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Where and How Indians Die: Context of American Indian and Alaska Native Deaths.

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onitoring how people die is effective in indicating national trends in illness across time and geography. Analysis by racial and ethnic groups can highlight disparities that identify where our health system is failing (NICOA'S Monograph, Vol.1 No.1, "How Indians Die"). Better understanding of the context of where death occurs might similarly expose variations that could indicate disparate living conditions among racial and ethnic minorities. This Monograph explores whether American Indians and Alaska Natives die under different conditions than the rest of the American population.

National Indian Council on Aging

Death Away From Home

f all racial and ethnic groups, American Indians
and Alaska Natives (AI/ANs) are the most likely to
die away from home, and outside their state of
residence. Mortality data obtained from the National
Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) for 1982
through 1998 show that 30 percent of all AI/AN
deaths occurred away from the state of residence.
This represents the largest proportion of deaths
occurring out of the state of residence for any
ethnic or racial group. (The national vital statistics
system started collecting mortality information at
the beginning of the century and achieved national
overage in 1933).35
30
31

Map 1 compares the county where AI/ANs resided, versus where they died, for patients who died outside their **Ne** resident state. The county of residence is shaded in red and the location of death is represented by a white dot for each death. In most of cases, these out-of-state deaths

represent reservation based AI/AN's who died in large cities. More than 80 percent of the AI/AN out-of-state deaths resulted from Arizona resident AI/ANs who

died in New Mexico (Insert 1). It is likely that the data are tracking individuals from the largest reservation-based tribe, Navajo Nation, who died at the closest Indian Health Service hospitals or main general hospitals in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, NM. This suggests situations where AI/ANs might be transported to a city for emergency treatment. If this were indeed the case, the expectation would be that more AI/ANs would be recorded as dead-on-arrival.

Insert 1: Al/ANs who died out of state Black dots represent county of residence and red dots represent county of death. Combined NCHS Mortality files 1982-1998





New Mexico has the highest rate of correctly classifing deaths of Al/ANs

Indian Health Service (1996), Adjusting for Miscoding of Indian Race on State Death Certificates . IHS, Division of Program Statistics.

Southwest United States





Map 1: American Indian and Alaska Natives who died out of their state of residence in the combined NCHS Mortality files 1982-1998 . Shaded Area represent density of deaths within county of residence and white dot represent county of death.

Graph Key to Other Ethnic and Racial Groups

- 1: White 2: Black
- 3: Chinese

- 4: Japanese
 5: Hawaiain
 6: Fillipinos
 7: Other Asian or API



Deaths on Arrival

AN who arrive dead is not significantly higher than that for other racial and ethnic groups. In fact there has been a dramatic decline in the proportion of deaths that are recorded as "dead-onarrival". For instance, in 1982 over eight percent of all AI/AN deaths were reported as dead-on-arrival. By 1998 this rate had decreased to 2.5 percent. This decline is consistent with other racial and ethnic groups (Graph 2)

Death at Home

Peaths at home are increasing for the AI/AN population. Roughly 20 percent of all AI/AN deaths occur at the place of residence. Graph 3 portrays this increase. This trend is also seen for other racial and ethnic groups and reflects a demographic shift that is occurring. Elders constitute an ever-increasing proportion of U.S. and world populations and this group is more likely to die at home than any other age group.

Nursing Home Deaths

This demographic shift has also resulted in an increase in the number of deaths occurring in nursing homes, as Graph 4 portrays. In 1982, while only 9percent of all AI/AN deaths occurred in nursing homes, by 1998 this proportion increased to 13 percent. This pattern is repeated for all racial and ethnic groups. The racial and ethnic groups with the lowest proportion of nursing home deaths are Filipinos, Asian Pacific Islanders, and Hawaiians. From 1982 through to 1998, twelve percent of all deaths among AI/AN's took place in a nursing home. By 1998 standards, this amounts to an average of 1,300 AI/AN deaths per year.



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The terms "miscoding", "misclassifing", and "misreporting" are not technically identical. The NCHS and state coding of race entries on the death certificate is excellent, the problem lies with the race as reported on the certificate. This certificate is normally filled-in by the funeral director, based on information from a family member, or from observation. However, agencies that use these racial identifiers should be prudent in the interpretation such analyses if there are these documented inaccuracies.

Marital Status

of all the AI/AN deaths reported during the 17 year period, the proportion occurring to AI/ANs who were classified as single ranged from 23 to 26 percent. This compares to a range of nine to twelve percent for Whites. Deaths for widowed AI/ANs ranged from 25 to 26 percent, compared to 35 to 38 percent for widowed Whites.





Autopsy

utopsy – the surgical examination of the body after death – is performed at hospitals and at coroner's and medical examiner's facilities, especially in the event of traumatic deaths.

Due to spiritual beliefs, AI/ANs are generally reluctant to allow autopsies to be performed on their relatives. Given this fact, it is surprising to find that since 1989 AI/ANs are more likely to undergo an autopsy than any other racial or ethnic group. Although there has been a decline in such practices, 1993 saw more than 18 percent of AI/AN deaths being subject to autopsy. This high rate probably reflect the high proportion of deaths due to external causes. In such cases an autopsy is legally required. However, this conjecture needs further investigation. Unfortunately, the NCHS stopped including autopsy in their basic dataset in 1995. It is expected that they will reinstate this item in 2003.

Map 2 shows where these autopsies were performed. The black dots represent the county of residence, and red dots the county where death occurred. This map shows that AI/ANs are more likely to undergo an autopsy when they die in a large city. Insert 2, a close-up of northeastern Oklahoma, shows this very clearly. The three highest concentrations of autopsies are in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Forth Smith on the western border of Arkansas. It could be argued that because these cities are more likely to have teaching hospitals, more autopsies are likely to be performed. However, this does not explain why AI/ANs undergo a higher proportion of autopsies when compared with other racial and ethnic groups.





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Disparities and Similarities

Y tark differences exist in the context of death among AI/ANs and other racial and ethnic groups, although there is an increasing convergence, such as:

Patient Status: Inpatient deaths for AI/ANs range from 37 percent in 1982 to 44 percent in 1998 (compared with Whites, 41 and 40 percent respectively). Outpatient deaths for AI/ANs range from 4 to 10 percent in 1982 and 1998 (compared with Whites, 4 to 7 percent respectively).

Place of Death: Deaths of AI/ANs on farms ranged from 0.4 to 1 percent in 1982 and 1998, compared with Whites of 3 to 2 percent respectively. Deaths of AI/ANs while at work ranged from 2 to 0.4 percent in 1982 and 1998, as compared with Whites, 4 to 2 percent respectively. Deaths of AI/ANs during recreation ranged from 4 to 2 percent in 1982 and 1998, as compared with Whites, 3 and 2 percent for 1982 and 1998 respectively.

Conclusion

wareness of death trends and conditions within specific racial and ethnic groups is necessary because not only do we learn about disparate conditions (e.g., death away from home) but we also learn some of the conditions that affect AI/ ANs (e.g., autopsies). The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention *Healthy* People 2010 challenges "... individuals, communities, and professionals - indeed, all of us - to take specific steps to ensure that good health, as well as long life, are enjoyed by all."

AL/ANs continue to be misclassified. ignored, and misrepresented. This Monograph highlights the need to promote the continued monitoring of health and illhealth of AI/ANs. Knowing the present health status is the only way to observe change and to truly know whether good health, as well as long life, are enjoyed by all.

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For technical information that describes the nature, sources, and limitations of the data the reader is referred to the Technical Notes of the Annual Mortality Report of NCHS, as well as the Technical Notes of Vital Statistics of the United States. The Annual Report for 1998 is entitled "Deaths: Final Data for 1998," National Vital Statistics Reports, Vol. 48, No. 11 (web address: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/products/ pubs/pubd/nvsr/48/48-pre.htm) and the Mortality Technical Appendix (web address: http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/about/major/dvs/ mortdata.htm). The authors are solely responsible for the content of this monograph.

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