



COMMENTARY

New estimates of maternal mortality and how to interpret them: choice or confusion?

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Abstract: *Two independent exercises to estimate levels of maternal mortality took place during 2010, one published by the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation in Seattle, USA, the other published by four UN agencies (UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank and World Health Organization). Although both approaches are based on similar sets of empirical country data, their statistical methods differ in important respects – with implications for the resulting global, regional and country estimates. This paper examines the differences, discusses both the value and inherent limitations in such exercises, proposes ways of interpreting the different estimates and suggests how such exercises could be made more relevant to the needs of country-level decision-makers. It calls on the global community to invest seriously in working with countries to generate primary data on maternal mortality using measurement methods that reduce uncertainty and generate data on a continuing basis. The best routine source of data on maternal deaths is a civil registration system that assures permanent, compulsory and universal recording of the occurrence and characteristics of vital statistics, including births and deaths, and causes of death. The record of deaths among women of reproductive age derived from civil registration is often the first step in conducting a confidential enquiry into and preventing maternal deaths.*
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2010 was the year of maternal mortality estimates. In April, the *Lancet* published maternal mortality figures developed at the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME), an academic institution based at the University of Washington, Seattle, USA.¹ In September, a different set of numbers was issued by UN agencies UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank and World Health Organization, working in collaboration with technical experts from the University of Berkeley, California, USA.² Both sources included data for nearly all countries (IHME 181, UN 174), along with regional and global totals. Both covered similar time spans (IHME 1980–2008, UN 1990–2008). Both calculated overall and annual average rates of change. Both claimed to be based on a systematic review of all available

data. Both applied adjustments to country-reported data in order to improve comparability and correct for bias. Both used statistical modelling to generate estimates for countries or time period where data are lacking. Both acknowledged the important impact that HIV has had on maternal mortality, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Both claimed to have found substantial declines in maternal mortality in recent years. Both included estimates of uncertainty around the numbers.

Despite these broad measures of agreement, there are important differences, both in the regional and global totals and in the individual country estimates. So what is a potential user to make of these two sets of numbers? Is one superior to the other? How can users choose between the

59 two? Why are the UN estimates for 2008 so dif-
 60 ferent from those issued in 2005? For those con-
 61 fused by the sudden upsurge in numbers – and
 62 you are not alone – here are some frequently asked
 63 questions and answers that may help in under-
 64 standing, and using, the new estimates.

65 **What are the differences between the two**
 66 **sets of numbers?**

67 • **Globally, the differences in maternal deaths**
 68 **are small**

69 In terms of numbers of maternal deaths in 2008,
 70 the difference between the two sets of estimates
 71 is around 4%. IHME estimated some 342,900
 72 maternal deaths compared with UN estimates
 73 of 358,000.

74 • **Uncertainty ranges are significantly different**

75 With regard to the estimates of the maternal
 76 mortality ratio (MMR), IHME estimated 251 per
 77 100,000 live births in 2008 (range 221–289)
 78 compared with the UN estimate of 260 (range
 79 200–370). As is clear from Figure 1, the uncer-
 80 tainty range is wider for the UN estimates than
 81 for those developed by IHME. This is due to the
 82 statistical methods used to calculate uncer-
 83 tainty, but does not mean that the UN esti-
 84 mates are inherently less precise than IHME's;
 85 both are uncertain.

Figure 1. Uncertainty interval for the 2008 maternal mortality ratio: IHME compared with UN estimates

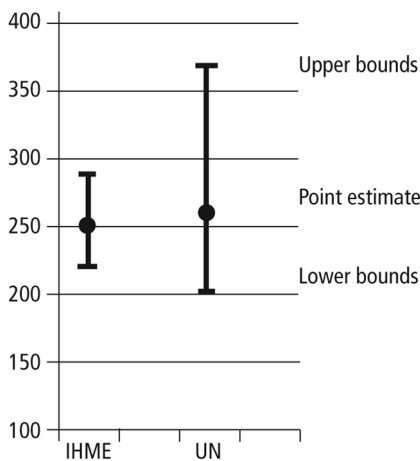
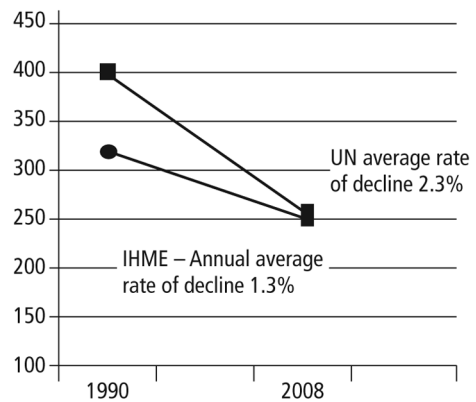


Figure 2. Trends in maternal mortality ratios 1990–2008: IHME and UN estimates



86 • **Rates of change are significantly different**

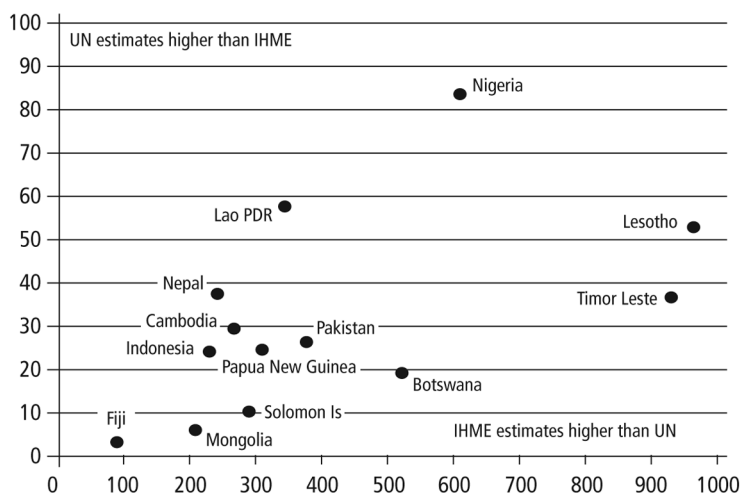
87 An important difference between the two sets of
 88 estimates is the rate of change since 1990. IHME
 89 estimated a global annual average rate of decline
 90 between 1990 and 2008 of 1.3%, (range 1.0, 1.5)
 91 compared with a decline of 2.3% estimated by
 92 the UN agencies (range 2.1, 2.4).^{*} The expla-
 93 nation lies in the differences in the estimated
 94 1990 starting point, with IHME estimating a
 95 1990 maternal mortality ratio of 320 per 100,000
 96 compared with the UN estimate of 400 per 100,000
 97 (Figure 2). Either way, both sets of estimates show
 98 rates of change well below the annual 5.5% decline
 99 that would be needed to attain the MDG5 target. It
 100 is worth noting that an attempt in 2005 by the UN
 101 agencies to estimate rates of change suggested an
 102 annual rate of decline between 1990 and 2005 of
 103 only 0.4% overall, but 2.5% when limited to coun-
 104 tries with several empirical data points.³

105 • **There are important differences in**
 106 **country estimates**

107 Whereas the global figures and trends appear
 108 broadly similar, there are important differences
 109 when it comes to individual country values.
 110 IHME estimates are higher than UN estimates
 111 in some countries; the reverse is true in others
 112 (Figure 3).

^{*}However, IHME estimated a rate of decline in a “no HIV scenario” of 2.4% annually.

Figure 3. Comparison of IHME and UN estimates: selected countries



113 **What are the causes of these differences?**

114 The differences between the two sets of country-
115 level estimates are largely due to:

- 116 • Differences in the underlying empirically
117 available data.
- 118 • The way available data are adjusted to account
119 for bias.
- 120 • The way deaths among HIV-positive preg-
121 nant women are dealt with.
- 122 • The use of different estimates of total deaths
123 in women of reproductive age.
- 124 • The specifications of the statistical models
125 used to generate missing values.

126 **• Underlying data availability**

127 The IHME and UN estimates are based on
128 somewhat different country-reported data. Of
129 course, both groups made every effort to take
130 into account as many country data points as
131 possible in developing their estimates. The UN
132 constructed a database of 484 empirical data
133 observations, several of which covered multiple
134 years, thus generating 2961 country-years of data.
135 The IHME database of 2651 observations was
136 constructed by analysing microdata from surveys
137 covering multiple years to generate individual
138 values for each year. Because data points were
139 counted in different ways, the databases are not

strictly comparable. Inevitably, there will be data
140 points that have been missed by one group or the
141 other and this will give rise to differences in the
142 final estimates. However, the impact of such dif-
143 ferences is generally small and could be reduced
144 further by sharing databases more effectively
145 than has been the case up to now. 146

• Data adjustment procedures 147

A more important source of difference between
148 the two sets of estimates is the way country-
149 reported data were handled. Both the IHME
150 and the UN estimates took as the starting point
151 not the maternal mortality ratio itself but,
152 rather, the proportion of all deaths occurring in
153 women of reproductive age due to maternal
154 causes (PMDF). Both groups adjusted these data
155 to account for biases and misreporting, for exam-
156 ple due to misclassification of maternal deaths to
157 other causes. In adjusting data from civil regis-
158 tration, IHME conducted a detailed empirical
159 examination of deaths classified to “ill-defined
160 and unspecified causes”. The UN adjustment
161 to the PMDF derived from civil registration was
162 based on a review of published literature on the
163 extent of misclassification of maternal deaths
164 reported in reproductive age mortality studies.^{4,5}
165 Two adjustments were applied to the PMDF
166 derived from surveys, an upward one to account
167

168 for under-identification of maternal deaths due
 169 to abortion, and a smaller downward adjustment
 170 to account for “incidental” deaths, that is, deaths
 171 in pregnant women that were not related to or
 172 aggravated by the pregnancy. According to the
 173 ICD definitions, these should not be counted
 174 among maternal deaths (see Box 1). The resulting
 175 upward and downward adjustments to the PMDF
 176 were almost identical, resulting in a net change
 177 of around 1%. Interestingly, the two different
 178 approaches came up with similar estimates of
 179 misclassification, leading to a 40% increase in
 180 maternal deaths in the IHME study compared
 181 with 50% in the UN estimates. At each step there
 182 is room for debate about the choices made and,
 183 inevitably, a degree of subjectivity is involved.
 184 For example, both datasets initially included data
 185 elements determined, following qualitative review,
 186 to be “implausible” or “outliers”. These were not
 187 subsequently included in the estimation process.
 188 Unlike the IHME exercise, the UN estimation also
 189 excluded all sub-national data sets.

190 • **Deaths in HIV-positive pregnant women**
 191 The two sets of estimates also have different
 192 ways of dealing with HIV infection in pregnant
 193 women and its impact on overall maternal mor-

Box 1

Maternal death: “... the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy... from any cause related to the pregnancy or its management, but not from accidental or incidental causes” (ICD-10).

Maternal deaths are classified as:

- **Direct** – obstetric causes
- **Indirect** – existing conditions aggravated by pregnancy or its management
- **Incidental** – unrelated to pregnancy

The ICD includes two additional definitions of maternal death:

Late maternal death: The death of a woman from direct or indirect obstetric causes, more than 42 days but less than one year after termination of pregnancy.

Pregnancy-related death: death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of terminations of pregnancy, irrespective of cause of death.

194 tality. The IHME analysis used HIV prevalence as
 195 a covariate for the model. The UN approach was
 196 to take available data on total deaths in women
 197 of reproductive age as the starting point, and
 198 apply a statistical model and various assump-
 199 tions to generate estimates of HIV-associated
 200 maternal deaths.

201 • **The envelope of deaths of women of reproductive age**

202 Perhaps the single most important difference in
 203 methods is the way the proportion of mater-
 204 nal deaths among women of reproductive age
 205 predicted by the statistical model was used to cal-
 206 culate total maternal deaths. Because few devel-
 207 oping countries have reliable counts of deaths
 208 by age and sex, total deaths of reproductive-
 209 age women are usually estimated from life tables.
 210 However, IHME and the UN used different life
 211 tables and this is an important source of the dif-
 212 ferences between the two sets of data. The IHME
 213 developed country-specific life tables for adult
 214 female mortality, taking into account available
 215 survey data on sibling survival, adjusted using
 216 the Gakidou-King procedure to correct for sur-
 217 vivor bias.⁶ The UN estimates, on the other
 218 hand, used existing published UN estimates of
 219 adult female mortality as the envelope. Unfortu-
 220 nately, it is not possible to quantify the effect of
 221 this factor on the overall maternal mortality
 222 numbers, because to date IHME has not pub-
 223 lished the details of its envelope estimates.
 224

225 • **Statistical model specifications**

226 Both sets of estimates used statistical models to
 227 predict values for countries and/or time periods
 228 for which empirical data are not available. Inevi-
 229 tably, differences in statistical methods, model
 230 specifications and covariates give rise to dif-
 231 ferent results. The UN estimates were derived
 232 from a multilevel regression model that included
 233 random elements at the level of observations,
 234 countries and regions. In simple terms, the
 235 model takes into account both the nature of
 236 the underlying empirical data as well as coun-
 237 try and regional specificities. The underlying
 238 empirical data drive the overall level of mater-
 239 nal mortality but the covariates, especially GNI
 240 per capita are major drivers of the trends over
 241 time. The IHME used a two-stage approach:
 242 a linear model and a spatial-temporal model

243 designed to capture real systematic variation
244 not captured by covariates.

245 In the UN analysis, covariates included Gross
246 National Income (GNI) per capita, general fer-
247 tility rate and proportion of deliveries attended
248 by a skilled health worker. IHME covariates
249 included total fertility rate (TFR), GNI per capita,
250 HIV seroprevalence, neonatal mortality, age-
251 specific female education, and age. Skilled birth
252 attendance was included but did not add to pre-
253 dictive validity. In practice, GNI is the most sig-
254 nificant driver of trends in both sets of estimates.
255 It is important that this finding not be mis-
256 interpreted: it does not imply that improvements
257 in maternal mortality are simply a matter of
258 increasing national wealth as opposed to other
259 interventions, such as access to reproductive and
260 maternal health care. The statistical model is
261 descriptive rather than explanatory.

262 In several instances, the modelled estimates
263 are based on no country-specific data related
264 to maternal mortality, and trends are entirely
265 driven by changes in the covariates, especially
266 GNI per capita. Examples include Angola and
267 Equatorial Guinea (no empirical data), Lao PDR
268 (one data point for 1990), and Myanmar (no
269 empirical data). This is a major weakness in both
270 sets of estimates. The apparent decline in mater-
271 nal mortality in a country such as Equatorial
272 Guinea, for example, seems to be entirely a
273 matter of changes in national income due to
274 the rising price of oil and has little to do with
275 interventions to reduce maternal mortality.

276 It is legitimate to ask whether one statistical
277 approach is better than the other but perhaps
278 this is the wrong question. In both models the
279 underlying data inputs are sparse and biased,
280 the definitions used are inconsistent, the model-
281 ling is complex and the uncertainty of the result-
282 ing estimates is large. The big problem that needs
283 to be addressed is the absence of country level
284 data which no amount of tinkering with statisti-
285 cal models can overcome.

286 How do the 2008 estimates differ from 287 those issued previously by the UN?

288 This paper is focused on the differences between
289 the estimates issued by the UN and IHME for
290 2008. It does not directly address the differences
291 between the UN estimates for 2008 and those
292 issued previously by the UN for 1990, 1995,

2000 and 2005. As noted in the documentation
accompanying each set of UN estimates, the
data adjustment and statistical methods used
on each occasion differed and the resulting
global, regional and country estimates should
not be considered as comparable. Having said
this, there are a number of constants in the
approaches used by the UN since 1990. These
include the focus on the PMDF rather than on
the maternal mortality ratio and the adjustments
applied to empirical country data depending on
the source and methods used. The innovations in
the 2008 UN estimates approach include a more
rigorous effort to account for “incidental” deaths
among pregnant women, including those due to
HIV, and a more complex statistical modelling
approach designed to better estimate both levels
and trends in maternal mortality.

Why are the estimates often so different from those reported by countries?

Both the IHME and UN estimates aim to maxi-
mise comparability, both over time and across
countries. But this is difficult when country-
reported data derive from different sources and
data collection methods, use different defini-
tions, and have varying time reference points.
For example, when maternal mortality is derived
from the census or from household surveys,
what is actually measured is *pregnancy-related
mortality* rather than *maternal mortality* (Box 1).

Depending on the data source, the resulting
figures relate to different definitions and dif-
ferent time periods and have different levels of
precision and reliability (Table 1). In some coun-
tries, maternal mortality is reported through the
civil registration system but unless coverage is
almost complete (at least 90%) and all deaths
are properly medically certified, the resulting data
are likely to be serious undercounts.⁸ Elsewhere,
household surveys are used as the data source,
using either direct or indirect (sisterhood) mea-
surement methods. These generate values that
have important uncertainty bounds, due to a com-
bination of sampling and non-sampling errors.
In other settings, the census is used to estimate
maternal mortality but here too, there are likely
to be problems of under-reporting; mortality data
derived from the census need to be reviewed and
adjusted using demographic techniques, some-
thing that not all countries do systematically.⁹

Table 1. Summary of maternal mortality data sources and data collection methods

Method	Event measured	Precision and uncertainty	Reference period
Civil registration with medical certification of cause of death	Maternal mortality	Total count; maternal deaths may be misclassified; evidence indicates ~50% under-reporting	Specified year
Sample registration with verbal autopsy	Maternal mortality	Representative count; maternal deaths may be misclassified; extent of misclassification in verbal autopsy not known so uncertainty cannot be calculated	Specified year
Household survey with direct estimation	Pregnancy-related mortality but can be used to calculate true maternal mortality when combined with verbal autopsy to identify cause of death	Depends on sample size, generally wide	Usually one to two years prior to survey, depending on recall period
Household survey with direct sisterhood method	Pregnancy-related mortality	Uncertainty arises from sampling errors (20–30%) and from misreporting of pregnancy status of deceased women	Variable, depending on the survey, may be 0–6, 0–4 or 0–9 years prior to survey
Household survey with indirect sisterhood method	Pregnancy-related mortality	Uncertainty arises from sampling errors (around 30%) and from misreporting of age and pregnancy-status of deceased siblings	Cover a time period at least 20 years prior to survey with a mid-point 10–12 years prior to the survey
Census	Pregnancy-related mortality	Total count but estimates require adjustment using demographic techniques; also misreporting of age and pregnancy-status of deceased women	Reference period for maternal deaths usually one to two years prior to census, depending on recall period, but estimates require evaluation using demographic techniques and may require adjustment
Health facility reporting	Maternal mortality	Misses maternal deaths occurring outside health care facilities. HMIS generally covers only public health facilities. Captures maternal deaths occurring on obstetric wards; maternal deaths on emergency and specialist wards often missed	Usually recent reference period.
Reproductive age mortality studies (RAMOS)	Combination of maternal and pregnancy-related	Depends on the ability of investigators to identify all maternal/pregnancy-related deaths and on the quality of the medical records and verbal autopsy	Usually covers multiple years

343 Many of the difficulties associated with monitoring maternal mortality arise from the fact that maternal deaths are relatively rare events, only about 5% as common as child deaths. The small numbers involved mean that national trends tend to be unstable, and sub-national ones even more so. This is especially true when mortality levels are very low and when household surveys are used as the data source. In countries with very small absolute numbers of maternal deaths, changes of one or two deaths in the numerator can appear to have a disproportionate effect on the maternal mortality ratio. Estimates generated using surveys are themselves subject to wide variations, which are not always described in the country reports (Figure 4).

359 **Can the estimates be used for both country and global monitoring?**
360

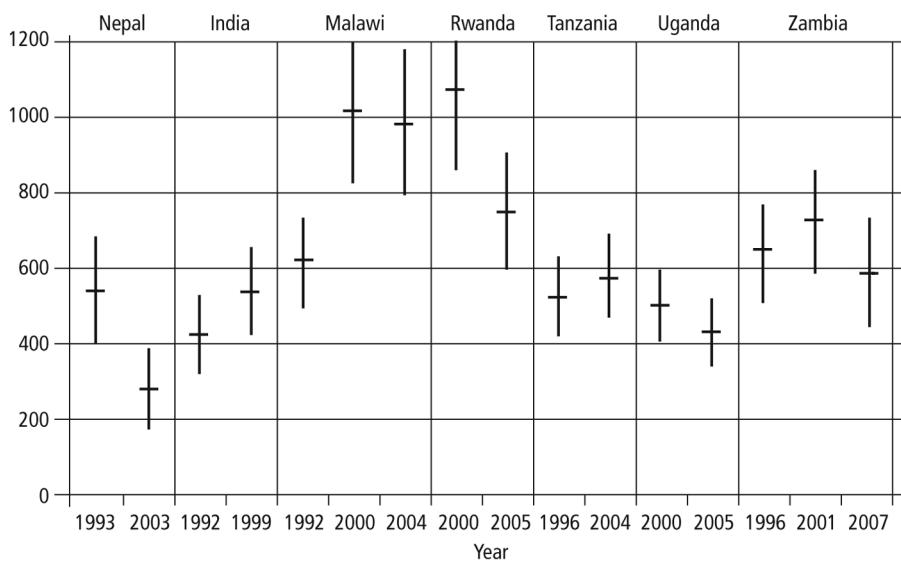
361 The impetus to obtain better data to track progress began to grow following the 1990 Child Survival Summit, and has been further magnified by monitoring and evaluation related to the Millennium Development Goals. Both the IHME and the UN estimates sought to address two challenges: (1) how to bring together, in a common

368 format and using similar sets of assumptions, 369 data for multiple time periods and from diverse 370 data sources in order to generate a set of figures 371 comparable across countries and over time; and 372 (2) how to predict maternal mortality in countries 373 and for time periods with no empirical data. Both 374 statistical models generate figures for country 375 settings where no primary data are available and 376 they produce updated, future or retrospective 377 values, such as for the MDG base year of 1990.

378 The results of these global estimation exercises 379 should be used carefully. Estimates generated 380 using statistical “forecasting” and “far-casting” 381 techniques can be used for advocacy, planning, 382 strategic decisions, and identifying research and 383 development priorities. However, they should not 384 be used for monitoring progress towards agreed 385 targets and for an assessment of what is effective 386 and what is not.¹⁰

387 What country decision-makers actually need 388 is data that are accurate, frequent and rapidly 389 available at national and sub-national levels. 390 Such data are essential to identify whether and 391 to what extent their policies and programmes 392 are achieving the anticipated results. Estimates 393 based on statistical models do not answer 394 these needs.

Figure 4. Estimated confidence intervals in maternal mortality ratios from household surveys: selected countries



395 **Do these new estimates mean that**
 396 **more data on maternal mortality are**
 397 **now available?**

398 In their MDG reports, UN agencies have regu-
 399 larly drawn attention to the paucity of reliable
 400 and comparable country data and the ensuing
 401 challenge for monitoring progress.¹¹ The IHME
 402 study contests the claim that maternal mortality
 403 is inherently hard to measure, noting that "More
 404 data are available for maternal mortality than
 405 for other main causes of child or adult death...
 406 the number of data points directly measuring
 407 tuberculosis as a cause of death is much lower
 408 than that for maternal mortality. A compari-
 409 son... with HIV and many causes of child mor-
 410 tality is similarly favourable."¹¹ There is some
 411 truth in this statement. The maternal mortality
 412 ratio has been an international target at least
 413 since the 1990 World Summit for Children and
 414 researchers have devoted considerable attention
 415 to developing measurement approaches, such as
 416 the sisterhood method.¹² Despite this, at country
 417 level, maternal mortality data are sparse. In the
 418 UN database, during the period from the late 1980s
 419 to 2008, there were an average of only 2.8 obser-
 420 vations per country.¹³

421 The paucity of cause-specific mortality data is
 422 a widespread challenge. Despite the growing
 423 attention directed to measuring mortality due
 424 to AIDS, TB and malaria, monitoring is usually
 425 limited to indicators of disease incidence and
 426 prevalence and access to preventive and/or treat-
 427 ment interventions such as insecticide-treated
 428 mosquito nets, coverage of TB treatment, and
 429 people in need receiving antiretroviral thera-
 430 pies for advanced HIV infection. The successes
 431 achieved in recent years in methods to measure
 432 child mortality have not been matched by similar
 433 progress in tackling the measurement challenges
 434 for causes of death or for adult mortality overall.

435 **Why are there two sets of estimates**
 436 **anyway? Would it not be better to have**
 437 **just one agreed set of estimates?**

438 Until 2010, UN agencies took the lead on devel-
 439 oping global estimates, not only for maternal
 440 mortality but for child mortality, HIV and TB
 441 incidence and prevalence and other health indi-
 442 cators. The arrival of the IHME – an academic
 443 group based at the University of Washington
 444 in Seattle and funded largely by the Bill and

Melinda Gates Foundation – has important impli- 445
 cations, many positive, others less so. On the one 446
 hand, the scientific method is defined by innova- 447
 tion, transparency, critical evaluation and the 448
 confrontation of alternative hypotheses. On the 449
 other hand, what is good from a scientific point 450
 of view may be less so from a country perspec- 451
 tive, where multiple, often contradictory esti- 452
 mates create confusion and scepticism which 453
 need to be avoided. 454

455 Both the UN and IHME bring together techni- 455
 cal expertise from around the world in order 456
 to ensure a strong scientific foundation for their 457
 work. In this instance, this gave rise to differ- 458
 ences of opinion on the most appropriate sta- 459
 tistical methods. Disagreements and debate are 460
 a normal part of scientific discourse and can 461
 help improve the knowledge base and stimu- 462
 late better empirical data collection in country. 463
 Forcing a scientific consensus around estimates 464
 that are characterised by a high degree of uncer- 465
 tainty is not the way forward. But it is incum- 466
 bent upon the agencies and academic institutions 467
 undertaking such work to minimise confusion 468
 and maximise transparency by sharing data 469
 and openly debating statistical methods and 470
 data adjustments. Moreover, the production of 471
 estimates should go hand in hand with the 472
 development of tools and methods that build 473
 capacity in countries for data generation, analysis 474
 and interpretation. 475

476 Furthermore, there has been a spirit of com- 476
 petitiveness and unseemly haste in the release 477
 of estimates, often linked to high profile politi- 478
 cal events such as the meetings of the G8 in 479
 June in Canada (which included special atten- 480
 tion to maternal and child health)¹⁴ and the UN 481
 General Assembly in September 2010 (which 482
 focused on progress towards the MDGs.)¹⁵ The 483
 publication of the IHME results in the *Lancet* 484
 was criticised for a rushed peer review process.¹⁶ 485
 The UN estimates were released independently, 486
 bypassing peer review journals and provoking 487
 critical comments in the *Lancet*.¹⁷ 488

489 **Are there risks involved in these global**
 490 **estimation exercises?**

491 Global estimation efforts have some negative, 491
 unintended consequences, especially at country 492
 level. Neither the UN nor the IHME involved sci- 493
 entists or institutions from developing countries. 494

495 Because of this lack of country engagement in
 496 and ownership of the process, the resulting esti-
 497 mates are perceived as externally managed,
 498 data-mining exercises, bringing few benefits
 499 to countries themselves. The UN process did
 500 involve a measure of country consultation, but
 501 this was insufficient to build capacities for data
 502 analysis and interpretation. For country policy-
 503 makers, the existence of different values for
 504 same indicators creates confusion and risks
 505 fostering a culture of “gaming” around the
 506 various figures. Global estimates also discour-
 507 age a culture of local accountability: if exter-
 508 nal institutions produce country numbers, there
 509 is no need to allocate resources in country to
 510 generate empirical data. On the other hand, if
 511 no estimate is available, national policy-makers
 512 have an excuse for inaction.

513 Following the release of the estimates, both
 514 the IHME and the UN agencies have sponsored
 515 inter-country workshops designed to enhance
 516 understanding of the rationale and methods
 517 for the estimates. This is a welcome develop-
 518 ment but sadly, the two groups are still working
 519 entirely separately. What a missed opportunity!
 520 Global estimation efforts can only benefit from
 521 direct discussions of the methods on a shared
 522 platform with country data producers, technical
 523 experts and data users. The maternal health
 524 community should advocate for better collabor-
 525 ation in any future country workshops.

526 **Should UN agencies leave estimation** 527 **to academic institutions?**

528 In the light of these debates, questions have
 529 been raised as to whether the UN agencies should
 530 continue to invest resources in global estima-
 531 tion.¹⁸ The argument is made that academic
 532 institutions have stronger scientific integrity,
 533 are better resourced, and are independent of
 534 political pressures.¹⁹ However, arguably, the
 535 UN agencies can draw on a broad range of
 536 scientific expertise from around the world and
 537 have a history of open discussion with coun-
 538 tries on the availability and quality of statistical
 539 reporting.²⁰ Indeed, it is essential that in devel-
 540 oping estimates, the UN system should work
 541 on a strong scientific foundation and in a spirit
 542 of independence and objectivity. The Child Health
 543 Epidemiology Reference Group,²¹ which pro-
 544 duces estimates of causes of child death, and

Countdown to 2015,²² which tracks maternal 545
 and child health indicators, bring together 546
 scientists and UN agencies, but act indepen- 547
 dently in their scientific deliberations. A similar 548
 mechanism is being established for maternal 549
 health monitoring, bringing together both inde- 550
 pendent technical experts and also involving 551
 UN agencies.²³ 552

553 There are other reasons why the UN should
 554 not hand over this role to external bodies. The
 555 UN system has a long history of global, regional
 556 and country-level action. Multilateral agencies
 557 are constituted by – and accountable to – national
 558 governments. This implies a time-unlimited com-
 559 mitment that academic institutions by them-
 560 selves cannot offer.²¹ Moreover, the UN system
 561 is better positioned than academic institutions
 562 to generate productive interactions between
 563 global monitoring efforts and country informa-
 564 tion systems. UN agencies have a responsibility to
 565 incorporate country institutions and scientists
 566 into the estimation process. Countries are not
 567 simply suppliers of raw data to be analysed and
 568 adjusted by academics and technicians. Moving
 569 the focus of estimation from institutions in the
 570 “north” to actors in the “south” would enable
 571 countries to benefit from collaboration between
 572 capacity-building around the collection and shar-
 573 ing of data, development of scientific methods of
 574 estimation, publication of estimates, and devel-
 575 opment and application of user-friendly analysis
 576 and estimation tools.

577 **What should countries do to monitor** 578 **maternal mortality trends?**

579 The debate around global estimates has so focused
 580 the attention on the maternal mortality ratio that
 581 other indicators of progress have been neglected.
 582 Yet a better understanding of trends would emerge
 583 from an analysis of not only the maternal mor-
 584 tality ratio – a measure of obstetric risk – but
 585 also of indicators that reflect the frequency at
 586 which women are exposed to this risk or levels
 587 of fertility – reflected in the maternal mortality
 588 rate. Valuable insights about maternal health can
 589 be gleaned by examining the interplay between
 590 maternal mortality and fertility.

591 In settings where the maternal mortality ratio
 592 (the obstetric risk) is high, the maternal mor-
 593 tality rate (the risk per reproductive age woman)
 594 may decline due to falling fertility. A decline in

595 the absolute number of births will result in fewer
596 maternal deaths, even without improvements in
597 the uptake of maternal health interventions.

598 There is also value in tracking the *numbers* of
599 deaths, especially in small countries or where
600 the absolute number of maternal deaths is rela-
601 tively small. A simple distribution of numbers
602 of deaths by time of occurrence (during preg-
603 nancy, during the intra-partum period, and
604 post-partum) provides valuable information for
605 policy and programming. Moreover, each death
606 can serve as the starting point for audits and
607 confidential enquiries that describe the circum-
608 stance and causes of each death and identify
609 ways of averting such deaths in the future.²⁴ In
610 addition, indicators of health care should be
611 monitored, such as use of skilled birth attendant
612 at delivery, levels of fertility, nutritional status,
613 and availability and use of essential obstetric
614 care. These data may well be more readily avail-
615 able on a regular basis than mortality indicators.

616 **Is maternal mortality really difficult**
617 **to measure or are we just not trying?**

618 The reliance on global estimates and the fact
619 that maternal deaths are so poorly counted, are
620 symptomatic of a broader problem, the neglect
621 of the poorest and most vulnerable in society
622 and the lack of attention to their health and
623 survival – the so-called “scandal of invisibility”.²⁵
624 It is time for the global community to invest
625 seriously in working with countries to generate
626 primary data on maternal mortality using mea-
627 surement methods that reduce uncertainty and
628 that generate data on a continuing basis, rather
629 than at occasional intervals. This is not just an
630 issue for maternal mortality but applies more
631 generally across all causes of death. Good public
632 health decision-making and accountability, in
633 order to make progress towards health targets,
634 are dependent on reliable and timely statistics

on births and deaths, including assessment of 635
causes of death. 636

The best routine source of data on maternal 637
deaths is a civil registration system that assures 638
the continuous, permanent, compulsory and 639
universal recording of the occurrence and char- 640
acteristics of vital statistics, including births 641
and deaths, and causes of death.²⁶ Civil regis- 642
tration has a dual purpose, administrative and 643
legal on the one hand, and statistical, demo- 644
graphic and epidemiological on the other. For 645
the individual, the civil statistics records of birth 646
or death provide essential legal documentation 647
for a wide range of purposes. From a population 648
perspective, birth and death records can provide 649
important public health information. Vital sta- 650
tistics derived from civil registration are the only 651
nationally representative, continuously avail- 652
able source of information on cause-specific 653
mortality. The record of deaths among women 654
of reproductive age derived from civil registra- 655
tion is often the first step in conducting a confi- 656
dential enquiry into maternal deaths. 657

The UN Commission for Information and 658
Accountability for Women’s and Children’s Health 659
is calling on countries and development partners 660
to prioritize investments for building robust 661
health information systems to monitor women’s 662
and children’s health, with a focus on the systems 663
needed to generate data on births, deaths, and 664
causes of death.²⁷ The Health Metrics Network²⁸ 665
has launched an initiative to strengthen national 666
civil registration and vital statistics systems in 667
order to better monitor vital events. Through a 668
combination of global advocacy; development 669
of innovative solutions for registering births and 670
deaths and tracking pregnancy outcomes, and 671
compiling the lessons learnt from these experi- 672
ences, countries will be empowered to generate 673
their own primary data. Perhaps then, the global 674
community will be able to dispense with statisti- 675
cal estimation models. 676

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677	Résumé	Resumen	710
678	Deux analyses indépendantes destinées à estimer	En 2010 se realizaron dos ejercicios independientes	711
679	les niveaux de mortalité maternelle ont été	para calcular los niveles de mortalidad materna:	712
680	publiées en 2010, l'une par l' <i>Institute for Health</i>	uno publicado por el Instituto de Métrica y	713
681	<i>Metrics and Evaluation</i> à Seattle, États-Unis	Evaluación en Salud, en Seattle, EE. UU.; el otro,	714
682	d'Amérique, l'autre par quatre institutions des	por cuatro organismos de la ONU (UNICEF,	715
683	Nations Unies (UNICEF, FNUAP, Banque mondiale	UNFPA, el Banco Mundial y la Organización	716
684	et OMS). Même si les deux approches sont fondées	Mundial de la Salud). Aunque ambos enfoques	717
685	sur des ensembles similaires de données nationales	se basan en similares datos empíricos, sus	718
686	empiriques, leurs méthodes statistiques diffèrent	métodos estadísticos difieren en importantes	719
687	sur des points importants, avec des conséquences	aspectos, con implicaciones para los consiguientes	720
688	sur les estimations mondiales, régionales et	cálculos nacionales, regionales e internacionales.	721
689	nationales ainsi obtenues. Cet article examine	En este artículo se examinan las diferencias, se	722
690	les divergences, discute de la valeur et des	discute tanto el valor como las limitaciones	723
691	limitations inhérentes à ces opérations, propose	inherentes en dichos ejercicios, se proponen	724
692	des interprétations des différentes estimations et	maneras de interpretar los diferentes cálculos y	725
693	suggère des moyens de mieux adapter ces	se sugiere cómo lograr que estos ejercicios sean	726
694	études aux besoins des décideurs nationaux. Il	más pertinentes para las necesidades de las	727
695	invite la communauté internationale à investir	personas responsables de tomar decisiones en	728
696	véritablement dans le travail avec les pays en	cada país. Se hace un llamado a la comunidad	729
697	vue de créer des données primaires sur la	global para que colabore con los países a fin de	730
698	mortalité maternelle au moyen de méthodes de	generar datos principales sobre la mortalidad	731
699	mesure qui réduiront l'incertitude et produiront	materna empleando métodos de medidas que	732
700	des données de manière continue. La meilleure	disminuyan la incertidumbre y generen datos	733
701	source systématique de données sur les décès	de manera continua. La mejor fuente rutinaria	734
702	maternels est un système obligatoire et généralisé	de datos sobre las muertes maternas es un	735
703	de registre d'état civil qui consigne en permanence	sistema de registro civil que asegure el registro	736
704	les naissances, les décès et les causes des décès. La	permanente, obligatoire y universal de la incidencia	737
705	comptabilisation des décès survenus chez les	y caractéristiques de statistiques vitales, como	738
706	femmes en âge de procréer, figurant dans les	nacimientos y muertes, así como las causas de	739
707	registres d'état civil, est souvent la première	defunción. El registro de muertes de mujeres en	740
708	étape pour réaliser une enquête confidentielle	edad reproductiva derivado del registro civil	741
709	sur la mortalité maternelle et la prévenir.	suele ser el primer paso para la investigación	742
		confidencial y prevención de las muertes maternas.	743

Author Queries

- 1. Page 2: Line 67:** Bulleted words was set as section level 2. Please check.
- 2. Page 2: Line 68:** Period was deleted in the four consecutive bulleted words for consistency. Please check.
- 3. Page 4: Line 174:** Box 2 from the original manuscript was changed to Box 1. Please check.