 (73.4, 73.5)	61.8	15.0	57.4
Ukraine	73.8	11.6	72.9	62.3	14.7	58.0
India*	(73.7, 73.9) 63.8	(11.6, 11.7) 18.2	(72.8, 72.9) 72.8	(62.2, 62.4) 61.8	(14.7, 14.8) 18.2	(57.9, 58.0) 69.7
South Africa*	52.6	20.7	60.6	50.0	19.8	56.8

All other data are from the Human Mortality Database 2011. See online supplementary table 1 for latest year available. Life expectancy is denoted by e_0 , the threshold age separating 'premature' from 'late' deaths by a^{\dagger} , and life disparity by e^{\dagger} , with 95% CIs given in brackets (see supplementary material). Information for Eastern European countries is shown in red and for the USA in blue. The countries used in our analyses are in regular type face. The countries in italics have less reliable data and are shown for comparison only; data for these countries comes from the WHO database 2006 and were not included in the analyses. *Data sources: data for 2006 from WHO, not used in the analysis but shown here for comparative purposes.

The life disparity measure has the property that it can be additively decomposed at any age such that the components before and after this age sum to the total life disparity.⁸ When it is decomposed at the threshold age, the components are defined as 'early-life disparity' and 'late-life disparity'.

While it is known that high life expectancy is associated with low lifespan variation, we wanted to establish whether life expectancy leaders had the most egalitarian lifespan distributions. For each sex, year, and for up to 40 countries depending on the year, we determined the male and female record high life expectancy and record low life disparity. We calculated how many fewer years of life expectancy and additional years of life disparity each country experienced compared with the record-holding country in that year.

We next investigated the relative importance of premature versus late deaths in determining the relationship between high life expectancy and low life disparity. To do so, we calculated first the number of premature and late deaths as a proportion of all deaths, measured by 10-year averages across all countries and years. We then compared this to the respective contributions of averting premature and late deaths to increases in life expectancy, ^{8 9} using a 20-year moving average to smooth mortality trends over exceptional years of war, pandemics or famine (see the online supplementary appendix for a technical description).

Finally, we ranked countries according to their life expectancy and life disparity for the latest year for which we had data.

RESULTS

Populations with high life expectancy enjoy low life disparity. In 89 out of 170 years, holders of record life expectancy for males also enjoyed the lowest life disparity (figure 1). For females this happened 86 times (see online supplementary figure 1). More generally, the country with record life expectancy usually had an exceptionally low life disparity and vice versa. This is remarkable because life expectancy is a measure of the average length of life and life disparity is a measure of variation among individuals in the length of life. In principle, the two measures could be unrelated to each other. The set of countries with the highest life expectancies could be completely different from the set of countries with the lowest life disparities, but it turns out that the two sets largely overlap.

The most successful countries increased life expectancy not because of a general decrease in mortality at all ages, but because of a decrease in premature mortality. Figure 2 shows that the reduction in life disparity—from around 25 years in 1840 to between 9 and 15 years at present—is overwhelmingly due to reductions in early-life disparity caused by tackling premature mortality. Although mortality rates at old ages have come down considerably (which might cause one to expect increases in late-life disparity), the shifting of the threshold age to

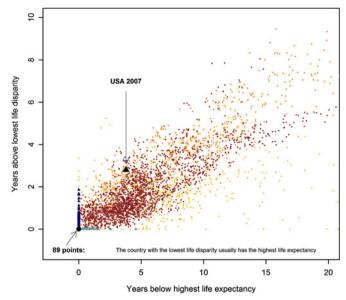


Figure 1 The association between life disparity in a specific year and life expectancy in that year for males in 40 countries and regions, 1840-2009 (see online supplementary table 1). The correlation coefficient between them is 0.77 (95% CI 0.76 to 0.78). The black triangle represents the USA in 2007; the USA had a male life expectancy 3.78 years lower than the international record in 2007 and a life disparity 2.8 years greater. The brown points denote years after 1950, the orange points 1900-1949 and the yellow points 1840-1900. The light blue triangles represent countries with the lowest life disparity but with a life expectancy below the international record in the specific year; the dark blue triangles indicate the life expectancy leaders in a given year, with life disparities greater than the most egalitarian country in that year. The black point at (0,0) marks countries with the lowest life disparity and the highest life expectancy. During the 170 years from 1840 to 2009, 89 holders of record life expectancy also enjoyed the lowest life disparity. The equivalent figure for females is presented in online supplementary figure 2.

higher ages has caused late-life disparity to stay roughly constant at around or just under 5 years.

For females since 1840, premature deaths have accounted for only 38% of all deaths, but fully 84% of the increase in life expectancy resulted from decreases in premature deaths (see online supplementary figure 2). During this time the threshold age rose considerably, rising from 47 for Swedish women in 1840 to 85 for Japanese women in 2009. Historically (and today in less developed countries), infants, children and younger adults suffered most premature deaths. In today's more developed countries, premature deaths have shifted primarily to older adults in their 60s and 70s. The rise in the threshold age is highly correlated with the rise in life expectancy: the correlation coefficient is 0.96 for males and 0.98 for females.

Table 1 displays the latest life expectancy, threshold age and life disparity calculated for each country. In Russia, life expectancy is extraordinarily low and life disparity is very high. In the USA, life expectancy is much greater than in Russia but short compared to other

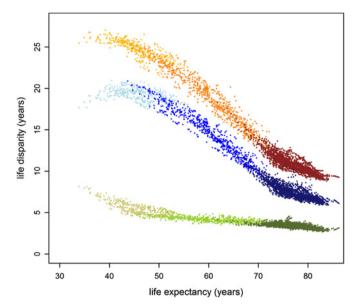


Figure 2 The relationship between total life disparity (red), early-life disparity up to the threshold age (blue) and late-life disparity after the threshold age (green). The darkest hues relate to data from 1950-2009, middle hues 1900-1949 and lightest hues 1840-1899. Total disparity is an additive function of early-life disparity and late-life disparity. Since 1840 the decrease in total life disparity has resulted from reductions in early-life disparity. The correlation coefficient between earlylife disparity and total life disparity is 0.997 (95% CI 0.997 to 0.997). Late-life disparity has remained remarkably constant at about 5 years across a wide range of life expectancies. Hence, according to this measure, there has been neither a marked compression nor expansion of mortality at advanced ages as life expectancy has increased. Data are for females from the 40 countries and regions of the Human Mortality Database (see online supplementary table 1).

highly developed countries. Females in most Eastern European countries, and males in some of them, do better than the USA in life disparity and hence face more certainty in their lifetimes. In contrast, Japanese females are remarkably successful. They hold the record for life expectancy, 86.4 years in the life table for 2009. Half of deaths occurred after age 88 and the most common age of death was 93: deaths up to age 85 were premature in the sense that averting such deaths would decrease life disparity.

DISCUSSION

These findings make clear that the correlation between high life expectancy and low lifespan variation is due to progress in reducing premature mortality. The countries that have the highest life expectancy today are those which have been most successful at postponing the premature deaths that contribute to early-life disparity.

In addition to life disparity, several other measures of lifespan dispersion have been proposed.³ ⁴ ⁶ ¹⁰ We analysed the extent to which our findings depend on our use of life disparity as our measure of lifespan variation. We calculated Pearson correlation coefficients

between pairs of the more commonly used measures of lifespan variation, based on all male and female period life tables available from the Human Mortality Database (see online supplementary table 1). As shown in online supplementary table 2, these measures are highly correlated with each other. In particular, the correlation of life disparity with the other measures never falls below 0.966 for females and 0.940 for males. Hence, life disparity can be viewed as a surrogate for the other measures. Although the various measures are highly correlated, they differ somewhat in their sensitivity to deaths at different ages in the lifespan distribution. 4 11 The use of an alternate measure of lifespan variation would result in some changes in the ranking of countries with similar life disparity levels, but the high correlation between measures implies that such changes would be minor.

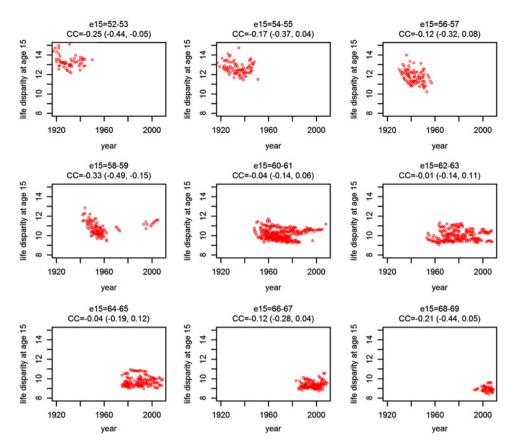
Some researchers have examined whether lifespan variation above the adult modal age at death has changed with increased survivorship. These studies also tend to find a gradual decline in later life mortality variation. ¹⁰ ¹²⁻¹⁴ Exploring the relationship between life disparity and compression around the modal age at death is a promising avenue for further research. More generally, whether expansion or compression of the lifespan distribution is observed over time can depend on the age range examined. ¹⁵⁻¹⁷ While being a life expectancy leader is associated with low life disparity when the entire lifetime is examined, this relationship might not hold for selected age ranges.

Reducing early-life disparities helps people plan their less-uncertain lifetimes. A higher likelihood of surviving to old age makes savings more worthwhile, raises the value of individual and public investments in education and training, and increases the prevalence of long-term relationships. Hence, healthy longevity is a prime driver of a country's wealth and well-being. While some degree of income inequality might create incentives to work harder, premature deaths bring little benefit and impose major costs. ¹⁹

Moreover, equity in the capability to maintain good health is central to any larger concept of societal justice. ²⁰ The tenet that everyone should be entitled to a long, healthy lifespan has gained support as mortality at younger ages has declined. Currently, rates of change for adult mortality vary more across countries than those for infants and children. ²¹ In Williams' concept of "fair innings", ²² individuals dying early are "cheated", while those living beyond a "normal" lifespan are "living on borrowed time". Groups and areas with lower socioeconomic status account for a disproportionate share of lifespan variation, ^{3 4 7} which compounds the inequity of premature death.

If death rates continue to decline, most babies born in advanced nations today may live to enjoy their 100th birthday.²³ As we celebrate this progress in extending lives, it is reasonable to question whether we ought to continue aiming for ever longer lives *on average* or

Figure 3 The relationship between remaining life expectancy at age 15 (e₁₅) and life disparity at age 15, according to the year in which e₁₅ was first reached. Up until 1960 and for e_{15} from 54 to 59, the pioneers in first attaining a level of remaining life expectancy did so with higher levels of life disparity than the laggards. Since 1960 and at higher remaining life expectancies, the relationships between remaining life expectancy and life disparity at age 15 are not correlated. Ages 15 and over were examined to make the results comparable to those obtained by Smits and Monden.5 Data are for females from the 40 countries and regions in the Human Mortality Database (see supplementary online table 1)



should ensure that more individuals avoid premature death. Policymakers face a choice of where to target healthcare spending. Reducing life disparity would lead to health policies that prioritise early mortality and to social protection schemes designed to shield vulnerable individuals and groups. We are not the first to make this argument. Heath poignantly reasoned that if healthcare services were serious about reducing health inequality, they should direct their attentions to reducing premature mortality—even if this meant reducing expensive medical treatments for the elderly.²⁴ The accompanying editorial in *BMJ* proclaimed that "premature deaths should be the priority for prevention".²⁵

Russia, the USA and other laggards can learn much from research on the reasons why various countries (including Japan, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland) have been more successful in reducing premature deaths. The reasons involve healthcare, social policies, personal behaviour (especially cigarette smoking and alcohol abuse), and the safety and salubriousness of the environment. Genetic variation plays a modest role in determining variation in how long we live and cannot account for the major declines in life disparity and increases in life expectancy or the large differences in life expectancy and disparity among countries.

Smits and Monden⁵ recently showed that countries achieving some level of life expectancy earlier than others did so with higher levels of lifespan variation. This led them to conclude that "reducing inequality and

gaining increases in life expectancy might be alternative goals that require different policy measures to be achieved". Our results differ because we examine differences between countries in lifespan variation for each year, whereas they examine differences over time in lifespan variation within each country. These different set-ups can lead to different conclusions. In a study comparing the USA to England and Wales, reductions in circulatory diseases were causing most of the changes in lifespan variation over time (in each country), whereas differences in external mortality explained much of the difference in life disparity between countries at any given time.⁷ As can be seen in figure 3, the relationship between being pioneers in life expectancy and having high life disparity is weak, especially after 1960. We take issue with Smits and Monden's conclusion, which our cross-sectional results do not support. Over the past 170 years, the country with the lowest life disparity most often had the highest life expectancy. Even today, the most egalitarian countries are all among the longest living.

The increase in life expectancy is given by the product of two factors—life disparity and the rate of progress in reducing age-specific death rates. The lower life disparity is, the greater is the rate of progress needed to achieve an additional year of life expectancy. Consequently, it might be thought that countries would aim for life expectancy increases by maintaining high levels of inequality in the lifespan distribution. The opposite is true (figure 1). The reason is that the countries with

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long life expectancy have gained this victory by focusing on reductions in premature deaths—and reductions in premature deaths reduce life disparity. It is not a question of either long life or low disparity: countries can achieve both by averting premature deaths.

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Supplementary Material

Life Disparity

Life disparity, e^{\dagger} , is the life expectancy lost due to death, $e^{\dagger} = \int_0^{\omega} e(x,t) f(x,t) dx$, where $e(a,t) = \int_a^{\omega} \ell(x,t) dx / \ell(a,t)$ is remaining life expectancy at age a and time t, $\ell(a,t) = \exp\left(-\int_0^a \mu(x,t) dx\right)$ gives the probability of survival to age a and $\mu(a,t)$ denotes the age-specific hazard of death. The life table distribution of deaths is given by $f(a,t) = \ell(a,t)\mu(a,t)$. Maximum lifespan is denoted by ω .

Conceptually, this measure is similar to Greville's 1948 variant of the Potential Years of Life Lost (PYLL) measure, S1 which weights the death counts from a given disease at each age by remaining life expectancy in order to assess the importance of major causes of death. In this way the age profile of disease mortality is taken into account, which can lead to different conclusions than assessments that compare diseases strictly on the basis of death counts or on their average effect on lifespan. When all causes of death are taken into account, life disparity functions in much the same way. Saving lives at ages with both many remaining life years and a high number of death counts has the greatest impact on lifespan variation. This was first observed by Keyfitz, S2,S3 who derived the formula for the elasticity of life expectancy to a proportional change in mortality (also known as the entropy of the life table, or Keyfitz's \mathcal{H}), which he observed was related to variation in age-at-death. Life disparity equals the entropy of the life table multiplied by life expectancy. $^{S4-S6}$ It is only in recent years that the full potential of life disparity as a measure of lifespan variation has been realized. S7,S8

Methods to calculate the contribution of premature and late mortality to changes in life expectancy

Let $\rho(a,t)$ represent the rate of progress in reducing mortality:

$$\rho(a,t) = -\frac{\frac{\partial}{\partial t}\mu(a,t)}{\mu(a,t)}$$

Vaupel and Canudas Romo^{S9} showed that the change in life expectancy at birth, $\dot{e}(0,t)$ could be decomposed as:

$$\dot{e}(0,t) = \int_0^\omega e(a,t)\rho(a,t)f(a,t)da$$

Meanwhile, Zhang and Vaupel^{S8} proved that this relationship could be further decomposed by age components, for instance premature and late life mortality components separated by the threshold age:

$$\dot{e}(0,t) = \int_0^{a^\dagger(t)} e(a,t)\rho(a,t)f(a,t)da + \int_{a^\dagger(t)}^{\omega} e(a,t)\rho(a,t)f(a,t)da$$

We used these relationships to calculate the yearly contributions of averting prema-

ture and late deaths to increases in life expectancy, which we then smoothed using a 20-year moving average.

Methods to obtain confidence intervals

To be sure that random fluctuation was not substantially affecting our rankings of life expectancy, life disparity and the threshold age in Table 1, we estimated 95% confidence intervals around our results. This was done by Monte Carlo simulation, assuming a binomial distribution of death counts. For each age interval the number of observations in each simulation round was based on the observed number of deaths, D_x , divided by the probability of dying, q_x . The simulated death counts, d_x^{sim} , divided by the observed population at risk, N_x , gave us simulated death probabilities q_x^{sim} . From these values we simulated 1000 life tables that we used to generate confidence intervals around our lifetable-based estimates. Others have used similar methods to generate confidence intervals around life expectancy and healthy life expectancy for small populations. S10-S13

The relationship between life expectancy and life disparity: comparing leaders and laggards

In Figure 3 we showed that reaching a level of life expectancy later was only sometimes associated with lower life disparity conditional upon survival to age 15. More often no clear relationship could be found.

Given the high correlation between life expectancy and life disparity, an interesting question is whether laggards in life expectancy at birth also have similar levels of life disparity to the leaders at the same level of life expectancy. The answer, seen in Figure S4, is yes. Thus while leaders are the first to reduce premature mortality, thereby reducing life disparity, laggards on average follow with similar reductions in life disparity alongside life expectancy increases.

Alternative calculations using the AID measure

Some concern might be raised about whether artefactual correlations are present in our findings since calculation of life disparity involves prior knowledge of life expectancy. We showed the high correlation between life disparity and other measures of lifespan variation in Tables S2 and S3 of the supplementary material. Some of these other measures do not contain life expectancy in their formulation. To be sure that our results were robust to other measures, we ran our analysis with an alternative measure of lifespan variation, the absolute inter-individual difference (AID). While AID and life disparity are highly correlated, AID tends to be more sensitive to mortality change at younger ages than life disparity.^{S7}

The AID is an alternative measure of lifespan variation that is related to the well-known Gini coefficient of inequality. There are many equivalent formulations to the

Country or region	Earliest year	Latest year
Australia	1921	2007
Austria	1947	2008
Belgium*	1841	2007
Bulgaria	1970	2009
Belarus	1970	2007
Canada	1921	2007
Switzerland	1876	2007
Chile	1992	2005
Czech	1950	2009
West Germany	1956	2008
East Germany	1956	2008
Denmark	1840	2008
Spain	1908	2006
Estonia	1959	2009
Finland	1878	2009
France	1840	2007
England & Wales	1841	2009
North Ireland	1922	2009
Scotland	1855	2009
Hungry	1950	2006
Ireland	1950	2006
Iceland	1840	2008
Israel	1983	2008
Italy	1872	2007
Japan	1947	2009
Latvia	1970	2009
Luxembourg	1960	2007
Lithuania	1959	2009
Netherlands	1850	2008
Norway	1846	2008
New Zealand non-Maori	1901	2008
Poland	1958	2009
Portugal	1940	2009
Russia	1959	2008
Slovakia	1950	2009
Slovenia	1983	2009
Sweden	1840	2008
Taiwan	1970	2009
Ukraine	1970	2006
USA	1933	2007
Australia	1921	2007

Table S1: Countries and regions of the Human Mortality Database used in our analysis. We used data from the earliest year given in the table through the latest year. * No data was available for 1914-1918.

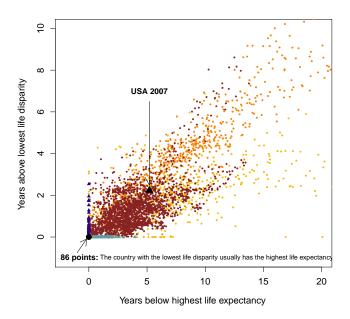


Figure S1: The association between life disparity in a specific year and life expectancy for females in that year for the 40 countries and regions in the Human Mortality Database, 1840-2009 (Table S1). The correlation coefficient between them is 0.75 (95% confidence interval 0.73 to 0.76). The black triangle represents the United States in 2007: the U.S. had a female life expectancy 5.2 years lower than the international record in 2006 and a life disparity 2.2 years greater. The brown points denote years after 1950, the orange points 1900-1949 and the yellow points 1840-1900. The light blue triangles represent countries with the lowest life disparity but with a life expectancy below the international record in the specific year; the dark blue triangles indicate the life expectancy leaders in a given year, with life disparities greater than the most egalitarian country in that year. The black point at (0,0) marks countries with the lowest life disparity and the highest life expectancy. During the 170 years from 1840 to 2009, 86 holders of record life expectancy also enjoyed the lowest life disparity.

	e^{\dagger}	σ^2	σ	σ_{10}	\mathcal{H}	G	IQR	AID
Life disparity (e^{\dagger})	1.000							
Variance (σ^2)	0.993	1.000						
Standard deviation (σ)	0.985	0.996	1.000					
Standard deviation past age 10 (σ_{10})	0.972	0.964	0.961	1.000				
Entropy of life table $(\mathcal{H} = e^{\dagger}/e(0))$	0.966	0.936	0.919	0.916	1.000			
Gini coefficient (G)	0.983	0.961	0.946	0.937	0.997	1.000		
Inter-Quartile Range (IQR)	0.967	0.944	0.917	0.921	0.966	0.974	1.000	
Inter-individual difference (AID)	0.995	0.998	0.996	0.973	0.937	0.962	0.945	1.000

Table S2: Pearson correlation coefficients between pairs of measures of lifespan variation, based on all 3528 female period life tables available from the Human Mortality Database, 1840-2009.

	e^{\dagger}	σ^2	σ	σ_{10}	${\cal H}$	G	IQR	AID
Life disparity (e^{\dagger})	1.000							
Variance (σ^2)	0.986	1.000						
Standard deviation (σ)	0.979	0.996	1.000					
Standard deviation past age 10 (σ_{10})	0.940	0.909	0.908	1.000				
Entropy of life table $(\mathcal{H} = e^{\dagger}/e(0))$	0.958	0.913	0.898	0.879	1.000			
Gini coefficient (G)	0.979	0.946	0.933	0.898	0.996	1.000		
Inter-Quartile Range (IQR)	0.965	0.937	0.913	0.890	0.948	0.964	1.000	
Inter-individual difference (AID)	0.992	0.997	0.995	0.930	0.917	0.950	0.941	1.000

Table S3: Pearson correlation coefficients between pairs of measures of lifespan variation, based on all 3528 male period life tables available from the Human Mortality Database, 1840-2009.

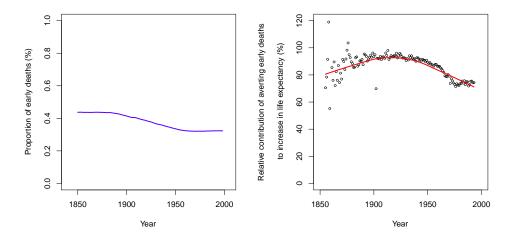


Figure S2: The left panel expresses early deaths as a proportion of all deaths, smoothed by 20-year averages. The right panel displays the 30-year moving average of the relative contribution of averting early deaths to the increase in life expectancy, with the red line marking the trend. The data pertain to females, 1840-2009, all 40 countries and regions of the HMD.

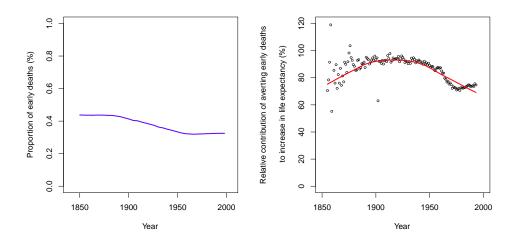


Figure S3: To show that the trends in Figure S2 above are not due to compositional change from new entrants into our dataset, we plotted the two relationships using only the eleven countries for which we had over 100 years of data (see Table S1).

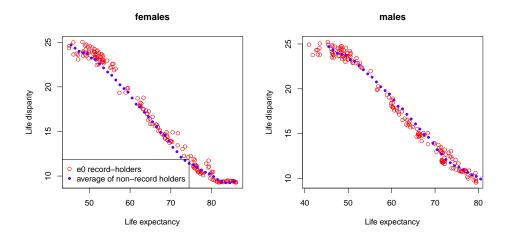


Figure S4: A comparison of the level of life disparity between (1) record-holders of life expectancy and (2) all other countries (averaged) once they had reached certain life expectancy levels (taken to be one year intervals).

AID, but the Kendall and Stuart definition is the most helpful for understanding the nature of the statistic, which essentially measures the average absolute distance in years between each pair of individuals' age at death (length of life) in the population. S14 From the life table, it can be calculated as follows:

$$AID = \frac{1}{2} \int_{0}^{\omega} \int_{0}^{\omega} |x - y| f(x) f(y) dx dy$$

where |x - y| is the absolute value of the distance in years between age x and age y, and f(x) and f(y) are the probabilities of death at ages x and y respectively.

Using the AID measure, the country with the highest life expectancy also had the lowest AID 74 times for females (Figure S5), and 67 times for males (Figure S6) out of 170 years. Differences in this relationship between the two measures were mostly owing to differences in historical populations, especially during war, famine and epidemic years, when certain countries had qualitatively different age at death distributions from other countries.

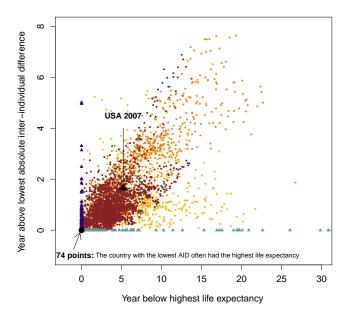


Figure S5: Alternative calculations using the AID measure, females. The correlation coefficient between them is 0.60 (0.58 to 0.62). The brown points denote years after 1950, the orange points 1900-1949 and the yellow points 1840-1900. The light blue triangles represent countries with the lowest life disparity but with a life expectancy below the international record in the specific year; the dark blue triangles indicate the life expectancy leaders in a given year, with life disparities greater than the most egalitarian country in that year.

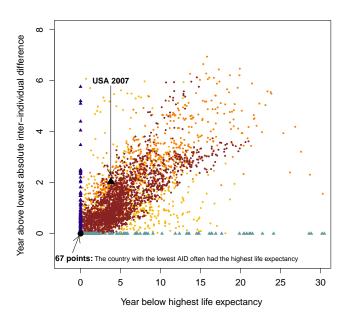


Figure S6: Alternative calculations using the AID measure, males. The correlation coefficient between them is 0.62 (0.60 to 0.64). The brown points denote years after 1950, the orange points 1900-1949 and the yellow points 1840-1900. The light blue triangles represent countries with the lowest life disparity but with a life expectancy below the international record in the specific year; the dark blue triangles indicate the life expectancy leaders in a given year, with life disparities greater than the most egalitarian country in that year.

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Table S4: The record and average life disparity, e^{\dagger} and life expectancy e0 for each year, based on data from the Human Mortality Database (Table S1).

Year	Record e^{\dagger}	Country	Average e^{\dagger}	Difference	Record $e(0)$	Country	Average $e(0)$	Difference
Males 1840	23.8	Sweden	25.0	1.3	41.8	Sweden	40.4	1.4
1841	23.8	Sweden	25.1	1.3	43.0	Sweden	41.2	1.8
1842	24.5	Sweden	25.3	0.8	41.0	Denmark	40.3	0.7
1843	24.0	Sweden	25.0	1.0	42.6	Denmark	41.1	1.5
1844	24.2	Sweden	24.9	0.7	42.9	Denmark	41.6	1.4
1845	23.8	Sweden	24.9	1.1	43.5	Sweden	42.5	1.0
1846	24.3	Sweden	25.3	1.0	46.4	Norway	40.9	5.5
1847	24.1	Sweden	25.0	0.9	43.5	Norway	39.6	3.9
1848	23.4	Sweden	25.0	1.6	43.3	Norway	40.7	2.6
1849	23.9	Norway	25.0	1.1	46.3	Norway	39.5	6.8
1850	23.6	Norway	24.7	1.0	47.8	Norway	43.2	4.5
1851	23.7	Norway	24.8	1.1	48.0	Norway	42.7	5.3
1852	23.9	Norway	25.0	1.0	47.0	Norway	41.6	5.3
1853	24.0	Norway	24.8	0.8	46.5	Norway	40.6	5.9
1854	23.4	Norway	24.9	1.5	49.9	Norway	41.8	8.1
1855	23.1	Denmark	24.3	1.2	48.6	Norway	42.1	6.5
1856	23.6	Norway	24.8	1.2	48.8	Norway	43.2	5.7
1857	23.6	Norway	25.2	1.6	48.8	Norway	40.6	8.2
1858	23.6	Norway	25.3	1.7	50.0	Norway	41.5	8.5
1859	24.5	Norway	25.4	0.9	48.5	Norway	41.7	6.8
1860	23.5	Sweden	24.3	0.8	48.7	Norway	44.8	3.9
1861	23.5	Denmark	25.0	1.5	46.2	Denmark	43.5	2.8
1862	23.5	Denmark	25.2	1.8	46.7	Denmark	42.9	3.7
1863	23.8	Denmark	25.2	1.4	46.6	Denmark	43.2	3.4
1864	24.5	Norway	25.1	0.6	47.6	Norway	41.9	5.7
1865	24.3	Norway	25.2	0.9	49.0	Norway	42.0	7.0
1866	24.0	Norway	25.0	1.0	48.3	Norway	42.7	5.7
1867	23.5	Sweden	24.5	1.0	46.2	Norway	43.4	2.8
1868	24.4	Sweden	25.1	0.7	45.4	Norway	42.3	3.1
1869	24.2	Norway	24.9	0.7	47.5	Norway	42.5	5.0
1870	23.4	Norway	24.5	1.1	49.2	Norway	42.3	6.9
1871	23.1	Sweden	24.6	1.5	48.0	Norway	39.9	8.1
1872	23.6	Sweden	24.9	1.3	48.5	Norway	43.5	4.9
1873	23.6	Denmark	24.7	1.1	48.2	Norway	43.8	4.4
1874	23.9	Denmark	24.9	1.0	46.3	Norway	42.9	3.4
1875	24.3	Denmark	24.8	0.5	46.1	Norway	42.0	4.1
1876	24.3	Denmark	25.0	0.7	45.3	Norway	42.7	2.6
1877	24.2	Denmark	24.8	0.6	48.3	Norway	44.0	4.3
1878	24.2	Norway	25.0	0.7	50.4	Norway	43.3	7.1
1879	23.4	Norway	24.3	0.9	51.9	Norway	44.6	7.4
1880	23.6	Norway	24.9	1.3	50.5	Norway	42.6	7.9
1881	23.6	Denmark	24.5	1.0	49.0	Norway	43.6	5.5
1882	24.0	Switzerland	25.0	1.0	46.9	Sweden	43.5	3.4
1883	23.4	Switzerland	24.5	1.1	48.5	Norway	44.1	4.3
1884	23.6	Switzerland	24.7	1.1	49.5	Norway	44.1	5.4
1885	23.3	Denmark	24.4	1.1	49.8	Norway	44.6	5.2
1886	23.4	Switzerland	24.5	1.1	50.5	Norway	44.4	6.1
1887	23.2	Switzerland	24.2	1.0	50.6	Norway	45.6	5.0
1888	22.9	Sweden	24.1	1.2	51.0	Sweden	45.4	5.6
1889	23.0	Sweden	24.3	1.4	51.1	Sweden	45.3	5.8
1890	23.0	Switzerland	24.3	1.4	49.1	Sweden	44.2	4.8
1891	23.5	GBR_SCO	24.2	0.7	49.6	Sweden	44.1	5.5
1892	22.9	Switzerland	24.1	1.2	49.3	Sweden	44.2	5.1
1893	22.9	Switzerland	24.2	1.3	50.0	Sweden	44.8	5.2
1894	23.0	Switzerland	23.9	0.9	50.9	Sweden	46.4	4.5
1895	22.5	Sweden	23.7	1.3	52.8	Sweden	46.5	6.3
1896	22.3	Switzerland	23.5	1.2	52.2	Sweden	48.0	4.1
1897	22.3	Switzerland	23.3	1.1	52.8	Sweden	48.1	4.8
1898	22.3	Sweden	23.5	1.2	53.2	Sweden	47.9	5.3
1899	22.4	Switzerland	23.7	1.3	49.8	Norway	46.5	3.3
1900	22.1	Denmark	23.4	1.3	51.8	Norway	46.3	5.4
1901	22.5	Switzerland	23.5	1.1	52.7	Norway	47.5	5.2
1902	19.9	New Zealand*	22.5	2.6	56.6	New Zealand*	49.9	6.7
1903	20.3	New Zealand*	22.6	2.3	56.9	New Zealand*	50.1	6.8
1904	19.3	New Zealand*	22.4	3.1	58.9	New Zealand*	50.3	8.6
1905	18.4	New Zealand*	22.5	4.0	60.2	New Zealand*	49.9	10.3
1906	18.1	New Zealand*	22.3	4.2	60.0	New Zealand*	50.7	9.3

Continued on next page

1908 19.1 New Zealand* 22.0 2.1 56.8 New Zealand* 50.7 6.1	Year	Record e^{\dagger}	Country	Average e^{\dagger}	Difference	Record $e(0)$	Country	Average $e(0)$	Difference
1900 18.9 New Zealand* 21.7 2.8 60.3 New Zealand* 51.8 8.5	1907	19.9	New Zealand*	22.0	2.1	56.8	New Zealand*	50.7	6.1
1910 18.4 New Zealand* 21.6 3.2 59.9 New Zealand* 51.3 9.1 1911 17.4 New Zealand* 21.1 3.7 61.6 New Zealand* 53.2 8.4 1913 18.0 New Zealand* 21.1 3.7 61.6 New Zealand* 53.2 8.4 1914 17.6 New Zealand* 21.1 3.5 60.3 New Zealand* 53.2 7.4 1914 17.6 New Zealand* 21.1 3.5 60.6 New Zealand* 51.3 10.0 1915 17.9 New Zealand* 21.3 3.4 61.3 New Zealand* 51.3 10.0 1916 18.7 New Zealand* 21.4 2.7 60.0 New Zealand* 51.3 10.0 1918 71.1 New Zealand* 21.4 2.7 60.0 New Zealand* 51.4 10.3 1919 17.1 New Zealand* 21.4 2.7 60.0 New Zealand* 51.4 10.3 1919 17.1 New Zealand* 21.6 4.4 61.7 New Zealand* 51.4 10.3 1919 17.1 New Zealand* 21.3 3.4 60.2 New Zealand* 53.2 7.0 1920 18.0 New Zealand* 20.2 2.8 62.4 New Zealand* 55.2 7.0 1921 17.5 New Zealand* 19.7 3.0 63.0 New Zealand* 56.1 6.9 1922 16.7 New Zealand* 19.5 2.9 62.5 New Zealand* 56.1 6.9 1923 16.5 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.1 5.4 1924 16.5 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.4 6.8 1925 16.2 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.4 6.8 1926 16.0 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.4 6.8 1926 16.0 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.8 6.8 1927 16.0 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.8 6.8 1928 15.0 New Zealand* 19.2 3.1 63.9 New Zealand* 57.8 6.8 1929 15.0 New Zealand* 18.8 3.1 64.1 New Zealand* 57.8 6.8 1930 15.7 New Zealand* 18.8 3.1 64.1 New Zealand* 57.8 6.6 1930 15.0 New Zealand* 18.0 2.6 64.9 New Zealand* 59.7 6.6 1930 15.0 New Zealand* 18.1 3.2 66.4 New Zealand* 59.7 6.6 1930 15.0 New Zealand* 18.0 2.6 66.2 New Zealand*	1908	19.1	New Zealand*	22.2	3.2	59.4		50.5	8.9
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	1977	11.4	Japan	13.1	1.6	73.2	Iceland		

Continued on next page

Year	Record e^{\dagger}	Country	Average e^{\dagger}	Difference	Record e(0)	Country	Average e(0)	Difference
1978	11.4	Japan	13.0	1.6	73.7	Iceland	68.7	4.9
1979	11.4	Japan	13.0	1.6	74.0	Iceland	68.9	5.1
1980	11.2	Japan	12.8	1.6	73.4	Iceland	68.9	4.5
1981	11.1	Japan	12.8	1.6	73.8	Japan	69.1	4.7
1982	11.2	Japan	12.7	1.5	74.5	Iceland	69.5	5.1
1983	11.1	Sweden	12.6	1.5	74.2	Japan	69.6	4.7
1984	11.1	Japan	12.6	1.5	74.7	Iceland	69.8	4.9
1985	11.0	Japan	12.4	1.4	74.9	Japan	69.9	4.9
1986	11.0	Ireland	12.3	1.3	75.4	Iceland	70.4	5.0
1987	11.0	Japan	12.3	1.4	75.6	Japan	70.6	5.0
1988	10.8	Japan	12.3	1.5	75.6	Japan	70.7	4.9
1989	10.8	Iceland	12.4	1.5	76.1	Iceland	70.8	5.4
1990	10.8	Japan	12.3	1.6	75.9	Japan	70.8	5.2
1991	10.8	Japan	12.4	1.6	76.2	Japan	70.8	5.4
1992	10.7	Sweden	12.4	1.7	76.7	Iceland	70.9	5.8
1993	10.5	Sweden	12.3	1.8	77.0	Iceland	70.8	6.2
.994	10.6	Sweden	12.3	1.7	77.1	Iceland		6.1
							71.0	
.995	10.4	Sweden	12.3	1.9	76.4	Japan	71.1	5.3
996	10.3	Sweden	12.1	1.8	77.0	Japan	71.5	5.5
.997	10.3	Sweden	12.1	1.8	77.2	Japan	71.9	5.3
1998	10.0	Iceland	12.0	2.0	77.7	Iceland	72.1	5.5
.999	10.1	Sweden	11.9	1.8	77.4	Iceland	72.3	5.1
2000	10.1	Sweden	11.9	1.8	77.9	Iceland	72.7	5.1
2001	10.1	Sweden	11.8	1.7	78.3	Iceland	73.2	5.1
2002	10.0	Sweden	11.8	1.8	78.5	Iceland	73.3	5.2
2003	9.6	Iceland	11.6	2.1	79.5	Iceland	73.6	5.9
2004	9.8	Iceland	11.7	1.8	78.9	Iceland	74.0	4.9
2005	9.7	Iceland	11.6	1.9	79.5	Iceland	74.1	5.3
2006	9.9	Sweden	11.6	1.7	79.4	Iceland	74.5	4.9
2007	9.7	Iceland	11.5	1.8	79.4	Iceland	74.5	4.9
2008	10.5	West Germany	11.6	1.1	79.3	Japan	74.7	4.6
Females		,				•		
.840	23.6	Sweden	24.9	1.3	46.1	Sweden	43.2	2.9
1841	23.6	Sweden	25.1	1.5	47.2	Sweden	43.8	3.4
1842	24.3	Sweden	25.2	0.9	45.0	Sweden	43.0	2.0
.843	23.8	Sweden	25.0	1.2	45.1	Denmark	43.5	1.6
1844	23.7	Sweden	24.8	1.1	46.9	Sweden	44.4	2.5
845	23.5	Sweden	24.9	1.4	48.5	Sweden	45.2	3.3
.846	24.4	Sweden	25.4	0.9	49.7	Norway	43.5	6.2
.847	24.5	Sweden	25.1	0.6	46.1	Norway	42.0	4.1
1848	23.1	Sweden	24.9	1.9	47.3	Sweden	43.6	3.7
849	23.2	Norway	24.8	1.6	49.8	Norway	42.6	7.2
1850	23.2	Norway	24.6	1.3	51.3	Norway	46.3	5.0
1851	23.3	Norway	24.7	1.4	51.5	Norway	45.7	5.8
.852	23.9	Norway	25.0	1.2	49.9	Norway	44.4	5.6
.853	23.5	Norway	24.7	1.2	49.3	Norway	43.2	6.1
854	22.8	Norway	24.7	1.9	53.3	Norway	44.7	8.6
855	22.5	Norway	24.0	1.5	52.3	Norway	45.1	7.1
.856	23.3	Norway	24.7	1.4	51.9	Norway	45.9	6.0
.857	23.3	Norway	25.2	2.2	51.6	Norway	42.9	8.7
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858	23.0	Norway	25.2	2.2	53.1	Norway	43.7	9.4
859	24.0	Norway	25.3	1.4	51.3	Norway	44.1	7.1
.860	23.2	Sweden	24.4	1.1	51.3	Norway	47.1	4.2
.861	23.6	Denmark	25.0	1.4	49.0	Denmark	45.8	3.2
.862	23.9	Denmark	25.4	1.5	48.5	Denmark	45.0	3.4
863	24.0	Denmark	25.2	1.2	48.5	Denmark	45.5	3.0
864	24.0	Norway	25.0	1.0	50.0	Norway	44.3	5.6
.865	24.0	Norway	25.3	1.3	51.9	Norway	44.6	7.3
866	23.6	Norway	25.0	1.4	51.5	Norway	45.2	6.3
867	23.2	Sweden	24.4	1.2	49.5	Norway	46.1	3.4
868	24.6	Norway	25.2	0.6	48.9	Norway	45.0	4.0
.869	23.7	Norway	25.0	1.3	51.0	Norway	45.1	5.9
.870	23.7	Norway	24.5	1.5	52.6	Norway	45.4	7.1
		•						
871	22.7	Sweden	24.7	2.0	51.4	Norway	43.0	8.4
872	23.1	Sweden	24.8	1.7	51.9	Sweden	46.3	5.7
.873	23.7	Sweden	24.6	0.9	51.2	Norway	46.4	4.8
.874	23.9	Denmark	24.8	0.9	49.2	Norway	45.7	3.5
.875	24.2	Norway	24.8	0.6	49.2	Norway	44.6	4.5
1876	24.6	Engl. and Wales	25.1	0.5	48.3	Norway	45.4	2.9
1877	24.2	Engl. and Wales	24.8	0.6	51.2	Norway	46.8	4.4

Year	Record e^{\dagger}	Country	Average e^{\dagger}	Difference	Record $e(0)$	Country	Average $e(0)$	Difference
1878	23.6	Norway	25.0	1.4	53.2	Norway	45.7	7.5
1879	22.9	Norway	24.3	1.3	54.4	Norway	47.1	7.3
1880	23.1	Norway	24.9	1.8	53.3	Norway	45.3	8.0
1881	23.6	Norway	24.6	1.0	51.9	Norway	46.2	5.6
1882	23.5	Switzerland	24.9	1.4	50.1	Sweden	46.2	3.9
1883	23.1	Switzerland	24.5	1.4	50.7	Norway	46.8	3.9
1884 1885	23.2 23.3	Switzerland Switzerland	24.7 24.3	1.4 1.0	52.0 52.3	Norway Norway	$46.7 \\ 47.2$	5.3 5.1
1886	23.2	Switzerland	24.5	1.3	52.9	Norway	47.0	5.9
1887	22.8	Switzerland	24.1	1.3	52.9	Sweden	48.2	4.7
1888	22.5	Switzerland	23.9	1.4	53.5	Sweden	48.1	5.4
1889	22.8	Sweden	24.3	1.5	53.4	Sweden	48.0	5.4
1890	22.6	Switzerland	24.2	1.6	51.8	Sweden	47.1	4.6
1891	23.1	Switzerland	24.0	0.9	52.5	Sweden	47.0	5.5
1892	22.2	Switzerland	23.8	1.6	51.8	Sweden	47.2	4.7
1893	22.4	Switzerland	24.1	1.7	53.3	Norway	47.7	5.6
1894	22.6	Switzerland	23.7	1.2	53.2	Sweden	49.3	3.9
1895	22.2	Sweden	23.4	1.2	55.4	Sweden	49.5	5.8
1896	21.8	Switzerland	23.2	1.5	55.9	Norway	51.1	4.8
1897	22.0	Switzerland	23.1	1.1	55.7	Norway	51.2	4.4
1898 1899	21.9 21.6	Sweden Switzerland	23.2 23.4	$\frac{1.3}{1.7}$	56.1 53.4	Sweden Norway	51.0 49.7	5.0 3.7
1900	21.7	Denmark	23.1	1.3	55.2	Norway	49.6	5.6
1901	21.7	Switzerland	23.2	1.4	56.5	Norway	50.8	5.7
1902	19.8	New Zealand*	22.2	2.4	59.3	New Zealand*	52.9	6.4
1903	19.9	New Zealand*	22.3	2.4	59.5	New Zealand*	53.2	6.3
1904	18.7	New Zealand*	22.1	3.4	61.8	New Zealand*	53.2	8.6
1905	17.9	New Zealand*	22.2	4.3	62.4	New Zealand*	52.7	9.8
1906	18.1	New Zealand*	22.1	4.0	62.8	New Zealand*	53.4	9.3
1907	19.4	New Zealand*	21.7	2.3	58.9	New Zealand*	53.4	5.5
1908	18.2	New Zealand*	21.8	3.6	62.5	New Zealand*	53.3	9.2
1909	18.8	New Zealand*	21.3	2.6	63.3	New Zealand*	54.7	8.6
1910 1911	17.8	New Zealand* New Zealand*	21.2	3.4	62.5 63.3	New Zealand* New Zealand*	55.3 54.3	7.2 9.0
1911	17.5 16.3	New Zealand*	21.6 20.7	4.1 4.4	64.4	New Zealand*	56.2	8.3
1913	17.5	New Zealand*	20.7	3.2	63.1	New Zealand*	56.2	7.0
1914	17.0	New Zealand*	20.6	3.5	64.2	New Zealand*	56.5	7.7
1915	17.3	New Zealand*	20.6	3.3	64.6	New Zealand*	55.8	8.8
1916	17.4	New Zealand*	20.6	3.2	63.9	New Zealand*	56.1	7.8
1917	16.9	New Zealand*	20.5	3.6	64.2	New Zealand*	56.0	8.2
1918	19.3	New Zealand*	23.0	3.7	57.4	New Zealand*	50.3	7.1
1919	16.4	New Zealand*	20.9	4.5	64.9	New Zealand*	55.2	9.6
1920	17.8	New Zealand*	20.9	3.1	62.4	New Zealand*	56.3	6.1
1921	16.6	New Zealand*	19.6	2.9	65.5	New Zealand*	59.1	6.5
1922	15.9	New Zealand*	19.1	3.2	65.4	New Zealand*	59.2	6.2
1923 1924	15.9	New Zealand* New Zealand*	18.8	$3.0 \\ 3.2$	64.9 66.6	New Zealand* New Zealand*	60.3 60.0	4.7 6.5
1924	15.8 15.8	New Zealand*	18.9 18.7	2.9	66.4	New Zealand*	60.7	5.7
1926	15.6	New Zealand*	18.6	3.0	66.1	New Zealand*	60.9	5.2
1927	15.5	New Zealand*	18.5	3.0	66.9	New Zealand*	60.7	6.2
1928	15.5	New Zealand*	18.4	2.9	66.8	New Zealand*	61.3	5.6
1929	15.0	New Zealand*	18.3	3.3	67.0	New Zealand*	60.4	6.6
1930	15.1	New Zealand*	18.1	3.0	67.3	New Zealand*	62.3	5.1
1931	14.7	New Zealand*	17.6	2.9	67.8	New Zealand*	62.3	5.5
1932	14.6	New Zealand*	17.5	2.9	68.3	New Zealand*	62.8	5.5
1933	14.5	New Zealand*	17.2	2.7	69.1	New Zealand*	63.5	5.5
1934	14.2	New Zealand*	17.1	2.9	68.5	New Zealand*	63.9	4.7
1935	14.4	New Zealand*	17.0	2.6	69.2	New Zealand*	63.7	5.5
1936	14.4	Netherlands	16.8	2.4	68.5	New Zealand*	64.1	4.4
1937 1938	13.9 14.1	Netherlands Netherlands	16.6 16.4	$\frac{2.7}{2.2}$	68.6 69.0	New Zealand* Norway	64.1 65.0	4.5 4.0
1938	13.6	Netherlands Netherlands	16.4 15.9	2.2	69.0 69.3	Norway New Zealand*	65.5	3.8
1940	13.7	New Zealand*	16.4	2.7	69.7	New Zealand*	64.2	5.5
1941	14.0	New Zealand*	16.6	2.6	69.2	New Zealand*	64.2	5.0
1942	13.5	New Zealand*	16.4	2.9	70.4	Sweden	65.0	5.4
1943	13.6	New Zealand*	16.5	2.9	70.1	Sweden	65.1	5.0
1944	13.9	New Zealand*	16.6	2.7	70.0	New Zealand*	65.0	5.1
1945	13.4	New Zealand*	16.4	3.0	70.5	Norway	65.5	4.9
1946	12.9	Sweden	15.6	2.7	71.7	Iceland	67.2	4.6
1947	12.5	Sweden	15.4	2.9	71.7	Norway	67.1	4.6
1948	12.2	Sweden	15.2	3.0	72.9	Norway	67.7	5.2
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Year	Record e^{\dagger}	Country	Average e^{\dagger}	Difference	Record $e(0)$	Country	Average $e(0)$	Difference
1949	11.9	Sweden	14.7	2.8	73.2	Iceland	67.7	5.5
1950	11.6	Sweden	14.4	2.9	73.5	Iceland	68.6	5.0
1951	11.5	Sweden	14.0	2.5	74.3	Norway	68.9	5.4
1952	11.4	Sweden	13.7	2.4	74.9	Iceland	69.7	5.2
1953	11.3	Sweden	13.4	2.1	75.1	Norway	70.2	4.8
1954	11.1	Sweden	13.1	2.1	75.6	Iceland	71.0	4.6
1955	11.2	Sweden	13.0	1.8	75.9	Iceland	71.2	4.7
1956	10.9	Netherlands	12.8	1.8	75.5	Norway	71.3	4.3
1957	10.9	Sweden	12.7	1.9	75.5	Norway	71.3	4.2
1958	10.8	Sweden	12.7	1.9	76.0	Iceland	72.0	3.9
1959	10.7	Sweden	12.6	1.8	75.8	Norway	72.0	3.7
1960	10.7	Sweden	12.2	1.5	75.9	Norway	72.4	3.5
1961	10.6	Sweden	12.3	1.7	76.2	Iceland	72.7	3.5
1962	10.5	Sweden	12.1	1.6	76.1	Iceland	72.7	3.4
1963	10.4	Norway	12.0	1.6	76.0	Iceland	73.0	3.1
1964	10.6	Norway	12.0	1.3	76.4	Iceland	73.5	2.9
1965	10.5	Sweden	11.8	1.3	76.5	Norway	73.5	3.0
1966	10.4	Sweden	11.8	1.4	76.7	Norway	73.7	3.0
1967	10.4	Sweden	11.7	1.3	76.9	Norway	74.0	2.9
1968	10.4	Sweden	11.5	1.1	76.8	Norway	73.9	2.9
1969	10.4	Sweden	11.6	1.2	76.7	Norway	73.9	2.7
1970	10.0	Iceland	11.7	1.6	77.3	Norway	74.2	3.1
1971	10.3	Norway	11.6	1.3	77.4	Sweden	74.5	2.9
1972	10.2	Norway	11.5	1.3	77.5	Sweden	74.8	2.8
1973	10.1	Norway	11.4	1.3	77.7	Sweden	74.9	2.8
1974	10.1	Norway	11.4	1.3	77.9	Norway	75.2	2.7
1975	10.1	Norway	11.4	1.2	78.7	Iceland	75.3	3.4
1976	10.1	Japan	11.2	1.1	79.9	Iceland	75.5	4.4
1977	10.0	Japan	11.2	1.2	79.2	Iceland	75.8	3.4
1978	10.0	Japan	11.2	1.2	79.3	Iceland	76.0	3.3
1979	9.9	Norway	11.2	1.3	79.4	Iceland	76.2	3.2
1980	9.7	Japan	11.1	1.3	80.1	Iceland	76.1	4.0
1981	9.7	Japan	11.0	1.3	79.6	Iceland	76.4	3.2
1982	9.7	Japan	11.0	1.3	79.7	Japan	76.6	3.1
1983	9.6	Japan	10.9	1.3	80.4	Iceland	76.7	3.7
1984	9.6	Japan	10.9	1.3	80.3	Japan	76.9	3.3
1985	9.5	Japan	10.7	1.2	80.5	Japan	76.9	3.6
1986	9.5	Japan	10.7	1.2	81.0	Japan	77.3	3.7
1987	9.5	Japan	10.7	1.2	81.4	Japan	77.4	4.0
1988	9.3	Japan	10.6	1.3	81.3	Japan	77.6	3.8
1989	9.4	Japan	10.6	1.2	81.8	Japan	77.7	4.1
1990	9.3	Japan	10.6	1.4	81.9	Japan	77.8	4.1
1991	9.3	Japan	10.6	1.3	82.2	Japan	78.0	4.2
1991	9.4	Japan	10.6	1.3	82.3	Japan	78.2	4.1
		Japan						
1993 1994	9.4 9.3	Japan Japan	10.5	1.2	82.4 82.9	Japan	78.0	$4.4 \\ 4.6$
		-	10.6	1.3		Japan	78.3	
1995	9.4	Japan	10.6	1.2	82.8	Japan	78.4	4.4
1996	9.3	Finland	10.4	1.1	83.5	Japan	78.6	4.9
1997	9.4	Spain	10.3	1.0	83.8	Japan	78.9	4.9
1998	9.2	Spain	10.3	1.1	84.0	Japan	79.1	4.8
1999	9.1	Spain	10.2	1.1	84.0	Japan	79.2	4.8
2000	9.2	Spain	10.2	1.0	84.6	Japan	79.5	5.1
2001	9.2	Spain	10.1	1.0	84.9	Japan	79.8	5.1
2002	9.0	Spain	10.1	1.0	85.2	Japan	79.9	5.3
2003	8.9	Spain	10.0	1.0	85.3	Japan	80.1	5.3
2004	9.0	Spain	10.0	1.0	85.6	Japan	80.6	5.0
2005	8.8	Spain	9.9	1.1	85.5	Japan	80.7	4.8
2006	8.9	Spain	9.8	1.0	85.8	Japan	80.9	4.8
2007*	8.9	Portugal	9.7	0.8	86.0	Japan	81.1	4.8
2008*	8.9	Austria	9.6	0.6	86.0	Japan	81.4	4.6

Note: * The New Zealand population includes only the non-Maori population.