

# **Effects of Early-Life Conditions on Adult Mortality Decline in the Netherlands 1850-1999**

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*Abstract:* How important are improvements in early-life conditions in adult mortality decline? This paper provides an estimate of the contribution of early-life conditions to mortality decline above age thirty in the Netherlands between the onset of decline in the 1870s until the end of the twentieth century. Whereas in the nineteenth century period-specific influences were more powerful than cohort-specific ones, in the twentieth century cohort-specific influences were more powerful. Increased height explains most, if not all, of the twentieth-century decline until 2000. Early childhood mortality decline, on the other hand, did not contribute to adult mortality decline after age thirty.

## **Effects of early-life conditions and adult mortality decline in the Netherlands 1850-1999**

Mounting evidence suggests that early-life conditions have an enduring effect on an individual's mortality risks as an adult (e.g. Bengtsson and Mineau 2009). The contribution of improvements in early-life conditions to adult mortality *decline*, however, has received much less attention. One approach is to study the importance of unspecified cohort influences in adult mortality decline. The earliest studies heavily depended on graphical methods. Kermack et al. (2001 [1934]), for example, argued that cohort influences dominate the English adult mortality decline from 1841 to 1931. After updating their figures, however, Murphy (2010) showed that the existence of cohort patterns is not as clear cut as Kermack et al. (2001 [1934]) thought. In a much later paper that also used graphic methods, Preston and van de Walle (1978) concluded that in urban France cohort-specific influences were more powerful than period-specific ones. Unless a cohort had experienced reduced mortality as children, they experienced little or no advantage as adults.

Although a formal age-period-cohort model would seem to be a more appropriate method than graphic methods to estimate the relative importance of cohort influences, the contribution of formal age-period-cohort models to the debate has remained limited. Some concern only one cause of death, like Collins (1982) who applied an age-period-cohort model to show the predominance of cohort influences in tuberculosis mortality decline in England and Wales, Italy and New Zealand, or Wolfe and Burney (1992) who found that in England there are substantial cohort influences on trends in stroke mortality. Navaneetham (1993) has shown how cohort influences slowed down adult mortality decline in the 1980s, but his study relates to a

less developed country. Other studies relate to a more recent period in the more developed countries. Thus, Meza et al. (2010) tried to determine whether year of birth or year of death better correlates with observed patterns of adult mortality among the 1920 and 1944 birth cohorts in nine countries, whereas Yang (2008a) found that adult mortality decline in the United States in the last four decades of the previous century is mostly a cohort effect.

Cohort effects not only reflect early-life conditions, but may also reflect the impacts of lifelong accumulation of exposure to risk factors (Ryder 1965; Yang 2008a). Hence, another approach is to use proxies for early-life conditions. The most commonly used proxies are childhood mortality and anthropometric measures. Using anthropometric measures among Union Army veterans, Costa (2004) estimated that improvements in early-life conditions explain almost fifty percent of mortality decline at older ages from 1914 to 1988. Crimmins and Finch (2006) argued that in Sweden, France, Switzerland and England mortality decline before age 15 explains more of the decline in mortality of the same cohort at age 70-74 than contemporary changes in mortality before age 15. These results, however, have not convinced everyone. Barbi and Vaupel (2005) asserted that period-specific influences were more important during the decline. While they admit that early-life factors may affect late-life mortality, they argued that the effect is modest.

Using early childhood mortality as a proxy for early-life conditions, Myrskylä (2010) found that the majority of variation in adult and old-age mortality in England and Wales, Finland, the Netherlands, and Sweden before World War I is attributable to changing period conditions. Early childhood mortality only had a weak effect on adult mortality. Several studies altogether failed to detect a significant effect of early-life conditions on adult mortality. Gagnon and Mazan (2009) found little evidence for

an effect of the infant mortality rate on mortality after age fifty in pre-industrial Québec. Kannisto et al. (1997) did not find any evidence that famine *in utero*, in infancy or early childhood, influences survival in later life. Cohen et al. (2010) failed to detect any significant effect of the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic on late-life mortality. Cutler et al. (2007) were unable to detect any meaningful relationship between early-life economic conditions in the 1930s and late-life health.

Numerous previous studies have already documented the importance of early-life conditions as determinants of adult mortality. Few of these, however, deal with the contribution of early-life conditions to the *decline* in adult mortality. Moreover, those that do often are limited to a shorter time frame. Most studies of the *decline* in adult mortality only used one proxy for early-life conditions. To show that an improvement in early-life conditions does not explain the adult mortality decline, one proxy for early-life conditions may not suffice. Hence, this study will present results for two proxies for early-life conditions: early childhood mortality and an anthropometric measure.

Using a half percent random sample of individuals born in the Netherlands between 1812 and 1922 this study analyzes mortality decline among adults after age thirty from 1850 to 2000. Our results indicate that period-specific influences are more important in the nineteenth century, while cohort-specific influences are more powerful in the twentieth century. Like Costa (2004), we find that increased height explains much of the decline in the twentieth century. Our results also indicate that in the Netherlands early childhood mortality had a negative effect on adult mortality. If not for early childhood mortality decline, adult mortality would have declined even further, suggesting that selection and acquired immunity cancelled out the scarring effect of infectious disease.

## **Early-life conditions and adult mortality**

We review the literature using an analytic framework adapted from Ben-Shlomo and Kuh (2002) in which two major pathways lead from adverse childhood socioeconomic position to adult mortality. The first pathway is predominantly socio-biological and leads from adverse childhood socioeconomic position to poor adult health through exposure to infectious agents and malnutrition in early childhood. The second pathway is predominantly social and leads from adverse childhood socioeconomic position to adult socioeconomic position (see also Bengtsson and Broström 2009).

Most of the studies reviewed below assume a socio-biological pathway between adverse childhood socioeconomic position and poor adult health through exposure to infectious agents and malnutrition in early childhood. Thus, Finch and Crimmins (2004) asserted that as a result of better sanitation and nutrition, increased income and the spread of medical knowledge and technology, decreased exposure to infectious diseases and other sources of inflammation in early life has led directly to a decrease in mortality from chronic conditions in old age. As an example they mention childhood streptococcal infections and infant diarrhea and enteritis. There are few studies, however, of the impact of a specific infectious disease. Collins (1982) has shown how exposure to tuberculosis in early childhood influences tuberculosis mortality later in life. Almond (2006) reported increased rates of physical disability among cohorts *in utero* during the 1918 influenza pandemic, whereas Brenes-Camacho and Palloni (2011) have shown that malaria survivors are more likely to die from stroke.

In the absence of measures of exposure to infectious disease in childhood, measures of infant and early childhood mortality are commonly used as a proxy (e.g. Barker and Osmond 1986; Ben-Shlomo and Smith 1991; Bengtsson and Lindström 2000; Caselli and Capocaccia 1989; Crimmins and Finch 2006). These studies suggest that exposure to childhood disease may cause permanent physical damage (“scarring”) leading to fatal outcomes later in life.

There are also processes, however, that may create a negative relationship between infectious disease in childhood and adult mortality: selection and acquired immunity (Elo and Preston 1992). Covering a period from 1907 to 1978 in Italy, Caselli and Capocaccia (1989: 152), for example, report that although higher mortality early in life is associated with higher adult mortality before age 45, it is associated with *lower* mortality after age 45.

An individual’s height at the end of childhood is probably the best single indicator of that individual’s dietary and infectious disease history (Elo and Preston 1992, p. 203). Arm length has also been used as a proxy for nutrition, although leg length seems to be the more prominent measure (e.g. Wen and Gu 2011). Height is inversely associated with coronary heart disease, stroke, and respiratory disease mortality among men and women. Whereas smoking related cancer mortality is not associated with height, the risk of death from cancer unrelated to smoking tends to *increase* with height, particularly for haematopoietic, colorectal and prostate cancers, except for stomach cancer mortality, which is inversely associated with height (Davey Smith et al. 2000).

According to Cole (2003), the increase in adult stature from one generation to the next mostly results from longer legs, the extra leg growth occurring before the age of two. Most studies report a negative correlation between height and adult mortality

(e.g. Fogel 1994). Su (2009), however, observed that being taller is related to a higher relative risk of mortality for Union Army veterans who survived past 1910.

In the absence of anthropometric measures of nutrition, some use an exogenous variable such as food prices in early childhood. Bengtsson and Lindström (2000), for example, used rye prices as a proxy for nutrition. They did not find any impact of the price of rye around birth on mortality at ages 55-79. Although the anthropometric evidence suggests that the price of milk may be a good proxy for nutrition, considering its effect on height (Baten 2009), there are no studies that use the price of milk as a proxy. Van den Berg et al. (2006), Janssen et al. (2006) and van den Berg et al. (2009), on the other hand, use gross domestic or national product per capita as a proxy for economic conditions around birth, whereas Hayward and Gorman (2004), van Poppel and Liefbroer (2005) and Schenk and van Poppel (2011) use socio-economic status of the parents to measure childhood conditions. Van den Berg et al. (2006) and van den Berg et al. (2009) found that economic conditions around birth affect mortality later in life. Janssen et al. (2006) reported a mostly negative correlation of GDP per capita prevailing at earlier ages with adult mortality. This correlation remained significant after control for GDP per capita prevailing at the time of death.

The second pathway is predominantly social and leads from adverse childhood socioeconomic position to adult socioeconomic position through adverse childhood exposures. Few studies control for adult socioeconomic position. Thus, it is not always clear to what extent their findings reflect the first of second pathway. Among those that do the evidence is mixed. Davey Smith et al. (2000), Kuh et al. (2002), Case et al. (2005), Power et al. (2005), and Wen and Gu (2011) show that after controlling for adult socio-economic status the statistical effects of early life



conditions remain significant. Davey Smith et al. (2000) reported that height is inversely associated with all cause, coronary heart disease, stroke, and respiratory disease mortality among men and women. Adjustment for socioeconomic position and cardiovascular risk factors had little influence on these associations. Kuh et al. (2002) found that manual origins and poor care in childhood remained associated with adult mortality even after adjusting for social class in adulthood or home ownership. Case et al. (2005) found that controlling for educational attainment, and for socioeconomic status and health in earlier adulthood, childhood health markers were significant predictors of health and economic status at age 42. Power et al. (2005) found that adverse social conditions in both childhood and adulthood were associated with higher death rates from coronary heart disease and respiratory disease. Wen and Gu (2011) found that childhood socioeconomic conditions exert long-term effects on functional limitations, cognitive impairment, self-rated health, and mortality independent of adult and community socioeconomic conditions.

Hayward and Gorman (2004), on the other hand, observed that the associations between childhood socioeconomic and family conditions and men's mortality were largely indirect through socioeconomic-achievement processes and lifestyles in adulthood. They found little to no evidence in support of the socio-biological pathway linking childhood circumstances to adult mortality, such as a physiological "scarring" effect, an acquired immunity effect, or a negative selection process. At least one study found no evidence for either pathway. Lynch et al. (1994) found that the increased mortality risk among low-income adults was not related to childhood economic conditions.

Thus, the evidence is highly variable, although most of the studies cited here would agree that early-life conditions affect adult mortality in some way. How are we

to interpret the lack of agreement? Of course, the studies reviewed here differ in their methodology, period and country of interest. Whereas the studies by Hayward and Gorman (2004), Lynch et al. (1994) and Wen and Gu (2011), for example, studied differences *within* cohorts, those by Bengtsson and Lindström (2000), van den Berg et al. (2006) and van den Berg et al. (2009) compared *between* cohorts. Our approach differs from most previous research, because we ask a different question. Even if early-life conditions affect adult mortality it does not necessarily follow that an improvement in early-life conditions explains part of the adult mortality decline. Hence, we ask to what extent *changes* in early-life conditions contributed to adult mortality *decline*. Most of the studies reviewed here agree that early-life conditions affect adult mortality. This justifies our question.

### **Data and variables**

The data used in the analysis come from the Historical Sample of the Netherlands (HSN), Data Set Survival Dates Release 2011.01. The HSN is a national database with information on the complete life history of a half percent random sample (78,000 birth records) of men and women born in The Netherlands between 1812 –the first year for which vital registration is available for the whole country– and 1922. In all Dutch provinces, a random sample of births was drawn, which was stratified by period of birth (eleven cohorts) and level of urbanization of the municipality (Mandemakers 2000, 2001, and 2002).<sup>1</sup>

Whereas before 1939 the sources used provide information about all sampled persons, the data sources used after 1939 provide information only about deceased persons. Thus, the life history of persons who died after 1939 but whose date of death was not found was censored in 1939. To the extent that the average person whose date

of death is unknown outlived the average person whose date of death is known, we may have overestimated the actual mortality risk after 1940. Schenk and van Poppel (2011), however, have shown that the HSN-mortality data only slightly underestimate the increase in expectation of life.

The dependant variable is mortality decline after age 30. This decision is based on the observation that the survival function after that age tends to be much more linear. Moreover, over time the age pattern of the survival changes much more before than after age 30.

The data set was censored at the end of 1999. To the extent that the age pattern changes over time, this may be problematic because the later cohort estimates are based on a small fraction of their experience.

There are two major sources for missing cases. First, among those born before 1863, only people born in the provinces of Friesland, Utrecht and Zeeland, and the city of Rotterdam were followed (Kok et al. 2009). Hence, we control for province of birth. The capital city of Amsterdam is the only one bigger than Rotterdam. For comparison, we also defined a variable indicating birth in Amsterdam. The indicator variables for the provinces of North and South Holland do not include Amsterdam or Rotterdam.

Second, there are missing cases as a consequence of the loss of population registers over time, especially those of Middelburg in Zeeland for 1850-1899 and those of Arnhem for 1850-1939, who were lost during the war.

There are two major causes of censoring. First, we stopped the follow-up at the end of 1999. Second, not all migrations were properly registered in the population registers (Mandemakers 2002: 89). Thus, our results are biased toward the sedentary population.

Some childhood diseases are more prevalent in certain provinces, providing another justification for our control on province and major city of birth. Malaria, for example, did not disappear from the coastal marshes in the Netherlands until the 1950s (Knottnerus 2002).

Figures 1 and 2 show the probability of twenty year survival ( $l_{x+20}/l_x$ ) at ages 30, 50, and 70 in selected years for women and men, respectively. Until 1950 trends were very similar for both men and women. Note that during the Great Depression life expectancy did not decline. Thus, there are also important period influences in the decline. After 1950 mortality among adult men slightly increased, while it continued to decline among women (see also Wolleswinkel-van den Bosch et al. 1998). Van Poppel and van Ginneken (1985) suggested that the increased mortality among men is the result of increased tobacco consumption.

[Figures 1 and 2 about here]

We used the probability of survival until age five as a proxy for exposure to infectious disease by birth cohort. We estimated the probability of survival until age five from the HSN data set by single year of birth. Figure 3 shows that early childhood survival started to improve among those born in 1870s.

[Figure 3 about here]

We used the heights of conscripts as a proxy for the nutritional status of single-year birth cohorts by attributing the median height of conscripts measured in year  $t$  to all those born in year  $t-19$ . Brinkman, Drukker, and Slot (1988) published a time series of median heights (in mm) of Dutch conscripts from 1863 to 1940. These data were revised by Mandemakers and van Zanden (1990 and 1993) by correcting for bias due to the under-representation of men from more wealthy families and by adjusting for small changes over time in the age at measurement. Drukker and

Tassenaar (1997) extended the time series further back in time to include the conscription years 1818-1863. There is no comparable source of information on the height of women. Among prisoners born between 1815 and 1865, however, the increase in the fully-grown height of men and women was more or less the same (de Beer 2010). Figure 3 shows that height declined among those born before the 1840s and started to increase again among those born in the 1850s (compare with Komlos 1993). There are no height data for 1922. Hence, the analysis is limited to people born in 1812-1921.

There is synergy between illness and poor diet in the stunting of growth. Hence, our two indicators of the influence of early-life conditions, height and early-child mortality, are correlated. Below, we will discuss how this influences our results.

Once smoking is initiated, processes of physical and psychological dependence produce long-term continuity of smoking behavior (Chassin et al. 1996). Thus, smoking is a cohort effect. Preston and Wang (2006) have highlighted the role of cohort smoking patterns in changes in sex mortality differences. Following Preston et al. (2010) we use lung cancer mortality rates to estimate cohort smoking patterns. Van der Hoff (1979) estimated net lung cancer cohort risks for Dutch males born in 1860-1955. For the years that they overlap, however, the serial correlation coefficient between median heights of conscripts and lung cancer risks is very high ( $r^2 = 0.925$ ). Hence we omitted a proxy for cohort smoking patterns from the analysis. This should not affect the analysis of female mortality, because among women born before 1922 lung cancer rates are only a fraction of those among men (Janssen-Heijnen et al. 1995).

Van Poppel and Liefbroer (2005) used the occupation of the father at birth to measure childhood conditions. Socio-economic background, however, may influence

adult mortality indirectly via the accumulation of wealth and obtained socio-economic status in adulthood (Bengtsson and Broström 2009). Although the birth records provide information about the occupation of the father, in the HSN data set this variable is only available for those whose life history was retrieved from the population registers. Hence the occupation of the father was omitted from the analysis.

In the first few decades the oldest age groups are not represented, whereas in the last few decades the youngest age groups are not represented. To the extent that trends differ by age group, this will influence our results in the first and last few decades under consideration. In particular, this is true for the oldest age group.

### **Analytic Approach**

A discrete-time hazard model is used to assess the effects of the independent variables on survival after age thirty. We have assumed that the hazard is constant within annual intervals. We estimated discrete-time event-history models using logistic regression. This kind of analysis can accommodate two common features of event histories: censored data and time-varying covariates (Allison 2010).

The dependent variable in the statistical model is the annual log odds of dying. The unit of analysis is the “person-year”; that is, each person contributes as many units to the analysis as the number for which he/she is observed. Person-years below age thirty were omitted from the analysis. Records were right-censored at age ninety or at the end of 1999, whichever came first. After left-truncation at the beginning of 1850, women and men contributed 491,422 and 511,713 person-years, respectively, to the analysis.

Our observations are clustered. One approach to adjust for a cluster effect is to introduce it as a covariate to the model. Thus, we added variables indicating province and period. But instead of adding birth year as a random or fixed effect, we modeled survival as a function of two cluster characteristics: height and childhood mortality. Unlike Wong and Mason (1985) we do not allow regression coefficients to vary between clusters. There is no theoretical justification for this. To the extent that we omitted important cluster characteristics, coefficients may be biased.

Early-life conditions changed dramatically across cohorts. Thus, to the extent that early-life conditions influence adult mortality, we expect to find cohort influences in adult mortality. Age-period-cohort models are particularly useful to detect the distinct impacts of age, period, and cohort on some outcome of interest. Disentangling the distinct effects of age, period and cohort, however, involves a methodological problem, because the three are perfectly correlated. There are at least three conventional strategies for identification and estimation: (1) constraining two or more of the age, period, or cohort coefficients to be equal; (2) transforming at least one of the age, period or cohort variables so that its relationship is nonlinear; and (3) assuming that the cohort or period effects are proportional to certain measured variables (Yang and Land 2006).

Mason et al. (1973) point out that the identification problem can be solved by imposing equality constraints on categories of age, period and/or cohort. One criticism of this method is that estimates of model effect coefficients are sensitive to the arbitrary choice of the identifying constraint. Figures 1 and 2 show that adult mortality started to decline in the 1870s. Hence, we imposed an equality constraint on the period categories in 1850-69. Period influences are captured by twenty five-year dummies indicating whether the current year is in the period 1870-74, 1875-79, 1880-

85, 1885-89, 1890-94, 1895-99, 1900-04, 1905-09, 1910-14, 1915-19, 1920-24, 1925-29, 1930-34, 1935-39, 1940-44, 1945-49, 1950-54, 1955-59, 1960-64, or 1965-69 – 1850-69 being the reference category.

A second strategy is to transform one of the age, period or cohort variables so that its relationship is nonlinear. We chose to parameterize the effect of age as a cubic function (e.g. Raftery, Lewis, and Aghajanian 1995). While the use of a polynomial solves the problem of the arbitrary choice of the identifying constraint, this strategy still is not very informative about the mechanisms by which period-related changes and cohort-related processes act on the dependent variable of interest.

“Period” is a poor proxy for some set of contemporaneous influences, and “cohort” is an equally poor proxy for influences in the past. When these influences can themselves be directly measured, there is no reason to probe for period or cohort effects (Hobcraft, Menken, and Preston 1982). Hence, a third strategy is to constrain the effects of period and/or cohort to be proportional to some other substantive variable (e.g. Portrait et al. 2006; Preston and Wang 2006). Heckman and Robb (1985) term this the “proxy” variable approach because period and cohort are represented by some other variable. This study uses the “proxy” variable approach. We use two proxies for cohort-specific influences: survival until age five and height at age twenty. The “proxy” variable approach, however, also has its drawbacks. Replacing the cohort dummies by proxies may lessen the rigorousness of the control for the cohort-specific influences on period-specific influences. Because we only control for two proxies of cohort influences, we may overestimate the importance of period-specific influences (O’Brien 2000: 125).

The use of either or both of the first two strategies solves the under-identification problem (Yang 2008b: 211). After solving the under-identification



problem, however, multi-co-linearity may remain a problem (Collins 1982). The imposition of an equality constraint on the period categories in 1850-69 was retained, because it is used as the reference category and a reference category that is too small may lead to multi-co-linearity.

## Results

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics of the variables used in the multivariate analysis. There are no missing values for year and place of birth. Figures 1 and 2 show the probability of twenty year survival ( $l_{x+20}/l_x$ ) at ages 30, 50, and 70 in selected years for women and men, respectively. Tables 2 and 3 each present three models of the decline in adult mortality above age thirty for women and men, respectively. Coefficients are presented as odds ratios or exponents of the raw logistic coefficients. The odds ratios are multiplicative effects on the odds of dying in any one-year interval. A coefficient of 1.00 represents no effect, a coefficient greater than 1.00 represents a positive effect, and a coefficient less than 1.00 represents a negative effect on the odds.

[Tables 1 and 2 about here]

The first model in Table 2 only includes age, sex and period dummies (AP). The AP model shows that between 1850-69 and 1995-99 adult mortality among women above age thirty declined by about 45 percent in terms of odds ratios of the period dummies. About sixty percent of this decline (26 percentage points) occurred between 1850-69 and 1900-05. Adult mortality reached its lowest level in 1960-64 (see solid line in Fig. 4).

[Figure 4 about here]

The second model (APH) in Table 2 adds height at age twenty. Height has a significant effect on mortality after age thirty. As predicted, the relationship between height and adult mortality is negative. To illustrate the effect of increased height on the decline in adult mortality, Fig. 4 compares period effects in the second model (APH) with those in the first model (AP). To the extent that increased height explains the decline in adult mortality, mortality in terms of odds ratios of the period dummies should decline less after controlling for height. Figure 4 shows that mortality levels in terms of odds ratios in the APH model (dashed line) decline less than in the AP model (solid line), especially in the twentieth century. If height would not have changed, mortality levels in terms of odds ratios would have declined only slightly less until 1900-04, whereas in the twentieth century adult mortality would not have declined at all. Thus, increased height seems to have made a substantial contribution to adult mortality decline in the twentieth century.

We do not present a model with the probability of survival until age five, because early childhood survival does not have a significant effect in a model without height. After controlling for height, however, survival until age five does have a significant effect, as shown in the third model (APPROX) in Table 2. Moreover, the effect of early childhood survival is positive. In other words, low levels of early childhood mortality are associated with high levels of adult mortality.

Our measure of early childhood mortality seems to be correlated with height (see Fig. 3). Hence, we only compare the combined effect of height and survival until age five with the effect of height in the previous model (APH). Figure 4 shows that adding a measure of early childhood mortality to the model does not modify to any large extent our conclusion that early-life conditions explain most of the decline in the twentieth century.

Figure 4 also shows that mortality levels in terms of odds ratios in the APPROX model (dotted line) are lower than those in the APH model (dashed line). Thus, if not for the decline in early childhood mortality, adult mortality would have been *lower*. This suggests that early childhood mortality mainly affected adult mortality through selection and acquired immunity, rather than scarring.

After controlling for height and childhood mortality, there is no decline among men. This suggests that after 1950 mortality decline mostly occurred among men born after 1922 and, hence, that the decline is a cohort effect,

### **Conclusion and discussion**

Mounting evidence suggests that early-life conditions have an enduring effect on an individual's mortality risks as an adult (e.g. Bengtsson and Mineau 2009). The contribution of improvements in early-life conditions to adult mortality *decline*, however, remains a much debated issue. The present study uses Dutch data to determine the relative importance of early-life conditions. Two major findings emerge from our analysis. First, in the second half of the nineteenth century early-life conditions played a marginal role, whereas in the twentieth century they dominate the decline. Second, among men increased height statistically explains most of the decline in the twentieth century, whereas among women it explains about forty percent of the decline.

The Dutch data indicate that in the second half of the nineteenth century period-specific influences were more powerful than cohort-specific ones, whereas in the twentieth century cohort-specific influences dominated the decline. We may have overestimated period-specific influences, however, because we only used two proxies for cohort-specific influences. Myrskylä (2010) found that period-specific influences

were more powerful than cohort-specific ones during adult mortality decline in the Netherlands. His analysis, however, ends in 1915. In general, part of the conflicting results reported in the literature may be the result of differences in time frames, cohort-specific influences being less powerful in earlier periods, as cohorts that experienced improved early childhood conditions were still too young to contribute to adult mortality decline. Thus, if we would have used the end of the nineteenth century as our cut-off point, then we also would have concluded that period-specific influences were more powerful than early-life conditions.

If early-life conditions would not have improved, our results seem to suggest that mortality would not have declined among adult men in the twentieth century and much less among adult women. Of course, this does not imply that there were no period-specific influences among men. In the twentieth century, however, period-specific influences do not seem to explain long-term trends in adult mortality. Besides the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic and World War II, two period-specific influences stand out.

First, after World War II adult mortality remained high instead of declining below pre-war levels. Apparently, unidentified period-specific influences caused adult mortality to remain relatively high after the war. Thus, one reason why improvements in early-life conditions dominated the twentieth-century adult mortality decline is that period-specific influences caused adult mortality to remain high after the war. We were unable to identify these period-specific influences. Higher mortality than expected after the war, however, has also been observed in other developed countries. Tapia Granados (2005) asserted that economic expansion in the US after World War II was associated with an *increase* in mortality. Thus, the use of the end of 1999 as

our cut-off point may have highlighted the role of early-life conditions, because the post-war economic expansion was associated with an increase in mortality.

Second, in spite of the Great Depression, mortality continued to decline in the early 1930s. A similar phenomenon has been observed in other developed countries. Tapia Granados and Diez Roux (2009), for example, have shown that mortality actually improved during the Great Depression of 1930-1933. If we would have used the end of 1939 as our cut-off point, then the improvement in early-life conditions would only have explained about half of the twentieth-century decline, because of the negative effect of the Great Depression on mortality.

The Dutch data indicate that increased height explains part of the adult mortality decline in the twentieth century before 2000. We used the heights of conscripts as a proxy for nutritional status. The hypothesis of McKeown (1976) that better nutrition has been the principal source of mortality decline is not consistent with low mortality during the Great Depression and elevated mortality during the economic expansion after World War II (Tapia Granados 2005; and Tapia Granados and Diez Roux 2009). However, McKeown's hypothesis is consistent with a strong effect of increased height on adult mortality decline.

Many previous studies only use one proxy for early-life conditions. The use of one proxy may explain why some concluded that improvements in early-life conditions were not important. If we would only have used early-childhood survival as a proxy for early-life conditions, then we would also have concluded that improvements in early-life conditions were not important. Only after controlling for height did we find a significant and negative effect of early childhood mortality on adult mortality. Most previous studies, however, report a *positive* effect of early childhood mortality on adult mortality (e.g. Bengtsson and Lindström 2000; Catalano

and Bruckner 2006; and Crimmins and Finch 2006). We can only speculate about reasons for the difference between the results of our study and those of previous studies. The use of an earlier time frame (1760-1894) by Bengtsson and Lindström (2000) may explain why their results differ from ours. The choice of age groups may provide another explanation for the different results. Catalano and Bruckner (2006) studied the effect of early childhood mortality on mortality after age five, whereas Crimmins and Finch (2006) modeled mortality in one age group (70-74) only. At least one other study, however, also reported a negative effect of early childhood mortality on adult mortality. Caselli and Capocaccia (1989) found that in Italy lower mortality early in life is associated with lower mortality up to age 45, but with *higher* mortality levels after age 45.

## Notes

1. For more information about the HSN, see [www.iisg.nl/~hsn](http://www.iisg.nl/~hsn).

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**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics for variables in discrete-time hazard models.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Period:		
1850-69 (ref.)	2.4	2.6
1870-74	0.8	0.9
1875-79	0.9	1.0
1880-84	1.0	1.2
1885-89	1.2	1.4
1890-94	1.6	1.7
1895-99	2.3	2.4
1900-04	3.2	3.1
1905-09	3.8	3.7
1910-14	4.5	4.3
1915-19	5.1	4.9
1920-24	5.8	5.4
1925-29	6.4	6.1
1930-34	7.0	6.8
1935-39	7.1	7.1
1940-44	7.0	7.0
1945-49	6.7	6.9
1950-54	6.4	6.7
1955-59	5.7	6.0
1960-64	4.9	5.3
1965-69	4.3	4.4
1970-74	3.5	3.6
1975-79	2.8	2.7
1980-84	2.2	2.0
1985-89	1.6	1.4
1990-94	1.1	0.9
1995-99	0.7	0.5
Place of birth:		
Friesland	10.9	10.2
Groningen	4.9	5.7
Drenthe	2.8	2.8
Overijssel	8.0	8.0
Gelderland	9.2	10.1
Utrecht (ref.)	7.3	7.2
North Holland	8.2	8.2
Amsterdam	6.7	6.9
South Holland	15.0	14.4
Rotterdam	5.6	5.0
Zeeland	6.4	6.7
North Brabant	10.1	9.6
Limburg	4.9	5.2
Person years	491,422	511,713

*Note:* descriptives for person years.

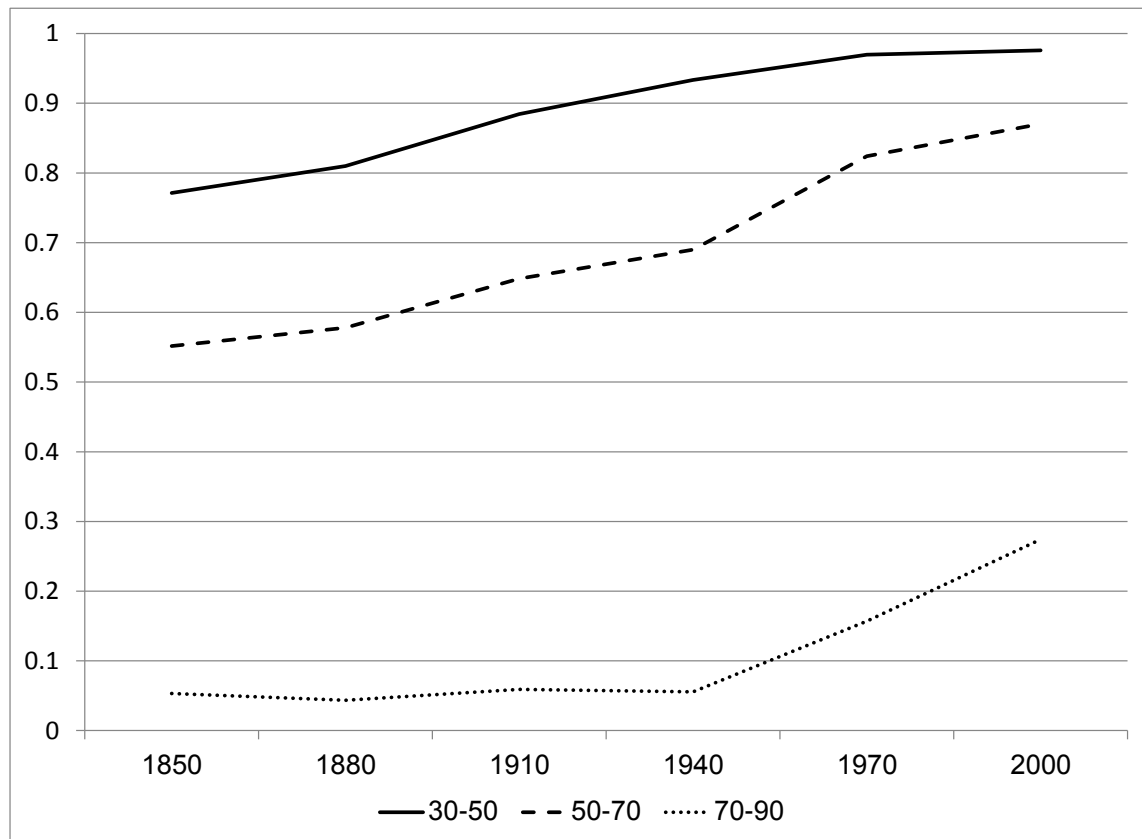
**Table 2.** Discrete-time hazard model of mortality at ages 30-89, the Netherlands 1850-1999: Women.

<b>Model</b>	<b>AP</b>		<b>APH</b>		<b>APPROX</b>	
<b>Variable</b>	<b><math>e^b</math></b>	<b><i>p</i>-value</b>	<b><math>e^b</math></b>	<b><i>p</i>-value</b>	<b><math>e^b</math></b>	<b><i>p</i>-value</b>
Age	1.218	.000	1.219	.000	1.218	.000
Age squared	0.996	.000	0.996	.000	0.996	.000
Age cubic	1.000	.000	1.000	.000	1.000	.000
Period:						
1850-69 (ref.)	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
1870-74	0.911	.617	0.905	.593	0.870	.532
1875-79	1.021	.903	1.028	.868	1.007	.967
1880-84	0.820	.235	0.842	.305	0.821	.239
1885-89	0.848	.278	0.889	.438	0.869	.357
1890-94	0.914	.520	0.973	.848	0.953	.733
1895-99	0.745	.029	0.804	.109	0.780	.070
1900-04	0.750	.025	0.816	.118	0.788	.068
1905-09	0.664	.001	0.723	.012	0.694	.005
1910-14	0.598	.000	0.661	.001	0.632	.000
1915-19	0.694	.002	0.783	.050	0.745	.020
1920-24	0.547	.000	0.632	.000	0.599	.000
1925-29	0.551	.000	0.653	.001	0.617	.000
1930-34	0.523	.000	0.637	.001	0.600	.000
1935-39	0.493	.000	0.617	.000	0.579	.000
1940-44	0.578	.000	0.746	.033	0.691	.008
1945-49	0.557	.000	0.741	.035	0.675	.007
1950-54	0.510	.000	0.698	.015	0.629	.002
1955-59	0.478	.000	0.672	.010	0.602	.001
1960-64	0.421	.000	0.612	.002	0.545	.000
1965-69	0.444	.000	0.667	.016	0.590	.002
1970-74	0.398	.000	0.615	.006	0.538	.001
1975-79	0.406	.000	0.648	.018	0.562	.002
1980-84	0.372	.000	0.614	.011	0.529	.001
1985-89	0.336	.000	0.578	.007	0.492	.001
1990-94	0.297	.000	0.536	.004	0.453	.000
1995-99	0.339	.000	0.638	.049	0.539	.008
Height in mm			0.994	.001	0.991	.000
Early childhood survival					3.447	.002
Place of birth:						
Friesland	0.915	.058	0.916	.064	0.916	.064
Groningen	0.742	.000	0.739	.000	0.739	.000
Drenthe	0.813	.004	0.808	.003	0.810	.003
Overijssel	0.969	.528	0.967	.505	0.970	.541
Gelderland	0.904	.044	0.901	.036	0.900	.035
Utrecht (ref.)	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
North Holland	0.892	.026	0.888	.020	0.891	.025
Amsterdam	0.882	.020	0.879	.017	0.881	.019
South Holland	0.844	.000	0.839	.000	0.843	.000
Rotterdam	0.999	.983	0.992	.888	0.995	.932
Zeeland	0.937	.223	0.935	.205	0.934	.201
North Brabant	0.873	.008	0.875	.006	0.877	.008
Limburg	0.882	.035	0.878	.030	0.882	.036
-2 Log likelihood	85871.386		85860.523		85850.492	

**Table 3.** Discrete-time hazard model of mortality at ages 30-89, the Netherlands 1850-1999: Men.

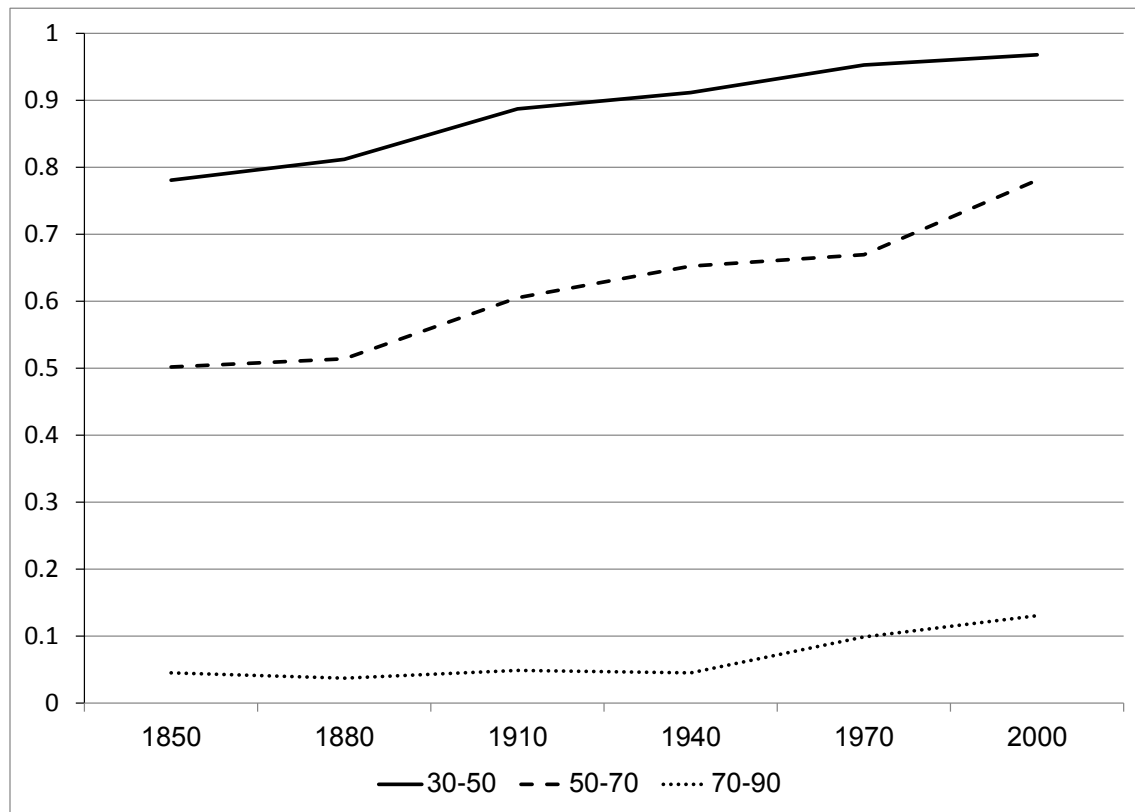
<u>Model</u>	<u>AP</u>		<u>APH</u>		<u>APPROX</u>	
<u>Variable</u>	<u>e<sup>b</sup></u>	<u>p-value</u>	<u>e<sup>b</sup></u>	<u>p-value</u>	<u>e<sup>b</sup></u>	<u>p-value</u>
Age	1.161	.000	1.166	.000	1.166	.000
Age squared	0.998	.000	0.997	.000	0.997	.000
Age cubic	1.000	.000	1.000	.000	1.000	.000
Period:						
Period: 1850-69 (ref.)	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
1870-74	0.981	.916	0.981	.916	0.966	.846
1875-79	0.845	.334	0.855	.367	0.837	.307
1880-84	0.940	.690	0.964	.814	0.940	.690
1885-89	0.848	.273	0.883	.408	0.862	.324
1890-94	0.768	.065	0.811	.146	0.791	.105
1895-99	0.690	.006	0.740	.029	0.717	.016
1900-04	0.716	.010	0.774	.051	0.746	.026
1905-09	0.682	.002	0.739	.019	0.709	.008
1910-14	0.646	.000	0.704	.006	0.675	.002
1915-19	0.732	.009	0.812	.094	0.776	.043
1920-24	0.596	.000	0.675	.002	0.644	.001
1925-29	0.567	.000	0.658	.001	0.626	.000
1930-34	0.487	.000	0.579	.000	0.549	.000
1935-39	0.496	.000	0.604	.000	0.569	.000
1940-44	0.621	.000	0.777	.061	0.722	.017
1945-49	0.596	.000	0.767	.057	0.700	.012
1950-54	0.528	.000	0.697	.013	0.631	.002
1955-59	0.551	.000	0.747	.052	0.671	.009
1960-64	0.535	.000	0.745	.061	0.666	.011
1965-69	0.628	.000	0.900	.517	0.797	.172
1970-74	0.622	.000	0.915	.601	0.802	.204
1975-79	0.614	.000	0.930	.681	0.808	.240
1980-84	0.568	.000	0.888	.525	0.765	.160
1985-89	0.522	.000	0.847	.400	0.723	.108
1990-94	0.478	.000	0.807	.304	0.686	.077
1995-99	0.537	.000	0.937	.768	0.797	.311
Height in mm			0.995	.002	0.991	.001
Early childhood survival					4.282	.000
Place of birth:						
Friesland	0.933	.132	0.937	.154	0.935	.143
Groningen	0.758	.000	0.753	.000	0.756	.000
Drenthe	0.870	.042	0.865	.035	0.867	.037
Overijssel	0.995	.915	0.993	.884	0.993	.876
Gelderland	0.831	.000	0.826	.000	0.825	.000
Utrecht (ref.)	1.000	-	1.000	-	1.000	-
North Holland	0.807	.000	0.803	.000	0.805	.000
Amsterdam	0.904	.051	0.902	.045	0.904	.049
South Holland	0.856	.000	0.851	.000	0.852	.000
Rotterdam	0.988	.822	0.981	.734	0.984	.772
Zeeland	0.868	.006	0.866	.005	0.866	.005
North Brabant	0.884	.009	0.879	.007	0.883	.009
Limburg	0.835	.001	0.833	.001	0.834	.001
-2 Log likelihood	92210.981		92201.439		92186.657	

**Figure 1.** Probability of twenty-year survival ( $l_{x+20}/l_x$ ) at ages 30, 50, and 70, for selected years, the Netherlands 1850-2000: Women.



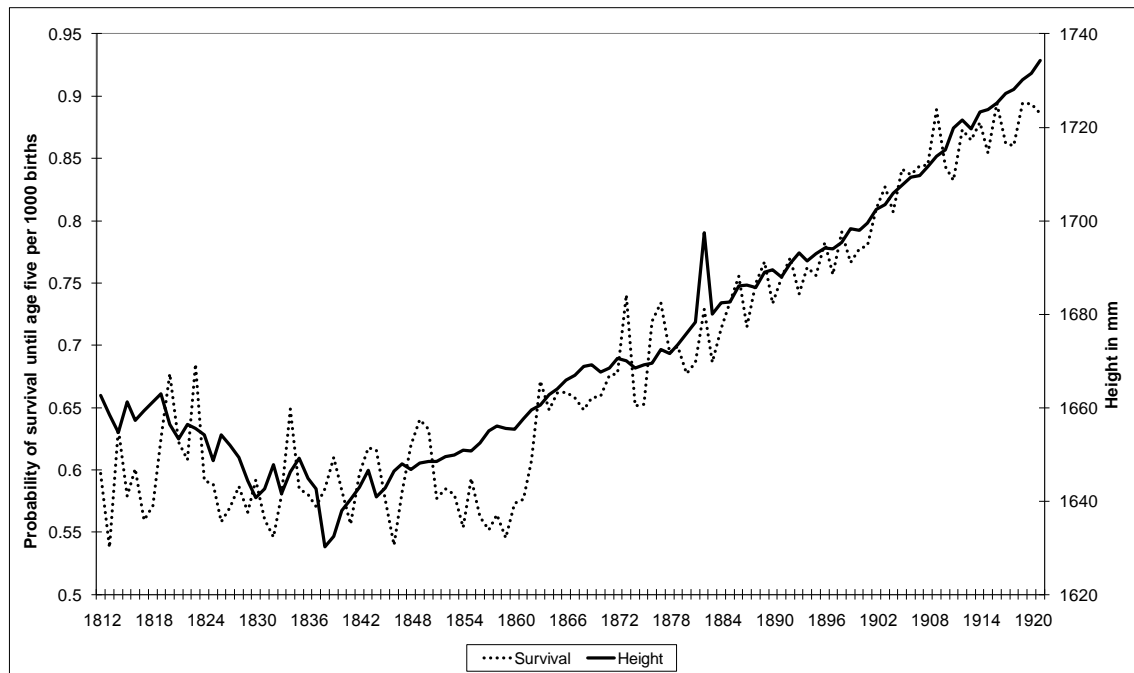
*Source:* Mortality database constructed by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographi Institute (for a description see Tabeau et al. (1994)).

**Figure 2.** Probability of twenty-year survival ( $l_{x+20}/l_x$ ) at ages 30, 50, and 70, for selected years, the Netherlands 1850-2000: Men.



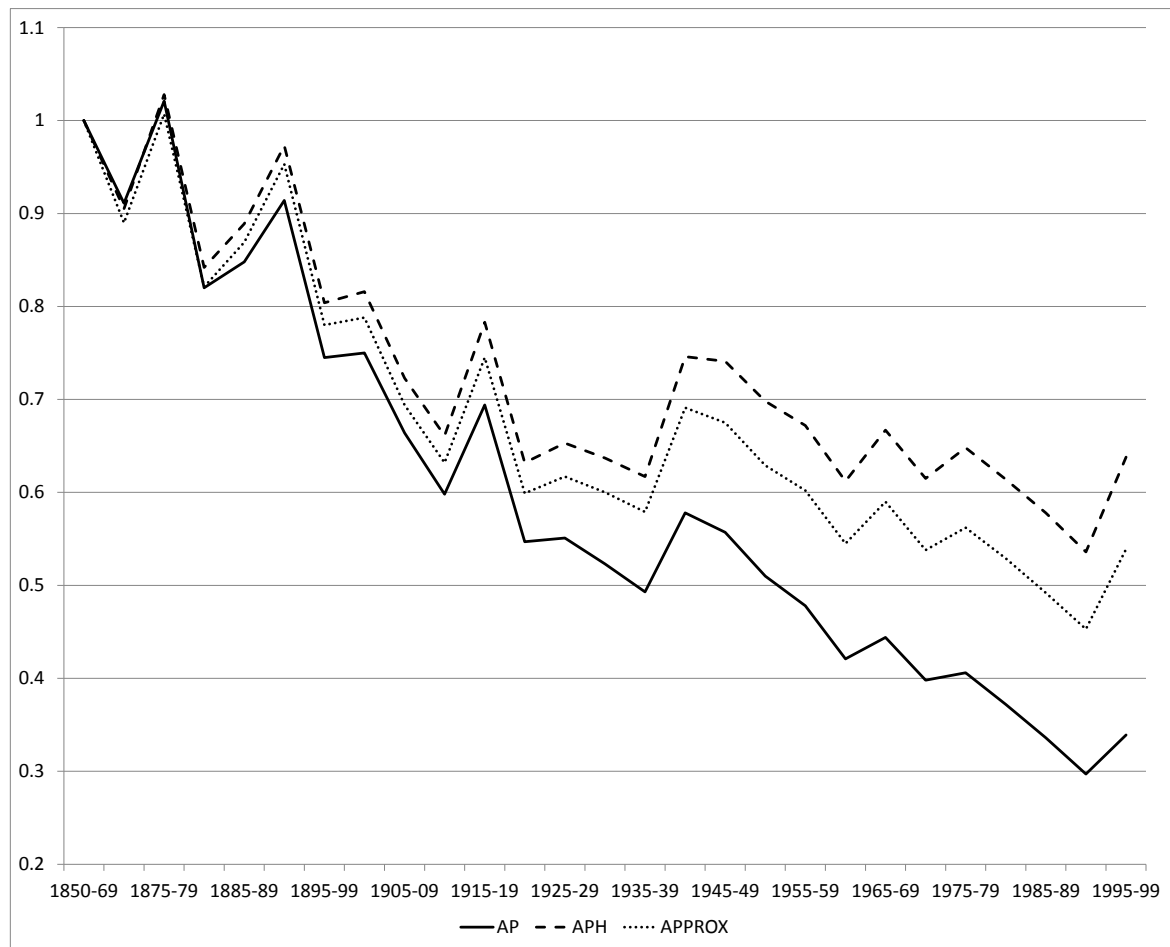
*Source:* Mortality database constructed by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographi Institute (for a description see Tabeau et al. (1994)).

**Figure 3.** Probability of survival until age five and height of conscripts in mm by year of birth, the Netherlands 1812-1921.



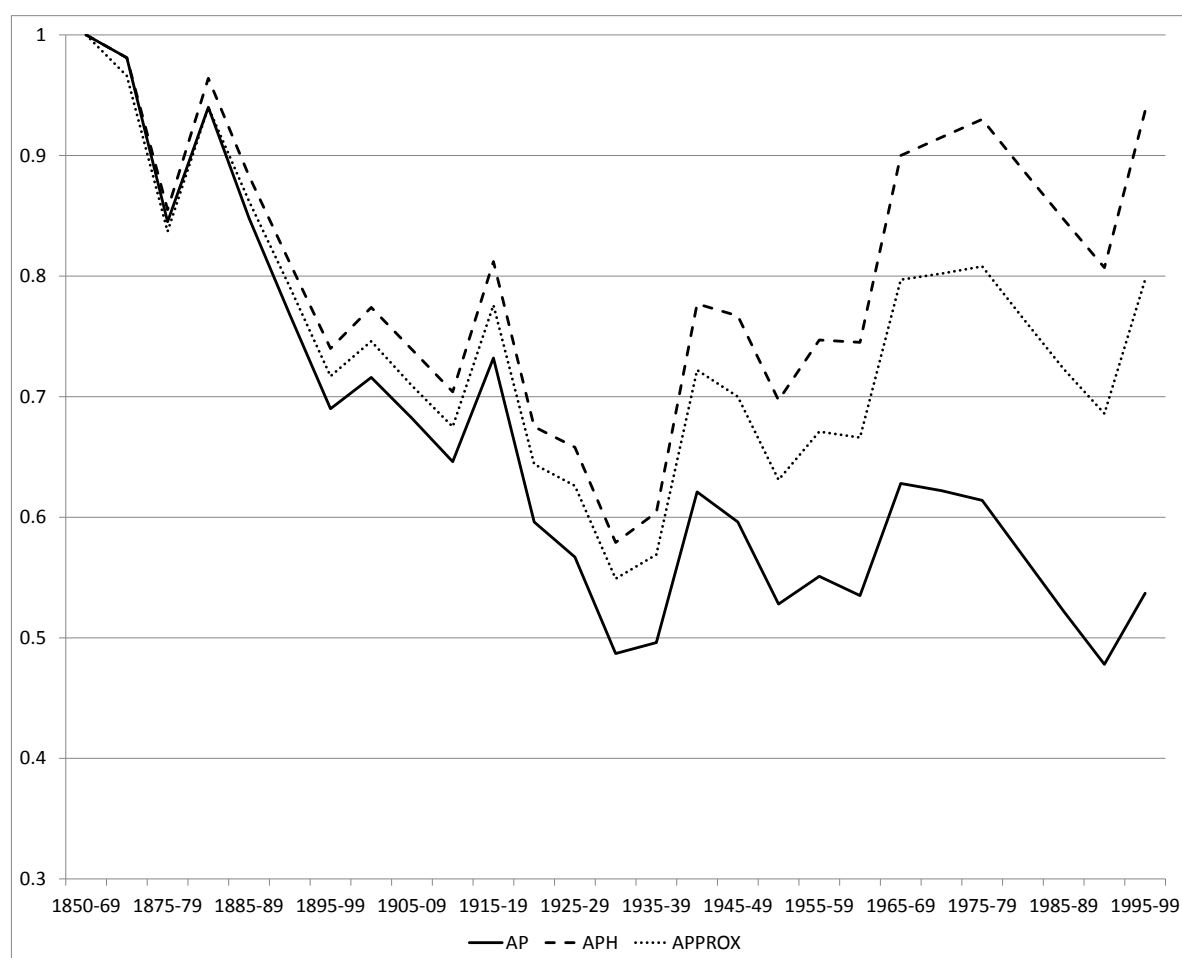
*Source:* HSN Data Set Life Courses Release 2011.01; Mandemakers and van Zanden (1993) and Drukker and Tassenaar (1997).

**Figure 4.** Period mortality trends in terms of odds ratios in three models, the Netherlands 1850-1999: Women.



Source: Table 2.

**Figure 5.** Period mortality trends in terms of odds ratios in three models, the Netherlands 1850-1999: Men.



Source: Table 3.