Causes of maternal and child deaths

What causes the 8.8 million child deaths each year?

New estimates of child deaths for 2008 show that pneumonia, diarrhoea and malaria remain the highest causes worldwide, together accounting for 41% of deaths (figure 3). More than 40% of child deaths occur in the neonatal period, and progress in reducing deaths has been slower for newborn deaths than for deaths among children ages one month to five years. Undernutrition contributes to more than one-third of child deaths. The majority of these deaths can and must be prevented by increasing coverage for known, affordable and effective interventions.

The country profiles highlight important regional and country variations in these causes. For example, estimates for Africa indicate that 29% of all child deaths occur in the neonatal period and that 49% of deaths after this period are due to pneumonia, diarrhoea or malaria. In contrast, estimates for South East Asia indicate that about 54% of child deaths occur in the neonatal period and that about 26% of postneonatal deaths are due to pneumonia, diarrhoea or malaria.

Global distribution of maternal causes of death

A maternal death is defined as the death of a woman while pregnant or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy, regardless of the site or duration of pregnancy, from any cause related to or aggravated by the pregnancy or its management. New estimates show that the leading causes of maternal deaths are haemorrhage and hypertension, which together account for more than half of maternal deaths (figure 4). Indirect causes, which include deaths due to conditions such as malaria, HIV/AIDS and cardiac diseases, account for about one-fifth of maternal deaths. Regional estimates show that haemorrhage and hypertension are among the top three causes of deaths in both South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, where the
The categories of maternal deaths are based on a new classification system developed by WHO that considers obstructed labour and anaemia to be contributing conditions rather than direct causes. Deaths related to these two conditions are now classified within the categories of haemorrhage or sepsis.
Social determinants of maternal, newborn and child health

In the words of the WHO Commission for Social Determinants of Health (2008), social determinants of maternal, newborn and child health “. . . are the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age, including the health system. These circumstances are shaped by the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels, which are themselves influenced by policy choices. The social determinants of health are mostly responsible for health inequities—the unfair and avoidable differences in health status seen within and between countries.”

Poverty and inequity are underlying contributors to many maternal, newborn and child deaths, and evidence shows that poor households have more than twice the risk of mortality of wealthy households. Poverty affects maternal, newborn and child health through a range of mechanisms. Poor diets and food insecurity increase the risk of illness and undernutrition (box 3); poor environmental conditions contribute to inadequate housing, water and sanitation; and family poverty reduces care-seeking and access to information and health care services. Poverty and lack of access to care can be compounded by conflict.

**BOX 3
Undernutrition: a risk for women and children**

Undernutrition affects mortality and ill-health along the entire continuum of care from pre-pregnancy to early childhood.

Undernutrition, the result of poor dietary quality and inadequate intake of micronutrients as well as low energy intake, contributes to at least one-third of child deaths. Stunting, or low height for age, is a particularly important *Countdown* indicator because it reflects longer term nutritional deficiencies with implications for growth and development of children now and in future generations. Child undernutrition and infectious diseases are synergistic and cyclical, posing a major threat to child survival.

Maternal short stature and iron deficiency anaemia, which can increase the risk of death of the mother at delivery, contribute to at least 20% of maternal deaths. Maternal undernutrition also increases the probability of low birth weight, which in turn increases the probability of neonatal deaths due to infections and asphyxia. Measures of maternal undernutrition will be tracked by *Countdown* beginning in the 2011 report.

**Two-thirds of the world’s children affected by stunting live in just 10 *Countdown* countries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Stunting prevalence (%)</th>
<th>Number of stunted children (thousands)</th>
<th>Share of developing country total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>60,788</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12,685</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10,158</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9,868</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7,688</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7,219</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6,788</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo, Dem. Rep. of the</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5,382</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6,317</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania, U. Rep.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3,359</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNICEF 2009b.
population displacement and emergencies such as floods and drought. Recent analyses indicate that maternal, newborn and child health can be negatively affected by high burdens of noncommunicable diseases that increase the likelihood of catastrophic expenditures at the household level. Maternal, newborn and child health is also influenced by gender discrimination, low levels of female education, few income-earning opportunities for women and other societal factors affecting women’s empowerment. Further, the death of a mother increases the risk that her children will die.

A range of measures are available to address social determinants of health. Expanding educational programmes, introducing gender-based affirmative action policies and other programmes to achieve MDG3, implementing laws supportive of human rights and improving living and working conditions (for example, improving access to clean water and adequate sanitation) can all make a difference. Good governance and oversight of health systems can positively influence maternal, newborn and child health in difficult circumstances. In addition, tackling the inequitable distribution of power, money and resources should be a priority. Other successful approaches include addressing financial barriers to care by, for example, reducing or eliminating user fees or introducing targeted conditional cash transfer schemes. Women’s support groups have been shown to contribute measurable improvements in maternal, newborn and child health as well as mental health, suggesting that such strategies can be employed synergistically with health sector reforms to improve women’s empowerment and decision-making.
Coverage along the continuum of care

*Countdown* tracks coverage along a continuum of care from pre-pregnancy and childbirth through childhood up to age 5, highlighting missed opportunities for the delivery of lifesaving interventions. Median coverage levels for 20 *Countdown* interventions are summarized in figure 5 but they mask important variations in levels and progress at the country level.

**Coverage gaps**

The 2010 *Countdown* results show important gaps in coverage for three groups of interventions:

- **Interventions immediately surrounding birth**, such as the presence of a skilled attendant, ensuring the early initiation of breastfeeding and an early postnatal visit to check on the health of the mother and newborn.
- **Interventions that require 24-hour access to a skilled health provider**, such as treatment of childhood pneumonia, diarrhoea and malaria.
- **Interventions introduced only recently**, such as intermittent preventive treatment for malaria during pregnancy, or recently scaled-up interventions, such as the use of insecticide-treated nets.

**Equity gaps**

Data on the disparities in coverage between the poorest and the least-poor, shown later, highlight the poor-rich gap in access to these essential interventions.

*Figure 5*

Coverage of interventions varies across the continuum of care

Median national coverage of interventions across the continuum of care for 20 *Countdown* interventions and approaches in *Countdown* countries, most recent year since 2000 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intervention</th>
<th>Pre-pregnancy</th>
<th>Pregnancy</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Postnatal</th>
<th>Infancy</th>
<th>Childhood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At least four antenatal care visits</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaria treatment for pregnant women</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitamin A supplementation (two doses)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measles immunization</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPT3 immunization</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary feeding (age 6–9 months)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved drinking water</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lifesaving interventions, including family planning services.

**Quality gaps**

Coverage estimates for service delivery contacts—such as antenatal care, skilled attendant at birth and postnatal visits for the mother—do not address the quality of that contact or whether it provided needed interventions such as active management of the third stage of labour or counselling on family planning. Quality assessments of such services are an essential part of sound programme management.

**Data gaps**

*Countdown* highlights data gaps that must be addressed to improve the ability of countries to make informed decisions on how to accelerate progress towards MDGs 4 and 5. For example, only 23 *Countdown* countries have data available on postnatal care for women, and six have data on postnatal care for newborns.
Every pregnancy wanted

Addressing adolescent reproductive health—an essential part of the continuum of care

Newly included in this Countdown update are estimates of the adolescent birth rate, defined as the annual number of births to women ages 15–19 per 1,000 women in that age group. This is a progress indicator for MDG target 5.8 for achieving universal access to reproductive health. Adolescent fertility is high in many Countdown countries (figure 6), which means that many young women face an elevated risk of maternal death and disability. Newborns and infants of adolescent mothers are also at higher risk of low birth weight and mortality.

Analysis of 23 Countdown countries in Sub-Saharan Africa with two consecutive Demographic and Health Surveys since 2000 shows at least a 10% drop in the adolescent fertility rate in 18 of them. In the majority of these countries, the declines are primarily among women from wealthier households, those living in urban areas and those with higher education levels.

Increasing access to family planning

Reducing unwanted pregnancies reduces overall births, including those among adolescent women, and therefore reduces maternal deaths and unsafe abortions. The impact of birth spacing on newborn and child survival is also important. Countdown tracks both the contraceptive prevalence rate—the percentage of women married or in union ages 15–49 who are practising, or whose sexual partners are practising, any form of contraception—and the unmet need for contraception—the percentage of married women who do not want a child or who want to postpone their next pregnancy but are not using any contraception (figure 7). Both are progress indicators for MDG target 5.8.

Trends in family planning coverage have been highly variable across countries. The small increase in the median coverage for the 42 countries with data on contraceptive prevalence from around 2000

**FIGURE 6**

Births to adolescent girls carry risks for mothers and newborns

Annual number of births to women ages 15–19 per 1,000, Countdown countries, most recent year since 2000

Taking stock of maternal, newborn and child survival 2000–2010 decade report

and around 2008 mask important increases and lack of progress in individual countries (figure 8). For example, Madagascar (box 4), Rwanda and Swaziland all increased coverage by more than 20 percentage points, but 12 other countries showed no change or a decrease in coverage, with Central African Republic and Togo seeing declines of

9 percentage points and Democratic Republic of Congo a decline of 11 percentage points. Decreased ODA to family planning from 1990 to 2007, among other factors, likely contributed to this lack of progress (see figure 22). There are also disparities in family planning coverage within countries, with lower coverage among women in poorer households and among adolescents relative to older women.
Box 4

What can we learn from Madagascar’s family planning success?

Contraceptive prevalence in Madagascar rose from 5.1% in 1992 to 29% in 2008–09, according to Demographic and Health Surveys (see figures). The Madagascar Family Planning Program attributes this success to three aspects of the programme:

- **Leadership and policy**
  - Strong leadership at the highest level (such as former President Marc Ravalomanana).
  - A target included at the highest level in the national development plan (Madagascar Action Plan target of 30% contraceptive prevalence in 2012).
  - Policy of providing contraceptives free in all public health facilities.

- **Community involvement**
  - Effective multisectoral collaboration with involvement of local authorities (17,433 Fokontany chiefs initiated and sensitized on family planning through a film and brochures).
  - National campaign of integrated activities for family planning, adolescent reproductive health and HIV/AIDS in 81% of public schools.
  - 3,000 women leaders initiated and sensitized on family planning.
  - Community health workers trained to provide family planning via injectable contraceptives.

- **Programme management**
  - Integration of family planning programme in all functional public health facilities, including 50 voluntary counselling and testing centres (all public and functional).
  - Family planning commodity security assured through coordination by a logistic committee, monitoring and periodic surveys.

**The prevalence of modern contraception among married women in Madagascar has risen consistently since 1992**

**The number of women using family planning has accelerated since 1992**

*Source:* Demographic and Health Surveys.
Every birth safe

All women and their newborns need skilled care at birth and access to emergency care when complications develop. Outcomes around birth are a sensitive marker of the strength of health systems, including the quality of available care (figure 9). Life-threatening complications at birth require rapid response. Postpartum haemorrhage can kill a mother in a few hours, and a newborn who is not breathing at birth will be dead within minutes.

Addressing current global gaps for care at birth is critical to achieving MDGs 4 and 5. When mothers die during childbirth, it is rare for the newborn to survive, and the risk of mortality increases for any young children left behind in the household.

Coverage gap for care at birth

Some Countdown countries have made good progress in increasing the proportion of women attended by a skilled provider during childbirth, a progress indicator for MDG target 5.A. Three countries—Burkina Faso, Pakistan and Rwanda—had gains of more than 20 percentage points from around 2000 to around 2008, and 10 had gains of more than 10 percentage points since 1990 (figure 10). Gains were uneven, however, with 11 countries showing no progress. More effort is needed to ensure all pregnant women and newborns have access to a skilled provider.

Coverage gap for emergency obstetric care

Life-threatening complications during labour and delivery are often unpredictable and unpreventable. All pregnant women must have access to skilled care at birth (box 5) and a guarantee that basic or emergency obstetric care services are accessible when needed. Availability of such services is low in many Countdown countries (see page 29). Caesarean section coverage rates below 5% signal a lack of access to emergency obstetric care and indicate human resources and other health systems challenges; 33 of the 51 Countdown countries with data since 2000 had rural rates below 5%, and 4—Burkina Faso, Chad, Ethiopia and Niger—had rural rates below 1%.

Quality gaps in care before, during and immediately after childbirth

Antenatal, delivery and postnatal care are service contact points and offer opportunities for the provision of effective interventions that can prevent illness and save lives. Median coverage for four or more antenatal care visits was 50% across the 51 Countdown countries with data since 2000, ranging from 6% in Somalia to 89% in Brazil. Contact with a trained service provider during pregnancy provides the opportunity for delivery of numerous proven interventions that improve outcomes for mother and newborn, including treatment of hypertension to prevent eclampsia, tetanus...
immunization, intermittent preventive treatment for malaria and distribution of insecticide-treated nets, prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV, micronutrient supplementation, and counselling on family planning and birth preparedness. UNICEF, UNFPA and WHO recommend at least four antenatal care visits at key stages through pregnancy. The number of visits alone will not save lives, of course, unless high-quality, effective interventions are delivered during visits. Work is continuing on the measurement challenges associated with assessing coverage for individual interventions and service quality during antenatal care visits.

Not all women who have contact with a health provider during childbirth and in the immediate postnatal period receive the range of interventions that are needed (such as active management of the third stage of labour with the delivery of oxytocin to prevent post-partum haemorrhage). This quality gap is a missed opportunity to improve maternal and newborn health and reduce stillbirths. Postnatal care for mothers and newborns is another gap: data are lacking for many countries (45 of the 68 have no data), coverage is low in the 23 countries with data available (median coverage of 38%), and effective interventions are often not provided. Only six Countdown countries have data on postnatal care for the newborn, and the median coverage is low (4%).

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**Box 5: Strategies for increasing coverage for skilled birth attendant at birth**

Improving coverage of skilled attendant at birth requires strategies that address supply- and demand-side barriers to care and service quality. Some countries, such as Indonesia, are addressing supply-side barriers by training a new cadre of community midwives and bringing care into the home and local community. Other countries, such as Mozambique, are using task-shifting to enable midwives and other nonphysician clinicians to provide essential interventions, including caesarean sections. Subnational examples of progress in India include public-private partnerships to increase the number of private obstetricians delivering services to the rural poor in Gujarat, conditional cash transfers and a remuneration mechanism for community health workers. These initiatives need to be assessed for impact and for the feasibility of being scaled up. On the demand side, reducing financial barriers is a common feature of success. Ghana recorded a rapid increase in facility births linked to the introduction of a national insurance scheme and new policies guaranteeing free care at birth. Rwanda’s “Paying for Performance” strategy increased institutional deliveries by providing financial incentives to providers to increase the use and quality of care.

**Notes**