



# Advancing methods for the biodemography of aging within social contexts

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## ABSTRACT

Several social dimensions including social integration, status, early-life adversity, and their interactions across the life course can predict health, reproduction, and mortality in humans. Accordingly, the social environment plays a fundamental role in the emergence of phenotypes driving the evolution of aging. Recent work placing human social gradients on a biological continuum with other species provides a useful evolutionary context for aging questions, but there is still a need for a unified evolutionary framework linking health and aging within social contexts. Here, we summarize current challenges to understand the role of the social environment in human life courses. Next, we review recent advances in comparative biodemography and propose a biodemographic perspective to address socially driven health phenotype distributions and their evolutionary consequences using a nonhuman primate population. This new comparative approach uses evolutionary demography to address the joint dynamics of populations, social dimensions, phenotypes, and life history parameters. The long-term goal is to advance our understanding of the link between individual social environments, population-level outcomes, and the evolution of aging.

## 1. Introduction

The social environment generates strong associations between health and longevity. For example, greater social support predicts healthier aging (Antonucci et al., 2019; Béland et al., 2005; Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010), higher social status predicts longer lifespan (Adler et al., 1993; Chetty et al., 2016; Hajat et al., 2011; Lantz et al., 2010; Sapolsky, 2004; Wilkinson and Marmot, 2003), and early life social adversity exposures predict higher mortality risk (Anda et al., 2006; Montez and Hayward, 2011; Ferraro et al., 2016; Hughes et al., 2017). However, understanding the role of the social environment in human life courses remains challenging due to multiple uncontrolled (e.g., incongruencies in self-reported health; non-random attrition) and unknown confounding factors (e.g., biased survey information). Comparative approaches can provide evidence concerning the evolutionary origins of the social determinants of human health and aging and provide a model for the intricate interactions and potential feedback loops between social factors and aging (Carey and Judge, 2001; Lucas and Keller, 2020). This review argues that studies on the comparative biodemography of aging can advance our understanding of the link between the social environment, population-level demographic outcomes, and the evolution of

aging in humans. Here, we introduce conceptual frameworks for the evolutionary demography of aging within social contexts, discuss why current challenges in human health and aging studies call for comparative approaches, and describe a unifying methodological framework for the biodemography of aging that links current research in the social determinants of health to evolutionary demography approaches to the fundamental rules of life history evolution. For this, we give particular focus to a set of social dimensions that includes sociality (degree of association with others such as how integrated and connected an individual is to others in their environment), social status (position), and early life social adversity (exposure), and define senescence as a mean decline in function with age and differentiate it from health statuses which we define as deviations from such mean decline.

### 1.1. The biodemography of human aging within social contexts

Senescence, the process of aging, has been slowed down or postponed largely due to progress in public-health efforts, access to education, socioeconomic mobility, and cultural changes in lifestyles (Achey, 2016; Cundiff et al., 2017; Oeppen and Vaupel, 2002; Riley, 2001; Vable et al., 2019; Vaupel, 2010), rather than strong selection on genetic

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factors (Christensen et al., 2006; Hjelmberg et al., 2006; McGue et al., 1993). Yet, accumulating evidence shows that there are persistent health inequalities within today's aging populations as well (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2021). This highlights the importance of mechanistic questions regarding how and why variability in the aging process across individuals emerges and is maintained, and how individual social environments and health influences such process (Crimmins and Vasunilashorn, 2016; Gutin and Hummer, 2021).

The emerging field of biodemography integrates social factors in moving towards a full understanding of the evolutionary roots of health and aging (Hooper et al., 2014). In particular, the biodemography of aging incorporates biological theory and methods on ecological and evolutionary processes with traditional demographic approaches to better understand the dynamics of health and mortality within populations (Baudisch, 2015; Carnes, 2007; Christensen, 2008; Gavrilov and Gavrilova, 2015; Vaupel, 2004; Wachter, 2008; Yashin et al., 2016). Biodemography also incorporates theories of life history trade-offs, allowing us to quantify dynamics between survival and reproduction (Tuljapurkar et al., 2020). This interdisciplinarity encourages an alliance between the social and the biological sciences that expands beyond traditional demographic structures (e.g., age, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status) as it provides novel opportunities to address how these structures are linked to the underlying pathways that modulate health (Arbeev et al., 2019; Crimmins and Vasunilashorn, 2016; Giuliani et al., 2018; Palma-Gudiel et al., 2020). These advances occurred in concert with work by social scientists who incorporated a life course perspective into studies of health inequality (Dannefer, 2003, 1987; Ferraro et al., 2009; Ferraro and Shippee, 2009; Gravelle, 2009; Morton and Ferraro, 2020). In just the past few years, evidence has continued to accumulate concerning the role that structural inequality (e.g., discrimination, racism) and associated factors shaping the social environment (e.g., poverty, stress) have on major disparities in health (e.g., Jackson and Engelman, 2022; Morton and Ferraro, 2020; Noren Hooten et al., 2022; Sauerteig et al., 2022; Williams et al., 2019). Such evidence shapes paradigms in biodemography and the social sciences (e.g., “the gerontological imagination”, Ferraro, 2018). It is now time to parallel these efforts with methods for the quantification of the effect of individual social traits and experiences on health phenotypes, and how these associations translate into the evolutionary dynamics of human aging.

## 2. Current challenges in modeling the social determinants of health and aging call for comparative approaches

Socially and economically disadvantaged persons experience a higher accumulation of risk factors (low income: Bor et al., 2017; Hirai et al., 2012; migrants: Riosmena et al., 2014; racial minorities: Shah et al., 2020; Wallace, 2015; Williams and Chiquita, 1995) and increased mortality (Krieger 1999; Chetty et al., 2016; National Center for Health, 2016). Yet, several other studies using common approaches to modeling health trajectories (e.g., growth curve models, latent class models) have also reported similar health profiles between socially disadvantaged and advantaged groups (Brown et al., 2012; Gueorguieva et al., 2009; Markides and Coreil, 1986) or favorable health trajectories in traditionally marginalized groups (i.e., Migrant Effect and the Hispanic Paradox; Franzini et al., 2001; Markides and Rote, 2019; Quiñones et al., 2011). This divergence between evidence of cumulative risk and increased mortality on the one hand, and methodological approaches that model average health trajectories of disadvantaged groups on the other, suggests that current forecasting methods for predicting the progression of individual health may fail to capture critical aspects of the human social environment (Engelman and Jackson, 2019). Another issue when modeling the social determinants of human health and aging concerns limitations in handling missing data when these missing data are not random. As individuals age and their health deteriorates, longitudinal studies suffer non-random reductions in the number of

participants due to mortality and other sources of attrition (Vaupel, 2010). Thus, many studies of human health and aging may have biases in that robust individuals will remain in the study into very old age, whereas those who die earlier or have unknown fates will not be included (Jackson et al., 2019). Finally, survey responses – a common method in human studies – may be influenced by many other factors such as the personal perceptions of respondent and interviewers (Courtenay, 2000; Davis et al., 2010; Dowd and Zajacova, 2010; Gunasekara et al., 2012; Salazar, 1990; Sorlie et al., 1992; Williams and Chiquita, 1995) that can bias survey measurements and interpretation in health and aging studies. We argue that animal models for the social dimensions of health and aging can therefore provide a new and valuable opportunity to test novel biodemographic perspectives on analyzing individual health and improve methods to forecast health over the life course that can be applied to humans.

### 2.1. Challenge 1: untying individual health forecasting from gradualist assumptions

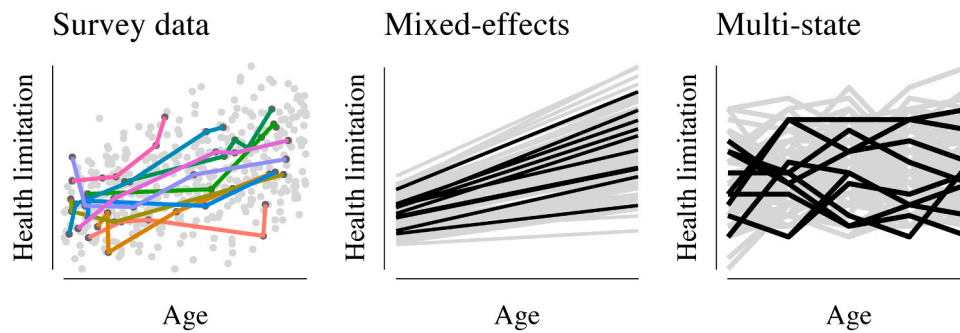
A typical view of senescence is that individual health deteriorates with increasing age. Such a process can be described by mixed-effects regression methods through an intercept (i.e., baseline measure of health) and a slope (i.e., rate of health change over time; DiPrete and Eirich, 2006). Although these methods allow for individual variation in baseline levels (i.e., random intercepts) and in the rate of change (e.g., random slopes, quadratic terms, exponential functions), they operate under the assumption that health changes smoothly and gradually as individuals age. In doing so, forecasts from these methods may not fully capture within-person variability in health (Fig. 1, survey data). In particular, the smoothing of health trajectories may not capture the effect of the social environment on individual health and consequent aging, underestimating the accumulation of poor health outcomes in socially disadvantaged persons (Engelman and Jackson, 2019; Fig. 1, mixed-effects).

In contrast to the gradualist assumptions of many models, empirical evidence suggests that human health can show periods of stability, slight deterioration, and then recovery from health insults (Bolano et al., 2019; Gill et al., 2010; Guilley et al., 2008; Keown, 2003). As life progresses through time, individuals may remain in the same health status (i.e., stasis) or transition among health states before death. That is, individual health does not decline gradually and homogeneously with no reversals (Wolf et al., 2015). This highlights a crucial aspect of human health dynamics that accurate forecasting models must capture. In line with this, Engelman and Jackson (2019) proposed a new approach to health history forecasting by describing individual health trajectories as a punctuated equilibrium pattern where individuals experience periods of long-term stability interrupted by sudden changes in health status or mortality. The authors argue that while gradual approaches appeal to an intuitive reasoning about health change, such a modeling choice produces a mean health change that is not representative of the changes experienced by most of the individuals comprising the population.

One way to capture such health dynamics are multi-state models (Namboodiri and Suchindran, 2013; Schoen, 2006) and sequence analysis (Abbott and Tsay, 2000). These models describe discrete health states and transition probabilities among these states, and more accurately capture the health trajectories observed in real populations (Engelman and Jackson, 2019). We also argue that multi-state models describing changes across age as a Markov process may also provide a much-needed reconciliation between deterministic and stochastic processes when modeling individual health that would be otherwise obscured by the smoothing of health trajectories in gradualist approaches (Fig. 1, multi-state).

### 2.2. Challenge 2: addressing data missing not at random

Another key issue with human studies is that they likely



**Fig. 1.** Comparison of mixed-effects regression and multi-state model predictions of individual health histories from simulated survey data. Survey data: colored trajectories represent 10 randomly chosen individual histories from the total pool of trajectories. Mixed-effects: black trajectories represent 10 randomly chosen predicted individual histories from the total pool of trajectories (gray). For this, the survey data (gray dots) was modeled using a linear mixed-effect model. Multi-state model: black trajectories represent 10 randomly chosen predicted individual histories from the total pool of trajectories (gray). For this, the survey data (gray dots) was discretized into five health states and modeled using a  $5 \times 5$  matrix population model.

underestimate the extent of poor health in aging populations given limited approaches to handle missing data (Jackson et al., 2019; Jackson and Engelman, 2022). Selective dropout at very old ages, especially among unhealthy and socially disadvantaged persons, is common (Badawi et al., 1999; Coste et al., 2013; Duim and Lima Passos, 2020; Mirowsky and Reynolds, 2000; Purdie et al., 2002; Van Beijsterveldt et al., 2002; Young et al., 2006) and can result in the selection of robust individuals in late life. Moreover, many approaches to research on health across the life course do not account for competing risks of mortality, health change, and attrition across groups. This conceals persistent socially driven health inequities in late life because the privileged sector often suffers a higher accumulation of health penalties due to longer lives (Jackson and Engelman, 2022).

As the limitations of missing data have been increasingly recognized, methods addressing missing data at random have become more widely used (e.g., multiple imputation maximum likelihood; Graham, 2009). However, these methods cannot remove the bias associated with data missing not at random (Goldberg et al., 2021). In contrast, multi-state models provide flexibility in the number of meaningful life states describing individual trajectories, allowing us to incorporate temporary missingness as a discrete state in the model (Engelman and Jackson, 2019). Here, temporary missingness becomes a life state that individuals can transition into if they leave the study, or out of if they return to the study. Multi-state models are thus powerful tools that make it possible to empirically quantify the likelihood that a particular person belonging to a health state will leave and return to the sample. Because mortality (i.e., absorbing state) and other types of attrition can also be easily distinguished and incorporated, multi-state models explicitly account for the contribution of different types of missing data to the cohort's health experiences (Engelman and Jackson, 2019).

### 2.3. Challenge 3: recognizing the limitations of survey data

Survey research and self-reported health are common elements of human health and aging studies addressing the impact of social inequalities (Black et al., 2017). Surveys have proven to be a reliable general tool for quickly producing empirical data from large representative samples and evidence suggests that respondent perceptions of their social status (Singh-Manoux et al., 2003) and health (Benyamini et al., 2003) are good predictors of their health status. Yet, these data may lead to significant biases in measurement and interpretation. For example, response rates are hard to control, and the data produced can lack many important details about the topic under investigation (Kelley et al., 2003). When used longitudinally (e.g., cohort studies), survey research suffers from other limitations due to the potential for significant changes in individual responsiveness over time, as well as in the consistency of respondents in their replies to public health-relevant

questions when asked again at a later time (patterns of abuse: Abramsky et al., 2022; Loxton et al., 2019; smoking: Kaestle, 2015; substance use: Broman et al., 2022; suicidal attempts: Hart et al., 2013). In general, there may be systematic differences in the ability of individuals to self-evaluate their own health across time (Black et al., 2017; Vuolo et al., 2014). Conversely, interviewer effects also contribute significantly to biases in survey research, as respondents may be predisposed to provide socially desirable responses to the interviewer (Davis et al., 2010; Salazar, 1990). There is evidence of the usefulness of interviewer ratings in mortality prediction (Todd and Goldman, 2013) but interviewers can also contribute to misclassification of race and ethnic groups (Massey, 1980; Williams and Chiquita, 1995); biased assumptions of health among old persons (Thorslund and Wärneryd, 1990); biases in age, race, and gender perceptions (as reviewed by Davis et al., 2010); and can be affected by their level of experience interviewing people (Salazar, 1990). Taken together, these data limitations may contribute to the census miscount of socially stratified groups that ultimately affects reported rates of health conditions (Williams and Chiquita, 1995). Thus, both survey and interviewer data can result in biases in our ability to evaluate the accuracy of models quantifying the effects of the social environment on human health and consequent life courses.

In recent years, human health studies have complemented survey data with objective measures of health such as biomarkers (Harris and Schorpp, 2018; Sonnega et al., 2014) and medical records (Mullins et al., 2022), providing new opportunities for unbiased analyses and accurate interpretations about the role of social factors in human aging processes. These new approaches also revealed other challenges when studying human aging within social contexts. For example, associations between self-reported health and objective health, as measured by biological risk factors, may also differ across socially stratified groups (Dowd and Zajacova, 2010; Layes et al., 2012). Moving forward, researchers studying human health and aging should continue adjusting and innovating their approaches, but we argue this must be done in conjunction with the use of animal models, as nonhuman animals remain an unparalleled opportunity to test novel biodemographic methods and perspectives on the evolution of aging within social contexts.

### 2.4. Social animal models for the biodemography of aging

The biological pathways from social adversity to health and longevity, together with the proximate physiological and molecular mechanisms that shape these changes, are now being revealed (Cavigelli and Caruso, 2015; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2020; Shively and Wilson, 2016). Yet, the need for a unified evolutionary framework for the social determinants of health and aging across species remains. Animal models provide several advantages relative to human studies, as they allow us to record the specific nature of social relationships, positioning, and

exposure in more systematic ways to reduce observer bias and without complex processes of human cultural evolution (Mesoudi and Thornton, 2018). Animal models allow us to measure the natural course of health deterioration and recovery with no interventions or significant confounding factors that may impact human outcomes (Challenge 1; Muennig, 2008; Blumstein et al., 2018). Animal models also allow us to quantify nonrandom mortality risks given that each individual's endpoint is either known or can be easily integrated to robust model assumptions of death and dispersal (Challenge 2). Finally, animal models allow us to evaluate the accuracy of health and aging forecasting models using systematic data collection on social factors difficult to implement in many human studies (Challenge 3; Colman, 2018). Thus, animal models provide comparative approaches that could become our gateway to explore the evolutionary origins of the social mechanisms of human aging and how this relates to health: whether and how our closest relatives are similarly shaped by social gradients, and why certain aging trajectories across the tree of life are shared by some but not others (Jones et al., 2014).

A call to advance studies on cross-species comparisons of social dimensions – including sociality (degree of association with others such as how integrated and connected an individual is to others in their environment), social status (position), and early life social adversity (exposure) – and their effects on health, longevity, and life histories was enthusiastically made almost a decade ago when the National Research Council of the National Academies prompted a discussion about sociality, hierarchy, and health within a comparative biodemographic perspective (Committee on Population, 2014). Since then, several advances in our understanding of the social mechanisms of aging have highlighted the complex dynamics between social traits and exposures and life outcomes, as well as the need to study animals with long lifespans if we intend to understand the extraordinary longevity of humans (Colchero et al., 2016; Korb and Heinze, 2021). In this section, we review recent comparative reports on the evolution of aging within social contexts that followed such call.

While many mechanistic questions on the evolution of increased longevity remain unanswered, both physiological and social mechanisms appear to shape mortality schedules across species (Lucas and Keller, 2020; Noren Hooten et al., 2022; Snyder-Mackler et al., 2020). Evidence that social factors are associated with long lives across the tree of life has been accumulating, partly due to the recent focus of aging researchers on eusocial insects (Johnson and Carey, 2014) and the counterintuitive observation that those who reproduce more also have exceptionally long lives (i.e., absence of the fecundity/longevity trade-off; Dixon et al., 2014; Heinze and Giehr, 2021; Korb et al., 2021; Kramer et al., 2021; Negroni et al., 2021; Rau and Korb, 2021; Tasaki et al., 2021). Here, the evolution of a reproductive division of labor confers strong advantage to reproductive individuals through increased survival. Transcriptome analyses revealed that experimental reproductive activation in worker honeybees increased survival through a reduction in risk of disease and increased oxidative stress resistance (Kennedy et al., 2021). Similar patterns of resilience to oxidative stress were observed in leaf-cutting ant workers (Majoe et al., 2021) and the ant *Temnothorax rugatulus* (Korb et al., 2021) after experimental loss of the nest's queen. This is especially intriguing because leaf-cutting ant workers, for example, do not produce fertile offspring. Thus, such findings raise important questions regarding the evolution of improved health trajectories in queenless workers (Majoe et al., 2021).

By expanding comparative studies beyond eusocial insects, we gain further insights into whether and how multiple social dimensions including sociality, status, and early life social adversity exposures shape health and aging trajectories across a physiological and cognitive complexity gradient (Marmot and Sapolsky, 2014). For example, social status in a cooperative breeder population of Seychelles warblers is associated to the pace of aging through a reduction in telomere attrition (a marker of cellular senescence) among dominant females, likely due to reduced costs of parental care trading-off against increased senescence

(Hammers et al., 2019). The observation that breeders receiving help in raising the young age more slowly than the helpers has been observed across several taxa (Berger et al., 2018; Downing et al., 2021), although causality or associations to health remain unknown. Direct causality from social factors is often hypothesized, however reverse causality may also play a role, i.e., slower aging predicts social status. In primates, evidence from genome-wide and multi-region transcriptomic studies show that social status affects immune regulation and aging producing evidence of antiviral phenotypes (Snyder-Mackler et al., 2016, 2018) and younger relative transcriptional ages (Chiou et al., 2022) in high-status females. However, associations among social status, health, and aging are often sex-specific and context-dependent. High-status male baboons exhibit up-regulation in inflammation and immune defense-related genes, but such traits may have been present in these males before moving up in the hierarchy (Lea et al., 2018). This complex relationship between socioenvironmental factors and aging trajectories was further highlighted by Anderson et al. (2021), who found that high-status males were predicted to be older than their chronological ages with respect to a DNA methylation-based age predictor ('epigenetic clock'). High-status meerkats similarly show higher rates of both telomere attrition and survival (Cram et al., 2018). While such accelerated aging may be indicative of costs associated to higher reproductive effort in high social status individuals, this raises questions regarding the role, if any, of other social dimensions on epigenetic age across populations.

Social networks metrics, such as how integrated and connected an individual is to others in the network, have recently emerged as an important domain for understanding associations between sociality, aging and mortality processes (Silk, 2014). Social network statistics have opened the opportunity to deconstruct sociality into the types of social connections that predict longevity (Ellis et al., 2019). Individuals with strong connections and central roles in the network, or those that are highly integrated, exhibit lower risks of mortality. This is potentially mediated through social security (Montero et al., 2020), mutualistic behaviors (Archie et al., 2014; Cheney et al., 2016; Ellis et al., 2019; Lehmann et al., 2015), stronger social support (Nuñez et al., 2015), and better access to social information (Ellis et al., 2017). Whether these associations between an individual's social integration and connectedness and their life trajectory are equally conserved at old ages requires more attention. Using physiological and anatomical markers of immunity in an adult population of rhesus macaques which included aging individuals, Pavez-Fox et al. (2021) found associations between social integration and low white blood cell counts suggesting links between social integration and inflammation markers. On the other hand, increased social support through higher pack size in cooperative grey wolves was found to offset individual costs of disease (Almberg et al., 2015). The absence of an association between group size and increased senescence was also described for a socially foraging bat (Gager et al., 2016). These findings contradict long-standing hypothesized costs of group living (i.e., disease transmission, increased infection rates) and further highlights the need to revisit classical hypotheses on life history trade-offs in social animals. Contrasting patterns have also been reported. Several mammal species have shown increased mortality risk in highly connected individuals (Blumstein et al., 2018; Thompson and Cords, 2018), in cooperatively breeding species versus non-cooperative ones (Vágási et al., 2021), and in individuals with more social support (Begall et al., 2021), suggesting that benefits from social relations may not be universal across species (Blumstein et al., 2018).

Finally, several comparative studies echoing the potential role that early life social adverse exposures (e.g., low social status of mother, maternal death) have on compromising health and shaping the fate of individuals have emerged (Dettmer and Chusyd, 2023). An accumulation of adverse exposures early in life predicted shorter lifespan in baboons (Tung et al., 2016) and such adverse environment had intergenerational effects (Zipple et al., 2019). Early adversity was also found to elevate glucocorticoid levels in adult female baboons, a measure of stress response associated to health (Patterson et al., 2021;



Rosenbaum et al., 2020). The mechanisms behind the relationship between early life adversity and health across the lifespan may involve physiological changes such as inflammation and disease risk (Kinnally et al., 2019). Other primate populations have shown resiliency to early life insults (gorillas: Morrison et al., 2023; rhesus macaques: Gonzalez et al., 2023), raising questions regarding the evolutionary roots of sensitivity to early life adversity.

These relationships among social dimensions, health and aging also involve complex interactions among them. Multiple species show shifts in patterns of social behavior and underlying psychological processes as individuals age (Kroeger et al., 2021; Machanda and Rosati, 2020; Siracusa et al., 2022) indicating that sociality trajectories are as varied as health and aging trajectories and likely modulated by social status, social organization, and sex. For example, while many primates show reductions in sociality during aging, in very long-lived chimpanzees older males have higher-quality relationships and are more gregarious by many metrics than are younger males, despite their lower social status (Rosati et al., 2020). Changes in sociality later in life may occur as a direct result of senescence (e.g., physical deterioration, energetic deficiencies, decline in sociocognitive abilities); as an adaptive response to mitigate negative effects of senescence (e.g., increased selectivity of limited resources with age, changing reproductive value); and/or as a result from positive effects of age and demographic changes (e.g., enhanced experience and skills with age; shifting demographics; Siracusa et al., 2022). Thus, there are likely reciprocal causalities whereby longevity changes an individual's social patterns, which in turn impacts senescence (Carey and Judge, 2001; Lucas and Keller, 2020). On the other hand, social status is not necessarily fixed across the life course, especially in species with sex-biased dispersal where the dispersing sex may experience changes in social positioning within a group and despotic social systems with contest rank (Perlman et al., 2016; Watts 2018). Together, these patterns highlight further the need for a foundational eco-evolutionary methodological framework to study health and aging within social contexts (Lange et al., 2022).

The use of social animal models to further our understanding of the evolution of aging is promising, but animal models also present challenges and limitations for translational research. We recognize that our human concept of aging cannot be directly transferred to numerous species, especially within social contexts, but we also emphasize that this represents an opportunity to further our knowledge and not an occasion for disengagement (Cohen, 2018). The subjective nature of many disease symptoms and the difficult evaluation and predictive validation of a model (Nestler and Hyman, 2010; Prabhakar, 2012; Teeple et al., 2013; McGonigle and Ruggeri, 2014; Planchez et al., 2019) may contribute to high rates of translational failure using laboratory animal models. These common challenges may exacerbate when studying health within social contexts as researchers also need to validate the simulated social environment in the laboratory. For many socially complex species, experimental approaches become impossible, and thus we rely on observational studies. As humans, free-living animal subjects may be susceptible to attrition (e.g., dispersal), biases (e.g., participatory willingness, trap happiness) and measurement error (e.g., misidentification, observation effort). However, advances in quantitative methods within statistical ecology are now capable of accounting for these issues, while remaining strong in assumptions of randomness.

### 3. A comparative biodemographic perspective of health and aging within social contexts

To advance our understanding of the biodemography of aging within social contexts, we need a unifying method linking current research in the social determinants of individual variability to evolutionary demography approaches to the fundamental rules of life history evolution. Here, we provide a general roadmap for accomplishing this using rhesus macaques living at the Cayo Santiago Biological Field Station as an example. Although we do not provide empirical data, our model

formulation is based on realistic demographic and health phenotype metrics currently being collected in this population. Our methods can be applied across the entire spectrum of animal models, yet nonhuman primates provide unique advantages to gain insights into aging due to their complex social behavior with analogs of human health-relevant status disparities (Phillips et al., 2014).

#### 3.1. Conceptual framework of evolutionary demography

Classical work on life history theory traces back to the foundations of evolutionary theory (Charlesworth, 1994; Hamilton, 1966; Stearns, 1992). In any given age-structured population, individuals have a survival rate and a fertility rate that depend on age. The famous Lotka equation demonstrates that in this scenario the annual population growth rate,  $\lambda$ , is a function of age, survival and fertility. Because these three parameters make up a life history, the Lotka equation provided means to quantify associations between life history components and the corresponding values of  $\lambda$  that these associations yield. The realization that the population growth rate,  $\lambda$ , was a quantitative definition of population fitness – it is defined by fitness components – allowed a direct connection between life history theory and evolutionary theory (Hamilton, 1966). Now, estimating changes in fitness  $\lambda$  produced by changes in the life history was made possible. For example, if changes are assumed to arise from random mutations, consequent changes in fitness can be interpreted as selection acting on the mutations (Charlesworth, 1994). Crucially, such fitness changes can also be computed from  $\lambda$  and its partial derivatives (i.e., sensitivity; Caswell, 2001). The definition of these quantitative associations between fitness and the life history directly linked individual phenotypes to population and evolutionary dynamics, setting the stage for the field of evolutionary demography.

Because of its flexible applicability grounded in general theory, many developments to this approach have been made for both ecological and evolutionary theory (Charlesworth, 1994; Caswell, 2001). More recent studies addressing the evolutionary demography of animal populations have focused on integral projection models (IPMs) as a flexible method to quantify population and evolutionary dynamics while accounting for continuous phenotypes (Levin et al., 2021). Since the development of IPMs (Easterling et al., 2000), studies addressing size-based demographics by structuring populations into a body size continuum have become common mostly in mammals and birds (Coulson, 2012; Levin et al., 2021; Merow et al., 2014; Rees et al., 2014), however few studies have attempted to incorporate social structures into the model (Kappeler et al., 2019; Paniw et al., 2021), while studies explicitly incorporating health structures have just started to emerge (Vincze et al., 2022).

#### 3.2. Integral projection model for socially driven health dynamics in a nonhuman primate

Following the conceptual framework of evolutionary demography, if the evidence indicates that changes in the life history are being driven by sociality, then we argue that changes in fitness can be interpreted as selection acting on the socially driven life courses. Integral projection models allow us to quantitatively test this. IPMs are flexible population models that describe how a population structured by a continuous individual-level state variable (i.e., individual phenotype) changes in discrete time (Easterling et al., 2000). Their construction depends on four fundamental relationships that describe the associations between the phenotype and survival, the phenotype and fertility, the phenotype dynamics (e.g., ontogeny, growth) among survivors and the probability density distribution of offspring phenotypes given parental phenotypes (i.e., heritability; Coulson et al., 2010; Table 1). Importantly, IPMs are realistic as these relationships can vary with age, time and environments (Ellner and Rees, 2006). IPMs are also flexible as they can be extended to incorporate covariation between demographic rates, as well as their uncertainty, by including demographic parameters estimated in Bayesian frameworks (Elder and Miller, 2016; Hernández-Pacheco

**Table 1**

Basic demographic information for the construction of integral projection models (IPMs). The construction of IPMs depends on four fundamental relationships (phenotype-demographic functions) that describe the associations between the phenotype and survival, the phenotype and the ontogeny of the phenotype (change) among survivors, the phenotype and fertility, and the probability density distribution of offspring phenotypes given parental phenotypes (i.e., heritability). Variables in bracket represent those in the proposed IPM.

Vital Rates	Dependency at present time (t)	Proposed dependencies
Survival	State, age	Social status [s], health [z], age [a]
Phenotype ontogeny (state change)	State, age	Social status [s], health [z], age [a]
Number of offspring	State, age	Social status [s], health [z], age [a]
Kind of offspring (state distribution)	Inheritance – parental state, parental age	Parental social status [s], parental health [z], parental age [a]

et al., 2020; Plard et al., 2019).

For our purpose, individual sociality, social status, or social exposure can be defined by any relevant metric of the social environment. Thus, this can be expressed as either a categorical or continuous variable, while individual phenotypes can be defined by any relevant continuous metric of individual health in the population of interest (e.g., biomarkers, body mass index, cortisol levels). The rhesus macaques of the Cayo Santiago Biological Field Station live in a naturalistic environment with well-known demographics (Hernández-Pacheco et al., 2013) and exhibit a complex dominance hierarchy (i.e., social status or rank) involving relationships between both kin and unrelated individuals (i.e., social integration and connectedness; Ellis et al., 2019; Pfefferle et al., 2014). In particular, these monkeys are good comparative models for addressing questions about psychological health, physical health, and aging. Macaques share human-like social preferences for attending to socially relevant information (Burrows et al., 2009; Hoffman et al., 2007), can further reason about complex social information such as other's perceptual and goal states (Flombaum and Santos, 2005; Santos et al., 2006), and show important similarities with human reward-based decision-making (Santos and Platt, 2014). Individual variation in cognitive traits in this monkey population can be assessed by several well-validated experimental techniques (see Drayton and Santos, 2015; Winters et al., 2015 for reviews), including preferential looking time tasks that measure relative interest or preference to look at different stimuli, such as different conspecific faces (Rosati et al., 2018; Higham et al., 2011); expectancy violation looking time tasks that use looking measures to assess if individuals detect unexpected or surprising events by measuring how long they look at different possible outcomes (De Petrillo and Rosati, 2019; Martcorena et al., 2011; Hughes and Santos, 2012); gaze following tasks that measure animals' responsivity to various social cues (Rosati et al., 2016a; Bettle and Rosati, 2019); and choice tasks that assess animals' preferences to approach or manipulate different aspects of an experimental setup (Flombaum and Santos, 2005; Rosati, Santos, 2016b). Multiple metrics of physical health are also possible to index in this population, including body mass, records of injury and illness, and even various health biomarkers and increased body condition which influences their overall health status (Bauer et al., 2011). Thus, to gain insights into the social determinants of health and the evolution of aging, we propose to structure our rhesus macaque population into proxies of both psychological (cognitive) health and physical health. With this information, we can quantify the individual- and population-level demographic effects of changes in individual health across a sociality gradient using IPMs. A key point is that any such cognitive or physical health traits that can be indexed as a continuous variable could be assessed in the proposed model described below.

To describe the annual dynamics of the distribution of psychological

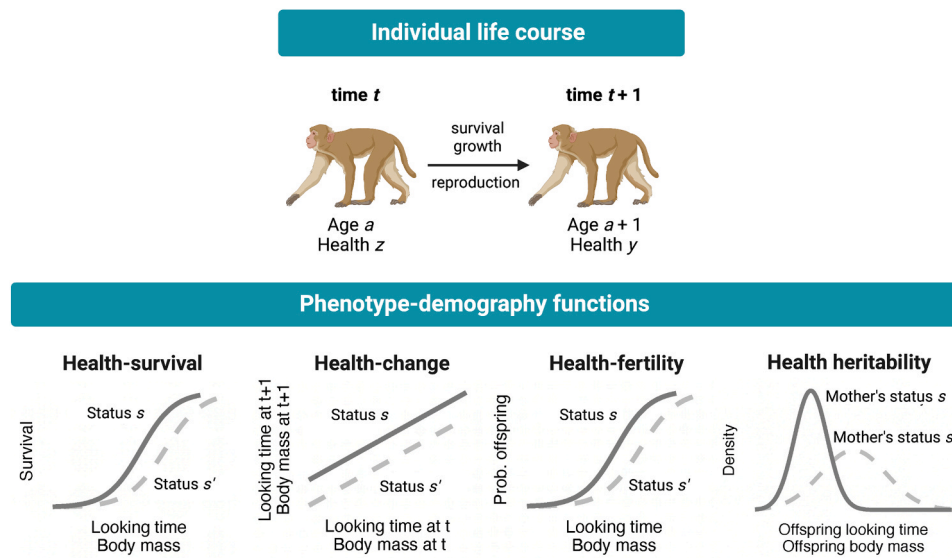
and physical phenotypes across the socially stratified lifespan, we propose to build an IPM based on phenotype-demography associations evaluated with generalized linear models (Fig. 2). Here, social stratification is defined by social status as a categorical variable of two levels,  $s$  and  $s'$  (e.g., high status, low status) and we assume such level remains constant throughout the life of individuals. We recognize this is an oversimplification, but it is appropriate for our purpose of formulating a general IPM. We consider individuals tracked annually (Fig. 2, individual life course from time  $t$  to  $t + 1$ ). In a given year, a monkey of status  $s$ , age  $a$ , and health  $z$  has a 1-year probability of survival given by a function  $s_{s,a}(z)$ , i.e., the fraction of  $s$ ,  $a$ ,  $z$  monkeys that survive from age  $a$  to age  $a + 1$  (Fig. 2, health-survival function). Ontogenetic changes of survivors are described by a distribution  $G_{s,a}(y|z)$ , i.e., the fraction of  $s$ ,  $a$ , and  $z$  monkeys that change health from  $z$  to  $y$  when transitioning from age  $a$  to  $a + 1$  (Fig. 2, health-change function), where  $y$  represents the health phenotype  $z$  of surviving individuals one year later. Reproduction by monkeys of status  $s$ , age  $a$ , and health  $z$  is described by  $M_{s,a}(z)$ , i.e., the fraction of  $s$ ,  $a$ ,  $z$  monkeys that produce an offspring (Fig. 2, health-fertility function). Finally, inheritance is described by a function  $D_{s,a}(y|z)$  that links the health of offspring  $y$  and parental health  $z$  according to parental age and social status (Fig. 2, health heritability function). For our population, the health-dependent demographic performance and population dynamics across social stratification will be the outcome of two demographic processes: survival and ontogenetic development,  $P_{s,a}(y|z) = G_{s,a}(y|z)s_{s,a}(z)$ , and reproduction,  $F_{s,a}(y|z) = M_{s,a}(z)D_{s,a}(y|z)$ . Thus, we propose the following general IPM formulation:

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{n}(s, t + 1, a + 1, y) &= \int [P_{s,a}(y|z)] \mathbf{n}(s, t, a, z) dz \\ \mathbf{n}(s, t + 1, 0, y) &= \sum_a \int [F_{s,a}(y|z)] \mathbf{n}(s, t, a, z) dz \end{aligned}$$

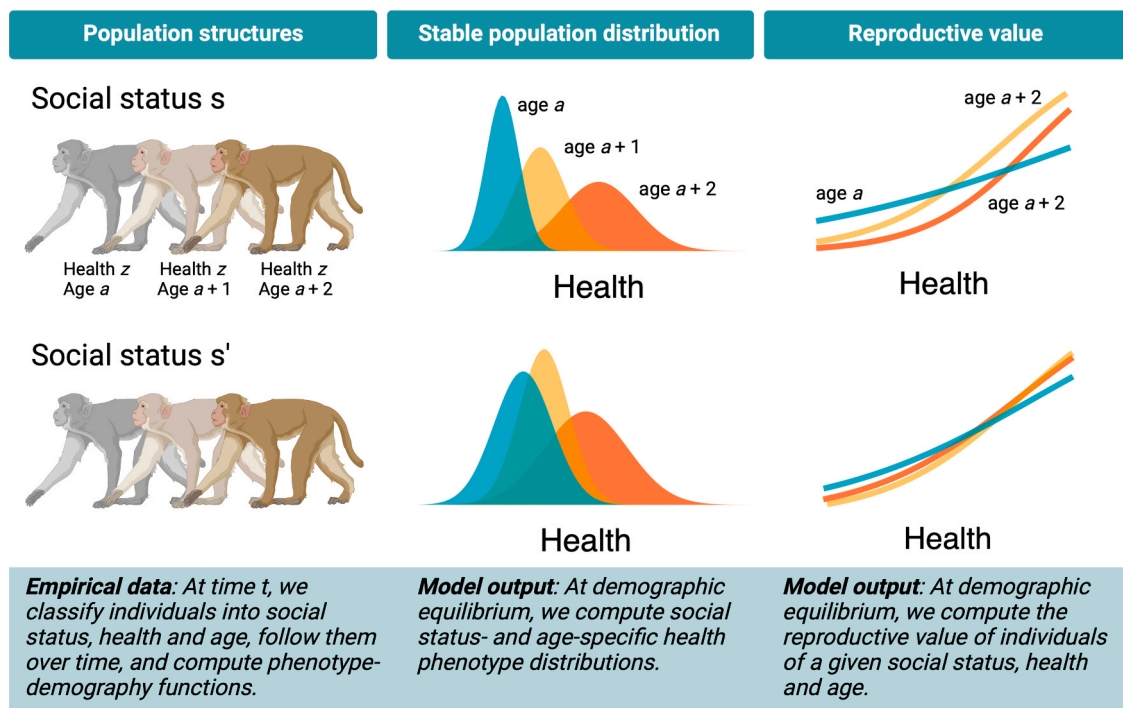
where  $\mathbf{n}$  is the population vector describing the total number of individuals of a given social status, a given age, and a given health state at a given time. Here, the first equation describes the aging process and the second describes the births where age  $a = 0$ . IPM analyses require the integral above to be discretized and ultimately be analyzed as traditional multi-state models based on Markov chains (Levin et al., 2021). Multi-state models (i.e., matrix population models; Caswell, 2001) yield a demographic equilibrium, and we can use them to compute the fitness  $\lambda$ , as well as the expected population distribution across health for individuals of a particular status and age (i.e., stable distribution; Fig. 3). Similarly, for a given status and age class, we can estimate the expected contribution to births of an individual to the next generation given its current health state (i.e., reproductive value, Fig. 3).

Many of our model assumptions can be relaxed and adapted to the population of interest. Social metrics can be used in categorical (e.g., status) or continuous (e.g., group size) forms and transitions among social categories can be included for populations showing social mobility or social aging. For example, social mobility (i.e., changes in social position across the life course) can be incorporated by defining transition probabilities between social status  $s$  at time  $t$  to status  $s'$  at time  $t + 1$ , and vice versa, as well as the probability of stasis, i.e., remaining in the same status from one time-step to the next. These extensions are of particular interest for comparative purposes as social position in humans also varies throughout the life course (Jarvis and Song, 2017), perception of social position and social status is known to affect health and aging (Garbarski, 2010; Singh-Manoux et al., 2005) and social position influences health-related behaviors that in turn affect health and aging (Montez and Hayward, 2011). Multiple heritability functions concerning social factors and health phenotypes can also be added. The variances around the health-demographic functions can also be integrated, and thus we can include estimates of variability around health change. Finally, this approach can be performed using single or two-sex models.

With this information on fitness  $\lambda$ , the stable population structure, and the reproductive value, we can evaluate phenotype-specific selec-



**Fig. 2.** Proposed individual life course and health data to parameterize phenotype-demography functions for the construction of integral projection models for a nonhuman primate population. Individuals are monitored from one year (time  $t$ ) to the next ( $t + 1$ ). The social environment is defined by social status as a categorical variable of two levels,  $s$  and  $s'$ . Each year, demographic performance (i.e., survival, growth, reproduction) and cognitive and physical health phenotypes (i.e., looking time, body mass) are recorded. Finally, demographic variables are modeled as a function of health phenotypes using generalized linear models. This can be computed for different sexes.



**Fig. 3.** Integral projection model output across population health and age structures needed to evaluate phenotype-specific selection gradients on demographic and life history parameters through sensitivity analysis. The social environment is defined by social status as a categorical variable of two levels,  $s$  and  $s'$ . Sex structure is not shown.

tion gradients on demographic and life history parameters through sensitivity analysis (Caswell, 2001; Coulson et al., 2010). For example, we can evaluate whether the strength and direction of selection on health-demography function parameters (i.e., GLMs coefficients) and their variances, vary with social status or sociality and aging. If there is high sensitivity of  $\lambda$  to the survival function parameters of high social status or highly integrated monkeys, then an appropriate conclusion is that there is a strong selection acting on the health-survival function

parameters of these monkeys as these population metrics contribute more to fitness overall. On the other hand, low social status or poorly integrated individuals may experience a stronger selection on their health-fertility function parameters, given their expected shorter life-span and potential selection for a faster reproduction. IPMs versatility also provides the novel opportunity of exploring the complex relationships between social factors, health, and aging. For example, we can directly quantify shifts in the cognitive response and physical health



distributions as individuals age and determine whether such shifts correspond to social factors and whether they have an influence on fitness (Fig. 2; Fig. 3). If individuals are likely to remain within a health state class throughout life (i.e., stasis), then we can use the IPM to ask whether the social environment is driving such state persistence. Given that IPMs can be used to calculate generation time and net reproductive rate, sensitivity analysis can also evaluate how changes in selection gradients affect these life history descriptors (Coulson et al., 2010). These important features of IPMs, within the multi-state framework, ultimately allows us to quantify the variability in individual health that underlies the observed prevalence of stability, deterioration, and recovery from disabilities (i.e., health states) among socially advantaged and disadvantaged subgroups (Fig. 1, multi-state).

#### 4. Conclusions

The social environment predicts health risks and mortality in humans and many other animals. Thus, new advances in the biodemography of aging require the consideration of social factors shaping the life course of people. Animal models for the social dimensions of health and aging provide new perspectives on the evolution of aging that can be exploited within the methodological framework of evolutionary demography. Our approach is timely as the accumulation of individual-level data in many social animal systems continues. We also recognize this is not an exception to humans. In the last two decades, many technological and innovative approaches have contributed to advances in human health studies (e.g., biomarkers, Harris and Schorpp, 2018; Sonnega et al., 2014; medical records; Mullins et al., 2022). Several national initiatives that pioneered broad-based biomarker collections have now accumulated large samples of objective measures of health (National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health; National Survey of Midlife Development in the United States; Health and Retirement Survey; National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project; see Harris and Schorpp, 2018). While concerns about attrition and non-response affecting representation remain, these many sources of human data provide a unique opportunity to further develop the proposed unified evolutionary framework for the social determinants of health and aging across species.

#### Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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