

1 The Evolutionary Ecology of **Age at Natural**
2 Menopause: Implications for Public Health

3
4 Abigail Fraser^{1,3}, Cathy Johnman¹, Elise Whitley¹, Alexandra Alvergne^{2,3,4}

5
6
7 ¹ Institute of Health and Wellbeing, University of Glasgow, UK

8 ² ISEM, Université de Montpellier, CNRS, IRD, EPHE, Montpellier, France

9 ³ School of Anthropology & Museum Ethnography, University of Oxford, UK

10 ⁴ Harris Manchester College, University of Oxford, UK

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19 **Author for correspondence:**

20 alexandra.alvergne@umontpellier.fr

21

22

23 **Word count:**

24 **Illustrations:** 2 boxes; 3 figures; 1 table

25

26

27 **Key words:** reproductive cessation, life-history, biocultural, somatic ageing, age at
28 menopause, ovarian ageing.

29

30

31 Abstract

32

33 Evolutionary perspectives on menopause have focused on explaining why early
34 reproductive cessation in females has emerged and why it is rare throughout the
35 animal kingdom, but less attention has been given to exploring patterns of diversity in
36 **age at natural menopause**. In this paper, we aim to generate new hypotheses for
37 understanding human patterns of diversity in this trait, defined as age at final menstrual
38 period. To do so, we develop a multi-level, inter-disciplinary framework, combining
39 proximate, physiological understandings of ovarian ageing with ultimate, evolutionary
40 perspectives on ageing. We begin by reviewing known patterns of diversity in age at
41 natural menopause in humans, and highlight issues in how menopause is currently
42 defined and measured. Second, we consider together **ultimate explanations of**
43 **menopause timing and proximate understandings of ovarian ageing**. We find that
44 ovarian ageing is highly constrained by ageing of the follicle - the somatic structure
45 containing the oocyte - suggesting that **menopause timing might be best understood**
46 **as a by-product of ageing rather than a facultative adaptation**. Third, we investigate
47 whether the determinants of somatic senescence also underpin menopause timing.
48 We show that diversity in age at menopause can be, at least partly, explained by the
49 genetic, ecological and life-history determinants of somatic ageing. **The public health**
50 **implications of rethinking menopause as the by-product rather than the catalyst of**
51 **biological ageing are discussed**.

52

53

54 1. Introduction

55

56 Menopause, as per the World Health Organisation definition [1], refers to the
57 permanent cessation of menstruation in human females. While natural menopause is
58 a ubiquitous phenomenon of the human female ageing experience, there is
59 considerable variation in the timing of menopause (or age at menopause), and how
60 menopause is experienced both within, and between populations [2-5]. To date, most
61 research into menopause focuses either on the evolutionary emergence of menopause
62 as a Darwinian puzzle or on the proximate determinants of ovarian ageing.
63 Surprisingly, there have been only limited attempts to understanding patterns of
64 diversity in age at natural menopause. This paper aims to address this deficit by
65 developing an interdisciplinary and multi-level framework combining proximate,
66 biomedical understandings of menopause with an ultimate, evolutionary ecology
67 perspective. Considering how diversity in age at menopause is produced at one level
68 (i.e. physiological) can help generate new hypotheses at the evolutionary level (i.e.
69 evolutionary and ecological drivers), and vice versa. Here we build on ovarian aging
70 research to uncover the evolutionary ecological determinants of variation in
71 menopause timing. In turn, we hope to stimulate a new research program investigating
72 whether menopause timing is best predicted by ecological models of somatic ageing.

73

74

75 *What is menopause?*

76

77 In the biomedical and population health sciences, natural menopause is defined as an
78 event reached when a woman has not had a menstrual cycle for the past 12 months
79 [6]. Following this final menstrual period (FMP), a woman is considered to have
80 experienced menopause. **Natural** menopause, which indicates the cessation of
81 reproductive function, most often occurs in the fourth or fifth decade of a woman's life.
82 While menopause itself is the complete cessation of periods, it is best understood as
83 a process rather than an event [3]. Indeed, individuals will be peri-menopausal for
84 some years before and after their final menstrual period (FMP). Menopause is
85 preceded by peri-menopause, a period characterized by the irregularity of menstrual
86 cycle length and frequency [7] and the potential to experience vasomotor symptoms
87 (e.g. hot flushes/night sweats [6]), urogenital discomfort, anxiety, depression, and joint

88 aches [6]. Note that not all women experience natural menopause, as some women
89 may experience menopause due to a pathology of the reproductive system before the
90 expected age of cessation of reproductive function, or accelerated surgical menopause
91 due to procedures such as bilateral oophorectomy, hysterectomy, chemotherapy or
92 GnRH analogues [6].

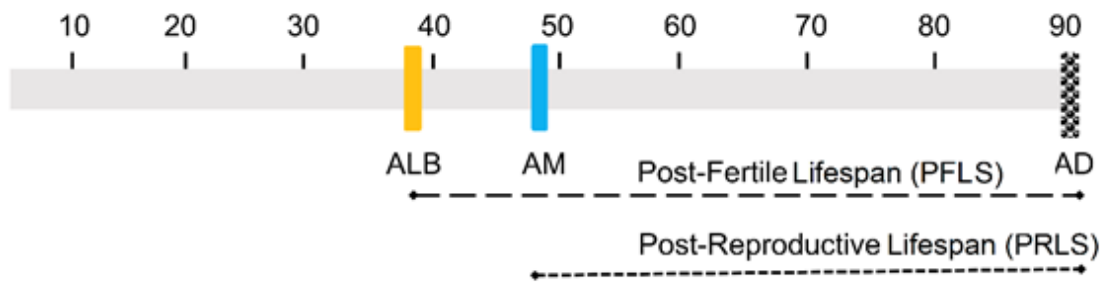
93

94 From an evolutionary standpoint, menopause is often equated with another feature of
95 the female reproductive lifespan – age at last birth. Most evolutionary approaches
96 investigating the origins of menopause focus on the cessation of fertility rather than the
97 cessation of reproduction function *per se*, especially in non-menstruating species.
98 While reproductive capacity may coincide with age of last birth in other species
99 displaying early reproductive cessation, e.g. the killer whale (*Orcinus orca*) [8, 9],
100 menopause and age at last birth do not always coincide in humans: an individual
101 becomes post-fertile following their last birth, but they are not necessarily post-
102 reproductive if they are still cycling (Figure 1, [10]). Indeed, the two phases are reached
103 on average 10 years apart in contemporary populations [11], and there is only limited
104 correlation between age at last birth and age at menopause (reviewed in [11]). Thus,
105 one cannot assume that the cessation of fertility is dependent solely on physiological
106 reproductive decline. Rather, age at last birth is influenced by sociocultural and
107 biological factors other than reproductive senescence [12], including exposure factors
108 (partner availability), deliberate fertility control factors (family planning, induced
109 abortion), and natural fertility factors (lactational infecundability, frequency of
110 intercourse, pathological sterility, spontaneous intrauterine mortality) [12].

111

112 The extent to which age at menopause and age at last birth are determined by the
113 same factors is unclear due to a paucity of studies considering the two traits together
114 and thus whether the same predictive framework should be applied to both age at last
115 birth and age at final menstrual period remains an open question. To address this gap,
116 in the remainder of this paper, we focus on age at natural menopause i.e. the age at
117 final menstrual period, rather than age at last birth.

118



119

Figure 1: Measuring post-reproductive lifespan: the differences between post-fertile lifespan (PFLS) and post-reproductive lifespan (PRLS). ALB: Age at last birth; AM: Age at menopause; AD: Age at death. Post-fertile lifespan is defined as the length of time between age at last birth, which typically occurs between 39 and 41 years (reviewed in [11]) and age at death. By contrast, post-reproductive lifespan is defined as the length of time between age at menopause and age at death. Reproductive senescence corresponds to fertility decline over age, **which culminates in the age at menopause (AM). Note that this is not the same as age at last birth.** Arguments regarding the evolution of menopause – focusing on age at last birth – may not hold for explaining diversity in the timing of menopause.

120 *Human variation in age at natural menopause*

121

122 Self-reported age at menopause is variable, with mean age throughout the 20th century
 123 being anywhere between 44.6 and 54.5 years of age across different geographic
 124 regions [2], and between 46 and 51.7 years of age in studies conducted between 1990-
 125 2010 (Figure 2). Temporal changes in age at FMP occur across different birth cohorts,
 126 with a cohort study in Sweden identifying a 1 month increase of menopausal age with
 127 each year of birth [13]. While there seems to be significant variation worldwide in age
 128 at menopause, the data underpinning this picture are somewhat problematic due to
 129 methodological considerations, including an overrepresentation of clinical based
 130 studies in the global North, debatable inclusion/exclusion criteria, data binning bias
 131 and cross-cultural bias (Box 1). **Thus, much of the literature reviewed in this paper is**
 132 **only approximating global variation in menopause timing.**

133

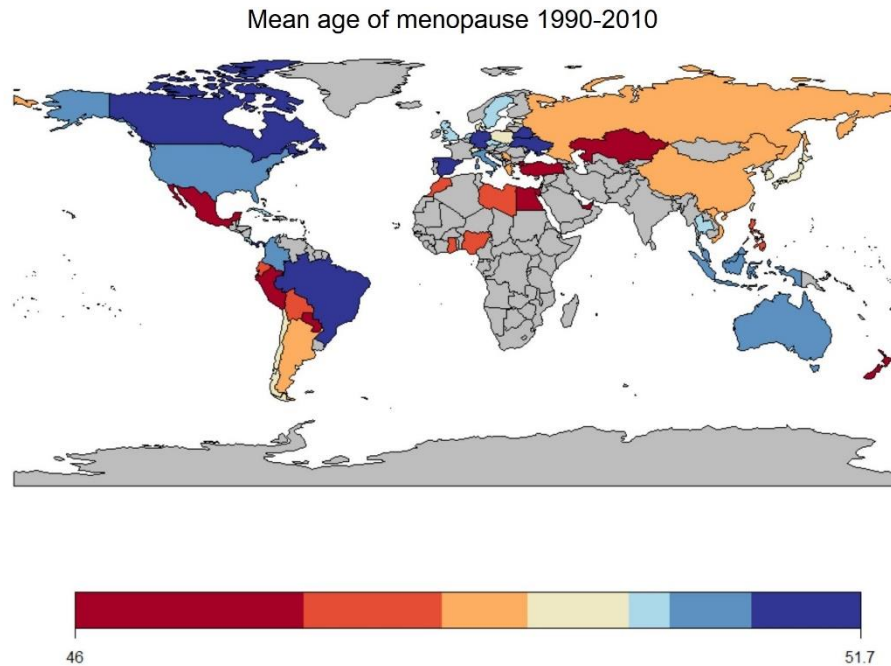


Figure 2: Variation in final menstrual periods (FMP). This map was replicated from Laisk et al. (2018), with additional segregation of data based on the decade in which it was collected. Variation in self-reported mean age at FMP is measured between 1990-2010 across countries. Broadly, mean age of menopause is higher in the Global North than in the Global South, but due to the lack of measurement of age at menopause across populations, there is a sizeable uncertainty associated with this pattern. Additionally, the measurement of age at menopause in the studies included here may also be subject to limitations discussed (Box 1). See supplementary information for references, sample sizes and years during which the data were collected.

135

136 Epidemiological studies, for the most part conducted in high-income countries and
 137 based on clinical rather than population-based samples, shed some light on the macro-
 138 level determinants of menopause timing. First, genetic contribution to age at
 139 menopause appears modest: GWAS-identified loci only explain 2.5-4.1% of population
 140 variation in menopause timing [14], suggesting that genetic diversity holds little
 141 explanatory power for understanding diversity in age at menopause (but see section 3
 142 on the genetics of longevity). Other studies identified mixed associations between
 143 menopausal age and reproductive life history, socio-economic status (SES) and
 144 lifestyle factors. For instance, early age at menopause has been associated with early
 145 menarche [15, 16] and nulliparity [15, 17] while increasing parity (number of
 146 pregnancies) is associated with later age at menopause [15, 17-19]. Various markers
 147 of lower SES or indicators of stress both in early life (household crowding; father's

148 social class; parental divorce, poor cognitive ability, maternal smoking; perception of
149 being thin) [16, 19, 20] and later life (educational status, regional purchasing power [17,
150 21]) are associated with an earlier age at menopause. Those relationships are not
151 mediated by the correlation between age at menarche and poor early life conditions
152 given that most studies control for age at menarche [21]. Age at menopause is
153 consistently associated with lifestyle factors - smoking has a strong association with
154 earlier age at menopause [2, 16, 18, 21-23] while there is a weak association between
155 lower BMI and earlier age at menopause [24]. Whether these different associations
156 are globally salient is unknown, however, given most epidemiological data are derived
157 from clinical studies conducted in high-income countries.

158

159 There is currently no overarching framework for explaining why age at menopause
160 correlates with reproductive, socio-economic and lifestyle factors. Further, knowledge
161 and theories from physiology, epidemiology and evolutionary ecology are not usually
162 considered together. However, if one is to understand both why and how menopause
163 timing varies, it is necessary to account for determinants at multiple levels. To do this,
164 a human evolutionary ecology approach, drawing on the May-Tinbergen Framework
165 accounting for both ultimate and proximate causes of diversity together, offers a
166 promising avenue [25]. In the next section we harness this model by considering both
167 current knowledge of the physiology of menopause (proximate) and current
168 evolutionary theories for the evolution of early reproductive cessation (ultimate) to
169 propose a new understanding of diversity in menopause timing in humans, i.e. the age
170 at final menstrual period.

171

172 **Box 1: Methodological considerations when measuring age at menopause**

173 Advancing knowledge of current patterns of diversity in menopause timing requires to conduct
174 populations-based studies outside the Global North. In addition, there are several limitations to both
175 measuring menopause (e.g. age at final menstrual period) within populations and interpreting the
176 results. Those issues, listed below, should be addressed in futures studies:

177 *(i) The measurement of FMP may only be confirmed retrospectively.* This increases the difficulty of
178 recruiting women who are newly post-menopausal for cross-sectional studies. Additionally, many
179 current cohort studies use the midpoint between 2 cohort waves where menstruation is present and
180 then absent as age at final menstrual period. Such data are then often analyzed using discrete
181 categories or “binning” (eg. <45, 46-50, 51-55, 56+), which may obscure any smaller trends in age at
182 menopause.

183 *(ii) A woman’s true age at menopause may be masked pharmaceutically [6, 26]:*

- 184 - If a woman is taking combined oral contraceptives or hormone replacement therapy, bleeds are
185 not menstrual cycles but rather withdrawal bleeds under the control of medication [26].
186 Prescription guidelines advise a change away from combined oral contraceptives to a
187 progesterone based contraceptive over the age of 50 (or 35 for smokers or people with other
188 risk factors [6]), given the high risk of thromboembolism [26]. After this, bleeding may stop, and
189 the individual may be considered post-menopausal. However, any bleeding experienced while
190 on oral contraception is a withdrawal bleed, and a woman's reproductive capacity may have
191 ceased prior to stopping oral contraceptive usage.
- 192 - Similarly, the use of combined HRT during the peri-menopausal stage can also produce
193 withdrawal bleeds [6]. These examples highlight the importance of defining menopause as the
194 cessation of menstrual cycles, rather than all forms of bleeding, as bleeding can also originate
195 from the use of hormonal contraceptives and HRT.
- 196 - If a woman is using progesterone-only contraceptive methods, age at menopause may also be
197 masked by amenorrhoea produced by contraceptive usage. This is potentially a frequent issue:
198 The chance of amenorrhoea by 12 months using the Mirena/levonorgestrel releasing intra-
199 uterine system (the hormonal coil) is 20-80%, and this form of contraception has the highest
200 continuation rates in women aged 39-48 [27].

201 These examples highlight the importance of defining menopause as the cessation of menstrual cycles,
202 rather than all forms of bleeding, as bleeding can also originate from the use of hormonal contraceptives
203 and HRT.

204 *(iii) A woman's true age at menopause can be difficult to identify:* It is possible that during
205 perimenopause a woman may not a period in 12 months, then experience bleeding. The irregularity of
206 menstrual cycles may result in periods longer than 12 months where a woman appears to be
207 anovulatory, especially towards the later peri-menopause when menstrual cycles tend to be longer [28].
208 While this bleeding may be considered a period, it may not be a menstrual cycle but the result of
209 reproductive malignancies which can occur in the post-menopausal body [6].

210 *(iv) There is no clinical diagnostic tool able to discern menopausal status through measuring hormone*
211 *levels:* While FSH levels may be diagnostic for cases of early menopause (<45), FSH levels are
212 unreliable for assessing menopausal status due to fluctuations in levels throughout peri-menopause [1,
213 26]. Additionally, levels of the anti-mullerian hormone (AMH), even in multiple assessments, are
214 unreliable for measuring ovarian reserve, due to the wide variation in levels of AMH within populations,
215 as well as lack of a uniform AMH decline [29].

216 *[End of Box 1]*

217

2. Integrating ultimate and proximate explanations

In this section, we seek to answer the ultimate question “*Why does variation in age at natural menopause exist?*” together with the proximate question “*How does variation in age at natural menopause occur?*”. In other words, we aim to integrate proximate understandings of ovarian ageing with evolutionary, historical approaches to menopause timing, which include both adaptationist (i.e. menopause timing has fitness benefits) and by-product (i.e. menopause timing has no fitness benefits) hypotheses [30, 31]). Recent studies on menopause timing view age at menopause as a facultative adaptation – i.e. menopausal age varies in response to ecology in a way that maximizes fitness [32-35]. Those studies are generally silent with regards to physiological understandings of ovarian ageing, however. By contrast, the hypothesis viewing human menopause as an evolutionary by-product of the selection for an elongated lifespan is consistent with the finding that ovarian ageing is constrained by somatic processes rather than triggered (Box 2). In this way, the determinants of age of natural menopause may be similar to the genetic, developmental and ecological determinants of somatic ageing.

Physiological understanding of menopause timing (proximate approach)

At the physiological level, the transition towards menopause is generally understood in terms of the processes of ovarian ageing and follicular atresia - the apoptosis (or programmed cell death) of oocytes (egg cells) [36]. Ovarian ageing is the process whereby the ovaries decline in their ability to recruit and develop successful oocytes [37]. Ovarian ageing adversely affects female fertility, reducing the probability of successful pregnancy due to increasingly poor quality of follicles. The follicle is the cellular structure containing both the oocyte and surrounding granulosa cells and is recruited during the follicular phase of the menstrual cycle. If the follicle is of low quality, it will undergo atresia – programmed cell death - hypothesised to be under the control of the supporting granulosa cells [38, 39]. As the ovary ages, both the quantity and the quality of follicles decreases [40], a process referred to as follicular depletion. At menarche the number of follicles is approximately 300,000-400,000 and reduces to below 1000 at menopause [41]. The ovary loses follicles through 2 ways: ovulation and follicular atresia. As ~400 follicles are released through ovulation during the

252 reproductive lifespan, the main source of follicle loss during the lifetime is atresia [41],
253 with the rate of follicle loss also being influenced by multiple factors. Thus, while
254 menopause is co-produced by ovarian ageing and follicular depletion together, ovarian
255 ageing is constrained by somatic ageing of the follicle (Box 2).

256

257 **Box 2: Germ cells are well protected against ageing forces, but the somatic cells of the**
258 **follicle are not.**

259 Perhaps one central issue to integrating ovarian ageing with somatic processes of ageing is that
260 the oocyte itself is a germ cell. While the oocyte may possess multiple defense mechanisms against
261 ageing, the somatic granulosa cells which surround the oocyte in the follicle *are* subject to somatic
262 ageing. As the somatic granulosa cells decrease in quality, the quality of the overall follicle
263 (including the oocyte itself) decreases and is at risk of undergoing apoptosis.

264 Ovarian ageing is often centred on the role of mitochondria, exploring the role dysregulated
265 respiration in the ageing process. Mitochondria are responsible for the energy production and also
266 producing damaging reactive oxygen species (ROS) and reactive carbonyl species (RCS) through
267 respiration. Primordial follicles can be kept in a state of arrested prophase for upwards of 50 years
268 and so there is potential during this arrest for damage to accumulate in the oocyte while it is
269 quiescent [42]. However, the oocyte itself is well protected against oxidative damage, and it has
270 been suggested that localised antioxidant production around the oocyte offers adaptive protection
271 against DNA damage caused by ROS and during its suspended lifespan [42, 43]. Localised
272 production of melatonin in the ovary, which has antioxidant properties, also supports the presence
273 of protective measures in the ovary against the impact of long-term exposure to ROS [44]. As such,
274 mitochondrial DNA in the oocyte is not shown to accumulate mutations during ovarian ageing in
275 the way predicted if there were no methods of oxidative shielding [45].

276 The granulosa cell therefore becomes the locus for attention on processes leading to follicular
277 atresia, as well as the site of increasing genomic instability of ageing oocytes [39, 43, 45,
278 46]. Follicular atresia is initiated through the granulosa cells, which accompany the oocyte from
279 oogenesis to the creation of the antral follicle. Thus, the process of follicular atresia depends on
280 the quality of the granulosa cells – not the oocytes. The senescence of the somatic cells in the
281 ovarian microenvironment becomes the locus for studying determinants of ovarian ageing [38, 39].

308 communicable diseases through the promotion of cell senescence [49]. It remains to
309 be investigated how repeated cycles of ovulation and menstruation influence ageing
310 of the granulosa cells and thus follicular atresia. Diversity in cyclical life-history due to
311 either anovulatory cycles, pregnancies or hormonal contraceptives is likely to be
312 important for explaining patterns of reproductive senescence and the onset of
313 menopause.

314

315 *Evolutionary understanding of menopause timing (ultimate approach)*

316

317 Why menopause timing varies has attracted little research to date (but see [2] for a
318 review), most research focusing on the question of why menopause - defined as the
319 permanent cessation of fertility - exists at all in humans and in some other species.
320 Adaptationist perspectives consider the paradoxical occurrence of fertility cessation to
321 hold an adaptive benefit given females do not directly increase their fitness consistently
322 throughout their adult life. In this framework, menopause - by enabling women to avoid
323 later-life reproduction – reached fixation in humans because it conferred fitness
324 benefits through increased alloparental care and decreased reproductive conflict and
325 mortality risk [50-59]. By contrast, by-product theories view the emergence of
326 menopause as an epiphenomenon – a spandrel [60] - co-produced by the finite nature
327 of a female's oocyte supply and extended lifespan longevity which allow females to
328 outlive this supply [53, 54, 61]. In this view, menopause emerged in human females
329 because somatic longevity increased, while reproductive longevity did not. Our
330 purpose here is not to dispute which framework is more salient for understanding the
331 emergence of menopause, as indeed processes underpinning the emergence and the
332 maintenance of traits might differ. Rather, we use those hypotheses as a guiding
333 framework for explaining why age at menopause varies.

334

335 Recent research into the timing of menopause has taken an adaptive stance. In this
336 view, menopause is a facultative trait where menopause timing responds to ecological
337 factors such as daughter's reproductive success, dispersal patterns and living in the
338 matrilineal/patrilineal household [33, 34, 56]. Studies have found little support for
339 modification of menopausal age based on either mediating factor, nor have they given
340 suggestions for physiological mechanisms to explain how age at menopause could be
341 affected by factors such as dispersal and daughter's reproductive success. Additional

342 adaptationist theories, such as the 'shifting mate choice/shifting menopause'
343 hypothesis posit that variation in age at natural menopause occurs in response to later
344 age of reproduction, through the removal of deleterious alleles selecting for
345 menopause, which have accumulated due to male preference for younger mates [35].
346 Fundamentally, adaptationist perspectives have not proposed or found a genetic or
347 physiological pathway producing a cascade which triggers reproductive senescence
348 during midlife and would allow menopause timing to be facultative.

349

350 Comparatively, menopause timing has been seldom explored from the premise that
351 menopause is a by-product of selection on longevity, following the decoupling of
352 somatic and reproductive lifespan in human females. This may be due to the unclear
353 directionality of mechanisms considered to be involved in the decoupling of
354 reproductive and somatic lifespan - a prerequisite for this hypothesis. Female
355 reproductive skew, and the front loading of reproductive events, is invoked as a
356 mechanism that could be the cause of the evolution of menopause as it would
357 decrease selection on extended reproductive lifespan [53]. However, given that the
358 preference for younger females is found in humans [35, 62] but not particularly in
359 chimpanzees [62], the human male mate preference is likely a derived trait and thus
360 the outcome, rather than the cause, of early reproductive cessation in women.
361 Nevertheless, the length of the female reproductive lifespan in humans is comparable
362 to that of other species of similar body sizes [53], while the length of somatic lifespan
363 is not, suggesting that extended longevity is a derived trait in humans, while the length
364 of the reproductive lifespan is not. This raises the possibility that age at menopause
365 (rather than age at last birth) is at least partly determined by processes underpinning
366 somatic ageing. In this line, ageing of the human female reproductive capacity is
367 constrained by somatic ageing of the follicles (Box 3), as measured by the rate of
368 follicular atresia. The somatic cells supporting reproduction age faster than the oocyte
369 and the ovary are because they are less well protected from oxidative damage. Thus,
370 reducing exposure to factors implicated in increasing longevity could increase
371 reproductive lifespan.

372

373

374 *Towards a Multi-level framework*

375

376 Patterns of diversity in age at menopause are poorly understood. To address this, we
377 propose a multi-level, inter-disciplinary framework, combining proximate, physiological
378 understandings of ovarian ageing with ultimate, evolutionary ecological perspectives
379 on ageing. We hypothesize that evolutionary ecological factors known to influence
380 somatic ageing variation (the genetics of longevity, early life environments, infections)
381 can also explain rates of ovarian ageing, follicular depletion and diversity in the onset
382 of menopause.

383

384 Overall patterns of ageing and senescence are understood evolutionarily through the
385 Disposable Soma hypothesis, [63, 64] where the body's capacity to accumulate
386 deleterious senescent cells is attributed to declining selection pressure of maintenance
387 mechanisms as age increases, due to increasing extrinsic mortality risk [63]. Through
388 the evolutionary lens, age-related health decline results from accumulated damage
389 and sub-optimal functioning of bodily systems on the molecular, cellular and organ
390 level [63]. When menopause becomes conceptualized as the by-product of ageing of
391 the reproductive system, by-product hypotheses of menopause are compatible with
392 current physiological understandings of ageing and cellular senescence. Exploration
393 into variation therefore allows overarching theories of ageing rate variation to be
394 applied to the female reproductive system.

395

396 Rates of cellular senescence can vary depending on the interaction between an
397 organism and ecological factors (e.g. food availability, stress, pathogen load),
398 producing patterns of ageing rates which vary within and between populations.
399 Ecological factors might also influence women's cyclical life-history, producing
400 diversity in anovulatory cycles, pregnancies or hormonal contraceptives, which are
401 likely to be important for explaining patterns of reproductive senescence and the onset
402 of menopause. These ecological factors will be explored in the next section in relation
403 to current epidemiological understandings of variation in age of natural menopause,
404 and with suggestions for further research.

405

406

407

408

3. Understanding Patterns of Menopause Timing

In this section, we review the role of genetic, environmental and reproductive factors in explaining diversity in somatic senescence rates - ecological interactions which influence somatic ageing. This follows from the previous section where we suggest how these might be applied to understanding diversity in ovarian ageing. We show that there are common genetic factors between extreme longevity and age at menopause with regards to genes mediating metabolic profiles, metabolism and oxidative shielding. Following research showing that the early life environment influences the pace of reproductive development and life-history “strategy”, we hypothesize that poor early life environment may result in lower embodied capital, and thus earlier age at menopause. Finally, we propose that women who experience a higher number of cumulative ovulatory menstrual cycles may experience earlier age at menopause through the cumulative exposure of localised inflammation in the female reproductive organs during ovulation. We show that the phenotype of age at menopause is the result of an interaction between genetic, ecological factors and the cycling life-history.

Genetic factors

Genetic factors between ovarian ageing and overall somatic ageing show similarities in the biochemical pathways in which they are implicated. Human longevity is a complex biosocial trait, with genetics being highly context-dependent and rates of senescence resulting from a dynamic process [65]. There are no genes which “code for” longevity in humans [65], and associations between alleles and longevity occur where such alleles produce a phenotype conducive for long life, especially amongst centenarians (individuals who have lived to age 100). Such phenotypes include metabolic profiles characterised by preserved glucose tolerance and insulin sensitivity; compressed morbidity and disability in later life, and general avoidance or postponement of age-related diseases; and decreased DNA methylation compared to others of the same chronological age [65]. Such phenotypes are conducive of reduced levels of accumulated damage contributing to the functioning of bodily systems on the molecular, cellular and organ levels. These phenotypes may therefore promote both somatic longevity and reproductive longevity, thus postponing age at menopause.

443 Genetic factors which have been identified as contributing to the phenotype of somatic
444 longevity, reproductive longevity or both include the following:

445

446 **APOE:** the APOE gene codes for apolipoprotein E, which helps maintain
447 structural integrity and function of cholesterol rich lipoproteins. The protein structure of
448 APOE varies and is found to exist in 3 different isoforms which alter its function.
449 Isoforms APOEe2, APOEe3 and APOEe4 are positively associated, not associated or
450 negatively associated with longevity, respectively [66]. Regarding menopause,
451 association between isoforms and reproductive longevity have been inconclusive.
452 Heterozygous APOEe3/4 carriers show a delayed age at menopause compared to
453 APOEe3/3 carriers in a Chinese population [67]. Both APOEe4 and APOEe2 isoforms
454 have been associated with predicted an earlier age at menopause amongst Iranian
455 females and women of European descent, respectively [68, 69].

456 **Sirtuins:** Sirtuins are proteins which modulate metabolism, cell proliferation and
457 genome stability. Regulation of several sirtuin genes – SIRT5 and SIRT7- have been
458 found to have a positive association with longevity, while a minor SIRT6 homologous
459 allele, affecting its function, has been associated with decreased lifespan [65].
460 Variation in sirtuin regulation has been linked to reproductive longevity, with
461 downregulation of SIRT1, SIRT3 and SIRT6 being linked to an increased rate of
462 ovarian ageing [40].

463 **Mitochondrial Haplotype J:** Mitochondrial DNA Haplotype J is hypothesised
464 to reduce the output of both ATP (the product of respiration) and ROS. The mtDNA J
465 haplotype has been positively associated with somatic longevity in European
466 populations [65], and was underrepresented amongst French women with depleted
467 ovarian reserves undergoing fertility treatment [70], suggesting it plays a role in
468 reproductive longevity.

469 **FOXO3:** FOXO3 is a gene which downregulates activity on the IGF1 pathway,
470 helping to maintain a metabolomic profile conducive to longevity [65]. Associations
471 between expression of FOXO3 and reproductive longevity are unknown.

472 **IL6:** Modulation of interleukin 6, a multifunctional cytokine associated with
473 inflammatory responses by a minor allele has also been associated with longevity and
474 the aetiology of age-related disease [65]. Associations between IL6 modulation and
475 reproductive longevity are unknown.

476

477 Additional single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) associated with age at menopause
478 have been linked to genes involved in hormonal regulation, immune function and DNA
479 repair pathways [14]. A candidate gene located on the Human Leukocyte Antigen
480 (HLA-B) transcript has been associated with age at menopause as well as Type-1
481 diabetes and rheumatoid arthritis [14]. Such a gene implicates a pro-inflammatory
482 component to physiological pathways mediating rates of ovarian ageing [14]. BRCA1
483 mutations also confer an increased rate of ovarian ageing, hypothesised to be due to
484 increased rates of double strand DNA breaks in follicles, causing subsequent increase
485 in the rate of follicular atresia (Box 3, Figure 3 [71]).

486

487 Determinants of longevity and somatic senescence are hugely complex, with genetic
488 factors only explaining a small proportion of variation in longevity [65]. GWAS-identified
489 loci and their related function only explain 2.5-4.1% of population variation in the age
490 at menopause [14]. The genetic contribution to age at menopause, and overall
491 senescence rates may be overpowered by ecological and environmental factors and
492 so must be considered in relation to other exogenous factors. Despite the low
493 contribution genetic variation makes, these studies indicate that processes of non-
494 communicable diseases and ovarian ageing are underpinned by similar metabolic and
495 inflammatory processes.

496

497

498 *Ecological factors*

499

500 Rates of age-related health decline are in part mediated by an individual's ability to
501 accrue somatic capital – a factor dependent on environmental constraints on energy
502 available for their growth and development. Somatic capital can be understood as the
503 energetic investments made by the body in growth and maintenance of tissue beds
504 and organs [72] which will depreciate over time through wear and tear. As the body's
505 ability to maintain cellular and tissue function decreases over time, mechanisms in the
506 ageing body must rely on their existing somatic capital to ensure optimal function is
507 maintained. Somatic capital accrual can be influenced by the life history strategy of the
508 individual. Life history theory [73, 74] broadly describes patterns of growth,
509 reproduction and mortality in an individual's life and in a given environment. One
510 particularly influential concept in life-history evolution is that of the "fast-slow

511 continuum”, which accounts for the fact that many life-history traits co-vary across and
512 within species [75]. Age at menopause may therefore be understood as an outcome
513 of a life-history strategy, itself contingent on the somatic capital of the female
514 reproductive system, determined by ecological factors (e.g. food availability, stress,
515 pathogen load). Using a life history theory approach allows investigating whether
516 variation in age at menopause reflects overall rates of ageing in the body or is specific
517 to reproductive senescence.

518

519 *Extrinsic mortality*

520 Life history theory posits that in environments with high extrinsic mortality (i.e. mortality
521 independent of an individual’s phenotype), metabolic investment in reproduction is
522 prioritized at the expense of other fitness components (somatic maintenance, growth)
523 [75]. This leads to the acceleration of an organism’s life-history (hence a “fast life-
524 history” strategy) [76-78] and is hypothesised to affect rates of ageing and the
525 development of age-related diseases. In humans, age at first birth in England is
526 younger in deprived areas compared to more affluent areas, which is interpreted as a
527 response to the ecological context of poverty [78], with girls from moderately stressful
528 environments of nutritional inadequacy experiencing accelerated pubertal timing [79].
529 In turn, low embodied capital of the reproductive system may cause sub-optimal tissue
530 defense [80] against the oxidative stress of menstruation and reproduction, increasing
531 rates of follicular atresia. This may ultimately accelerate reproductive ageing towards
532 menopause. In comparison, those living in energy rich, low mortality environments may
533 accrue higher somatic capital due to a slower life history strategy [79]. Higher socio-
534 economic living conditions may therefore be associated with later age at menopause
535 given the prolonged ability for tissue maintenance in those with higher somatic capital.
536 It is important to clarify at this point that life history strategies are often used in a
537 behavioural context, to explain patterns of behavior – often related to reproduction [78].
538 Here, we use life history strategies to refer to the allocation of physiological resources,
539 contributing to the embodied capital of the individual rather than in a more behavioural
540 context.

541

542 Fast/slow life history theories as a predictive framework is in line with trends in
543 epidemiological studies where earlier age at menopause is found amongst low/middle-
544 income populations, as well as amongst those who were exposed to poor

545 environmental conditions earlier in life [16, 17, 19-21]. Furthermore, in Western
546 populations, earlier age at menopause has been associated with an increased risk of
547 cardiovascular diseases (CVD), atherosclerosis, stroke and osteoporosis [21, 41] while
548 later menopause has been associated with both a reduced risk of CVD and all-cause
549 mortality and an increased risk of breast and ovarian cancer and osteoporosis [21, 24,
550 41, 81]. Finally, studies into oestrogen-receptor negative breast cancer rates suggest
551 that a fast life history strategy may result in a higher incidence of breast cancer
552 amongst women from lower socioeconomic status [77].

553

554 *Infectious diseases*

555 Additional metabolic trade-offs between growth, maintenance and reproduction can
556 occur in the presence of infectious disease where energy is allocated to the immune
557 system at the expense of other bodily functions [73]. Sievert has previously explored
558 the relationship between age at menopause and exposure to infectious diseases over
559 the life course amongst Bangladeshi women living in London. They were found to have
560 a significantly earlier age at menopause than other women living in London, with earlier
561 age being strongly associated with a history of infectious disease exposure on multiple
562 occasions [82]. As immune defenses against pathogens is energetically costly,
563 pathogen load may also contribute towards reducing bodily investment in the growth
564 and maintenance of the body. Studies researching the effect of prolonged infection on
565 age at menopause show a younger age at menopause amongst women with HIV
566 compared to women without HIV in the Bronx [83], although this result is not entirely
567 consistent [84]. There is potential for expanding research into the influence of
568 infectious diseases on age at menopause by studying (i) the impact of infections earlier
569 versus later in life, (ii) population level patterns where malaria is endemic and (iii) and
570 immunocompromised populations.

571

572 *Cyclical Reproductive Life History*

573 Variation in rates of ovarian ageing may result from the **cumulative** exposure of the
574 female reproductive system to cyclical inflammation, which may vary across ecologies.
575 Reproduction in human females is characterised by cyclical fertility, with menstrual
576 cycles completed approximately between 24 and 38 days [48], with the end of non-
577 conceptive cycles characterized by menstruation, a massive inflammatory event.
578 Localised inflammation also occurs in the ovaries during the inflammation-mediated

579 repair of the corpus luteum immediately after ovulation [48]. Furthermore, the ovaries
580 are the site of oestrogen production – hormones which can act as pro-inflammatory,
581 depending on dose. Through menstrual cycling, cyclical, systematic inflammation may
582 contribute to damage of the granulosa cells and ovarian microenvironment, resulting
583 primarily in the accelerated senescence of the female reproductive function relative to
584 other organs of the body.

585

586 There is some evidence that ovarian ageing rates may vary according to the total
587 number of menstrual cycles experienced in a female's reproductive lifespan. First, high
588 cumulative levels of oestrogen exposure are known to be a risk factor for the
589 development of oestrogen receptor positive breast, ovarian and endometrial cancers
590 [5, 85-87]. Given tumorigenesis also operates through cellular damage and mutations,
591 it is not implausible to consider the effect of concentrated cumulative oestrogen
592 exposure on cellular senescence of the reproductive organs. Second, preliminary
593 epidemiological data show that nulliparity (as a discrete entity) is significantly
594 associated with earlier ages of menopause [15, 17]. Normally cycling nulliparous
595 women who are not taking any form of hormonal contraception do not experience the
596 gaps in ovulation that occur during the gestation period and breastfeeding. This
597 suggests that the female reproductive life history should be considered in its entirety –
598 e.g. as total number of menstrual cycles experienced - rather than as a composite of
599 discrete entities (e.g. age at menarche, parity, breastfeeding and use of hormonal
600 contraception) as it is often approached within epidemiological studies.

601

602 How ecology influences a woman's cumulative exposure to cyclical inflammation is
603 poorly understood. A 1994 study estimate that women in contemporary western
604 populations experience up to 400 cycles during the lifetime, compared to a median of 94
605 within a contemporary natural fertility population [88]. In the absence of data on the
606 cycling life-history, reproductive traits across the lifespan could be used as a proxy to
607 estimate a woman's cumulative exposure to inflammatory menstrual cycles. Note that
608 ideally, it is the number of ovulatory, as opposed to anovulatory, cycles that is the most
609 relevant measure. Proximate determinants of the number of menstrual cycles might
610 themselves be the outcome of life history strategies explored earlier (see [79]), but
611 similar life-history 'strategies' may have different impact on the number of menstrual
612 cycles depending on socio-cultural contexts (i.e. availability of contraception, norms

613 around breastfeeding etc..). [79]), although these life-history strategies are not
614 necessarily prescriptive [89, 90]. Nevertheless, life-history and reproductive cyclicity
615 approaches are not mutually exclusive

616

617 Accounting for the cost of cumulative menstrual cycles may have implications for
618 evolutionary models. First, it adds nuance to what may count as a ‘cost of reproduction’
619 – this is often referred to as the impact of reproduction and pregnancy on the female
620 body, at the expense of physiological functioning [91]. While pregnancy may incur a
621 physiological cost to somatic functioning [91], it may also be protective over ovarian
622 function with regards to the onset of menopause [15, 17]. Thus, cyclical menstruation
623 and pregnancy may be better considered as separate entities rather than falling under
624 the all-encompassing ‘cost of reproduction’. Second, given the physiological processes
625 of reproductive and somatic ageing are physiologically similar, reproduction might
626 entail costs not only for somatic senescence, a trade-off often studied by evolutionary
627 biologists (see [92]), but also for reproductive senescence. While cyclical inflammation
628 confers fitness benefits early in life, more frequent cyclical ovulation in humans might
629 directly influence the onset of menopause through the antagonistic pleiotropic effects
630 of cyclical inflammation.

631

632

633 In this section, we have explored possible evolutionary ecological determinants of
634 diversity in menopause timing. While much of the literature in this review comes from
635 studies in high-income countries, the framework we have developed here may help
636 formulate hypotheses for studies of populations in lower income countries. Future
637 research investigating how factors such as socioeconomic status, poverty, food
638 insecurity and infectious diseases interact with life history and cyclical reproductive life
639 histories may help expand understandings of variation in age of natural menopause
640 within different populations.

641

642

643 4. Implications for Public Health

644
645 As ageing populations are perceived to present challenges to the maintenance of
646 population health, healthcare provision, demographic structure and society, there is
647 increasing importance placed on research aiming to understand and predict patterns
648 of ageing [93]. However, current public health approaches towards understanding
649 diversity in the experience of menopause (age and symptoms) and its impact on health
650 and overall wellbeing are scarce. Here we show that an ecological approach to
651 variation in menopause might help with (1) nuancing assumptions about the ‘normal’
652 menopause, (2) understanding the relationship between menopause and health
653 decline, (3) interrogating whether earlier menopause and diseases of old age originate
654 from the same ecological determinants of health and (4) how understanding variation
655 in menopause experience can benefit wider studies into successful ageing.

656

657 *Stimulating public health research into the diversity of menopausal experience*

658 Despite a substantial focus within public health on ageing [94], menopause as a facet
659 of the female ageing experience is often excluded from research questions into ageing
660 and subsequent public health interventions (e.g. breast cancer screening). For
661 instance, out of the 15 ageing cohort studies found on the Gateway to Global Ageing
662 Data [93], a harmonised dataset aiming at providing resources to support cross-
663 national research on ageing, only 5 studies collected any form of data on menopause
664 from their female participants. The questions and cohort studies which did include
665 menopause-related variables are found in Table 1. The observation that menopause
666 is excluded from ageing cohort studies, which premise themselves on collecting data
667 on the multifactorial nature of the ageing experience, reveals the absence of
668 menopause from public health discourses of ageing, which suggests that its impact on
669 the ageing experience is neglected. Any relationships existing between menopause
670 and health are unable to be identified, allowing prevalent biomedical assumptions to
671 prevail. Ignorance of menopause as a facet of female ageing creates a measurement
672 trap, in which lack of information is both the cause and the effect of continuing
673 exclusion [95].

674

675

676

| Cohort | Region | Years | Variables |
|---------------|------------------|--------------|---|
| TILDA | Ireland | Pilot | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gone through menopause; • age menopause started; • taken prescription hormones; • number of years taking hormones; • number of years took prescription hormones |
| | | 2010 | |
| | | 2012 | |
| NICOLA | Northern Ireland | 2015 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gone through menopause; • age menopause started; • used prescription hormones; • number of years taking hormones; • number of years took hormones |
| | | 2017 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • used hormones since menopause; • still using/stopped using hormones; • number of years taking hormones; • number of years took hormones |
| HRS | USA | 2008 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • current stage of menopause; • how old when finished menopause (>40, >45, >55) |
| | | 2010 | |
| | | 2012 | |
| | | 2014 | |
| | | 2016 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • current stage of menopause; • how old when finished menopause; • year finished menopause |
| CHARLS | China | 2011 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age at menarche; • has menopause started |
| | | 2013 | |
| | | 2015 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age at menarche; • has menopause started; • age at menopause |
| CRELES | Costa Rica | 2005 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • age at menarche; • age at last menstruation; • ever used HRT to treat menopause for 3+ years |
| | | 2010 | |

677

Table 1. Menopause-related variables in the Gateway to Global Aging Data, produced by the USC Program on Global Aging, Health & Policy, with funding from the National Institute on Aging.

678

679 Since the 90s, several longitudinal studies have been started, many with the specific
680 aim of understanding the impact of HRT usage on later life health among post-
681 menopausal women such as The Women’s Health Initiative (WHI, [96, 97]) and Million
682 Women Study (MWS,[98]). Study of Women’s Health Across the Nation (SWAN) and
683 the International Collaboration for a Life Course Approach to Reproductive Health and
684 Chronic Disease Events (InterLACE) are currently collecting and synthesizing health
685 data on peri- and post-menopausal women. Inclusion of questions around the
686 menopausal experience in ageing cohort studies, and expansion of menopause-
687 related research questions beyond HRT and later-life health outcomes will help to
688 corroborate the data collected by SWAN and InterLACE and improve the robustness
689 of research into menopause.

690

691 *Reframing the menopausal transition as normal*

692 Understanding menopausal variation can help alleviate the assumptions still present
693 within the biomedical approaches of menopause. Biomedical perspectives of
694 menopause were for most of the 20th century predicated on the assumption that
695 menopause and the oestrogen-deficient body were inherently “risky” [99, 100], with
696 this risk to be countered through the prescription of hormone replacement therapy
697 during the post-menopausal life stage. While the WHI and MWS revealed the health
698 risks associated with indiscriminate long-term prescription of HRT (to the extent that
699 the experimental studies had to be prematurely ended [97]), assumptions surrounding
700 the causality of post-menopausal health issues as well as a lack of recognition of
701 menopause experience variation may arguably still persist within Western biomedicine
702 and public health.

703

704 Further, public health research into menopause variation can primarily help nuance the
705 designation of the menopausal transition as ‘normal’ or ‘pathological’. Current UK
706 guidelines state that any woman entering menopause at age <40 are experiencing
707 premature ovarian insufficiency while those entering menopause at age <45 are
708 experiencing early menopause [1]. As there is little consensus on hormonal diagnosis
709 of ovarian ageing (Box 1) and given that variation in age at menopause exists within
710 and between populations, normal ‘earlier’ menopause in some women may be
711 accidentally pathologised, while abnormal but ‘later’ menopause may remain

712 undiagnosed in others. Current biomedical understandings of 'normal' menopause are
713 predicated on normative views of how a 'normal' body should behave [101]. Gathering
714 data to explore the true variation of menopausal age within and between populations
715 will allow this assumption to be challenged.

716

717 *Rethinking menopause as the by-product rather than the catalyst of biological ageing*
718 Age at menopause is associated with varying health outcomes, with earlier age at
719 menopause being generally associated with increasing risk of all-cause mortality [21,
720 41]. Thus, age at menopause is often used to identify at-risk groups of older women,
721 who could then be targeted with preventative screening programmes and treatment
722 against associated diseases such as cancers, CVD and osteoporosis prior to any
723 manifestation of disease. However, risk factors for health and disease that accelerate
724 biological ageing may also contribute to earlier age at menopause rather than
725 menopause itself being the catalyst for biological ageing [102]. For instance,
726 menopause has been associated with epigenetic processes linked to cellular
727 senescence and ageing when epigenetic biomarkers of methylation are compared to
728 chronological age [102] (USA & European populations, n=3110). The epigenetic age
729 at blood was found to have a negative correlation with age at menopause, which
730 supports observational studies that found that for every one-year increase in age at
731 menopause, the age-adjusted mortality rate decreases by 2% [102]. In this study, there
732 is a suggestion of directionality, with post-menopausal women who had late onset of
733 menopause found to be epigenetically younger than women with early onset
734 menopause. Thus, risk factors for health and disease that accelerate biological ageing
735 may also contribute to earlier age at menopause rather than menopause itself being
736 the catalyst for biological ageing [102]. Such research nuances prevailing assumptions
737 around menopause being the cause or catalyst of poor health and disease in later life.

738

739 Contrasting with contemporary biomedical perspectives, an ecological approach to
740 understanding diversity in the onset of menopause may show that correlations
741 between earlier menopause and diseases of old age originate from the same life
742 history determinants of health, encompassing somatic capital and life history strategies
743 and the wider socio-cultural determinants of health. Such life course studies would fall
744 into the emergent discipline of evolutionary public health [103], where both proximate
745 and ultimate explanations into patterns of population health and disease are

746 considered within the theoretical framework [103]. An understanding of how ecological
747 and evolutionary contexts throughout life can help explain patterns of health in older
748 age within and between socioeconomic strata, due to developmentally and
749 environmentally determined patterns of energy allocation [103]. Evolutionary public
750 health allows the integration of menopause **timing** within overarching understandings
751 of ageing and senescence in life history as well as its inclusion in public health data
752 collection and approaches to ageing. This is not to say that menopause has no adverse
753 impact on the health of ageing females, but its insertion into large-scale health data
754 collection would allow any risk factors emerging from menopause to be identified and
755 nuanced, combating the pathologisation of menopause as a whole.

756

757 Aside from evolutionary ecological approaches to menopause, there is also scope for
758 integrating menopause into the wider evolutionary medicine paradigm.
759 Reconceptualising health, from an evolutionary perspective, as a means to an end of
760 reproductive success [103] requires the recognition that reproductive function is
761 intrinsically intertwined with 'non-reproductive' health. The peri- and post-menopausal
762 body can be reconceptualised as the female body with minimal interaction between
763 the reproductive system and other bodily systems. In doing so, there is incentive to
764 study how the dysregulation and cessation of the menstrual cycle may impact the
765 immune system (for review see [48]), or the aetiologies of non-communicable
766 diseases.

767

768 *Diversity in menopausal experience and the capacity for successful ageing*

769 While the study of variation may be useful in understanding disease risk, it may be
770 equally important to consider how and why variation in age and experience affects an
771 individual's capacity for "successful" ageing [104]. There is an increasing awareness
772 of "successful ageing" in Public Health and **G**erontology, which encompasses the
773 social, cultural and psychological impact of growing older beyond the increasing health
774 risks. In this view, the ageing experience is expanded beyond the disease risk and
775 frailty to include facets of the ageing experience that are more important to the
776 individual [104]. Therefore, approaches to menopause as a component of female
777 ageing should also be expanded beyond focusing on health risks.

778

779 Facets of the menopausal experience and wider female ageing are already being
780 studied and could benefit from taking the existence of variation into account. This
781 includes areas such as menopause in the workplace [105]; grandmothering, its impact
782 on familial health and how menopause may affect the ability to alloparent [106]; female
783 personhood during the life course [107]; menopause and sexuality; and more critical
784 medical anthropological perspectives on menopause, biopower and pharmaceutical
785 intervention [99, 108]. Expanding focus onto how diversity in the experience of
786 menopause impacts the wider social and cultural experience of growing older will
787 improve the robustness of public health perspectives on women's ageing, closer to
788 actual lived experience.
789

790 Conclusion

791

792 The goal of this paper is to stimulate an interdisciplinary, multi-level framework for
793 understanding the role of evolutionary and ecological factors in shaping diversity in
794 **age at natural menopause**. By engaging with the definitions of menopause across
795 disciplines, we can ensure that proximate and ultimate approaches to menopause are
796 addressing the same phenomenon, i.e. the cessation of menstrual cycles, rather than
797 broader features of the post-fertile lifespan. We have shown the compatibility of
798 biomedical, physiological understandings of ovarian ageing with evolutionary theories
799 viewing the emergence of menopause as a by-product of recent increases in longevity
800 (e.g. the reproductive-somatic mismatch hypothesis [61]). This suggests that
801 evolutionary hypotheses usually applied to somatic senescence (e.g. the Disposable
802 Soma hypothesis, the antagonistic pleiotropy hypothesis, the embodied-capital theory)
803 may also become fruitful for understanding patterns of diversity in menopausal traits.

804

805 A consistent theme throughout this paper has been to highlight potential areas where
806 menopause research is lacking, and which can be expanded both in the medical
807 sciences and in human ecological studies. We also suggest potential implications for
808 approaches towards ageing women's health in public health and the wider medical
809 sciences. We suggest that menopause is currently excluded from public health
810 approaches to ageing and that its continued exclusion cannot be justified. Not only
811 should menopause be measured in ageing cohort studies, but its measurement should
812 be done with the methodological considerations outlined earlier in mind. We also posit
813 that recognition of variation in menopause may help nuance assumptions surrounding
814 normalcy and the menopause, and the clinical cut-offs made between 'normal' and
815 'abnormal' menopause. We further recognise that through the application of
816 evolutionary theories of ageing towards menopause variation there is an opportunity
817 to reconceptualise menopause as a process of ageing, rather than its cause. This
818 might stimulate novel research questions into which processes underlay both
819 reproductive and overall senescence. This also stands in contrast to the social
820 construction of menopause as a pathology within western biomedicine, and reaffirms
821 the menopausal transition as normal, rather than inherently pathological.

822

823

824 Acknowledgements

825 EW is funded by the Medical Research Council (MC_UU_12017/13) and the Chief
826 Scientist Office, Scottish Government (SPHSU13). We thank Gabriella Kountourides
827 and Rose Stevens, members of the Applied Evolutionary Anthropology Group at
828 Oxford Anthropology, for providing useful feedbacks on the manuscript.

829

830 **References**

831

832 1. NCC-WCH, *Menopause: Full Guideline*. 2015, NICE.

833 2. Laisk, T., et al., *Demographic and evolutionary trends in ovarian function and aging*.
834 Human reproduction update, 2018.

835 3. Sievert, L.L., *Menopause: A Biocultural Perspective*. 2006: Rutgers University Press.

836 4. Monteleone, P., et al., *Symptoms of menopause - global prevalence, physiology and*
837 *implications*. Nat Rev Endocrinol, 2018. **14**(4): p. 199-215.

838 5. Jasienska, G., et al., *Human reproduction and health: an evolutionary perspective*.
839 The Lancet, 2017. **390**(10093): p. 510.

840 6. Hillard, T., et al., *Management of the Menopause (6th edition)*. Post Reproductive
841 Health. Vol. 23. 2017. 180.

842 7. Paramsothy, P., et al., *Duration of the menopausal transition is longer in women with*
843 *young age at onset: the multiethnic Study of Women's Health Across the Nation*.
844 Menopause, 2017. **24**(2): p. 142-149.

845 8. Croft, D.P., et al., *Reproductive Conflict and the Evolution of Menopause in Killer*
846 *Whales*. Current Biology, 2017. **27**(2): p. 298-304.

847 9. Cant, M.A. and D.P. Croft, *Life-History Evolution: Grandmothering in Space and*
848 *Time*. Current Biology, 2019. **29**(6): p. R215-R218.

849 10. Levitis, D.A., O. Burger, and L.B. Lackey, *The human post-fertile lifespan in*
850 *comparative evolutionary context*. Evolutionary Anthropology, 2013. **22**(2): p. 66-79.

851 11. Towner, M.C., I. Nenko, and S.E. Walton, *Why do women stop reproducing before*
852 *menopause? A life-history approach to age at last birth*. Philosophical Transactions of
853 the Royal Society B-Biological Sciences, 2016. **371**(1692).

854 12. Bongaarts, J., *A Framework for Analyzing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility*.
855 Population and Development Review, 1978. **4**(1): p. 105-132.

856 13. Rodstrom, K., et al., *Evidence for a secular trend in menopausal age: a population*
857 *study of women in Gothenburg*. Menopause, 2003. **10**(6): p. 538-43.

858 14. Stolk, L., et al., *Meta-analyses identify 13 loci associated with age at menopause and*
859 *highlight DNA repair and immune pathways*. Nature Genetics, 2012. **44**(3): p. 260-
860 U55.

861 15. Mishra, G.D., et al., *Early menarche, nulliparity and the risk for premature and early*
862 *natural menopause*. Human Reproduction, 2017. **32**(3): p. 679-686.

863 16. Ruth, K.S., et al., *Events in Early Life are Associated with Female Reproductive*
864 *Ageing: A UK Biobank Study*. Scientific reports, 2016. **6**(1): p. 24710.

865 17. Duarte, E., et al., *Structured additive regression modeling of age of menarche and*
866 *menopause in a breast cancer screening program*. Biometrical Journal, 2014. **56**(3): p.
867 416-27.

868 18. Gold, E.B., et al., *Factors associated with age at natural menopause in a multiethnic*
869 *sample of midlife women*. American Journal of Epidemiology, 2001. **153**(9): p. 865-
870 874.

871 19. Mishra, G., R. Hardy, and D. Kuh, *Are the effects of risk factors for timing of*
872 *menopause modified by age? Results from a British birth cohort study*. Menopause,
873 2007. **14**(4): p. 717-724.

874 20. Hardy, R. and D. Kuh, *Social and environmental conditions across the life course and*
875 *age at menopause in a British birth cohort study*. Bjog-an International Journal of
876 Obstetrics and Gynaecology, 2005. **112**(3): p. 346-354.

- 877 21. Schoenaker, D.A.J.M., et al., *Socioeconomic position, lifestyle factors and age at*
878 *natural menopause: a systematic review and meta-analyses of studies across six*
879 *continents*. International Journal of Epidemiology, 2014. **43**(5): p. 1542-1562.
- 880 22. Hardy, R. and D. Kuh, *Does early growth influence timing of the menopause?*
881 *Evidence from a British birth cohort*. Human Reproduction, 2002. **17**(9): p. 2474-
882 2479.
- 883 23. Gold, E.B., et al., *Factors related to age at natural menopause: longitudinal analyses*
884 *from SWAN*. American Journal of Epidemiology, 2013. **178**(1): p. 70-83.
- 885 24. Henderson, K.D., et al., *Predictors of the timing of natural menopause in the*
886 *multiethnic cohort study*. American Journal of Epidemiology, 2008. **167**(11): p. 1287-
887 1294.
- 888 25. Laland, K.N., et al., *Cause and Effect in Biology Revisited: Is Mayr's Proximate-*
889 *Ultimate Dichotomy Still Useful?* Science, 2011. **334**(6062): p. 1512-1516.
- 890 26. FSRH, *FSRH Clinical Guideline: Contraception for Women Aged over 40 years*, in
891 *Current Clinical Guidance*. 2017, Faculty of Sexual and Reproductive Healthcare.
- 892 27. Currie, H., *The perimenopause: presentation and management*, in *Women's Health*
893 *Concern Annual Symposium 2019*. 2019: Marylebone, London.
- 894 28. Harlow, S.D. and P. Paramsothy, *Menstruation and the Menopausal Transition*.
895 *Obstetrics and Gynecology Clinics of North America*, 2011. **38**(3): p. 595-607.
- 896 29. de Kat, A.C., et al., *Unraveling the associations of age and menopause with*
897 *cardiovascular risk factors in a large population-based study*. [Erratum appears in
898 *BMC Med*. 2017 Mar 29; 15(1):74; PMID: 28356103]. BMC Medicine, 2017. **15**(1):
899 p. 2.
- 900 30. Stearns, S.C., *Evolutionary medicine: its scope, interest and potential*.
901 *Proceedings Biological sciences*, 2012. **279**(1746): p. 4305.
- 902 31. Nesse, R.M., et al., *Making evolutionary biology a basic science for medicine*.
903 *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2010. **107**: p. 1800.
- 904 32. Galbarczyk, A. and G. Jasienska, *Timing of natural menopause covaries with timing of*
905 *birth of a first daughter: Evidence for a mother-daughter evolutionary contract?*
906 *Homo-Journal of Comparative Human Biology*, 2013. **64**(3): p. 228-232.
- 907 33. Skjaervo, G.R. and E. Roskaft, *Menopause: No support for an evolutionary*
908 *explanation among historical Norwegians*. Experimental Gerontology, 2013. **48**(4): p.
909 408-413.
- 910 34. Yang, Y., M. Arnot, and R. Mace, *Current ecology, not ancestral dispersal patterns,*
911 *influences menopause symptom severity*. Ecology and Evolution, 2019. **9**(22): p.
912 12503-12514.
- 913 35. Chan, S., A. Gomes, and R.S. Singh, *Is menopause still evolving? Evidence from a*
914 *longitudinal study of multiethnic populations and its relevance to women's health*.
915 *Bmc Womens Health*, 2020. **20**(1).
- 916 36. Narkwichean, A., et al., *Efficacy of Dehydroepiandrosterone (DHEA) to overcome the*
917 *effect of ovarian ageing (DITTO): A proof of principle double blinded randomized*
918 *placebo controlled trial*. European Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology and
919 *Reproductive Biology*, 2017. **218**: p. 39-48.
- 920 37. Wang, T.R., et al., *Mitochondrial dysfunction and ovarian aging*. American Journal of
921 *Reproductive Immunology*, 2017. **77**(5).
- 922 38. Tatone, C. and F. Amicarelli, *The aging ovary-the poor granulosa cells*. Fertility and
923 *Sterility*, 2013. **99**(1): p. 12-17.
- 924 39. Banerjee, S., et al., *Female Reproductive Aging Is Master-Planned at the Level of*
925 *Ovary*. Plos One, 2014. **9**(5).

- 926 40. Zhang, J.J., et al., *Are sirtuins markers of ovarian aging?* *Gene*, 2016. **575**(2): p. 680-
927 686.
- 928 41. Forman, M.R., et al., *Life-course origins of the ages at menarche and menopause.*
929 *Adolescent health, medicine and therapeutics*, 2013. **4**: p. 1-21.
- 930 42. Hammond, E.R., et al., *Oocyte mitochondrial deletions and heteroplasmy in a bovine*
931 *model of ageing and ovarian stimulation.* *Molecular Human Reproduction*, 2016.
932 **22**(4): p. 261-271.
- 933 43. Zhang, D.D., et al., *Increased DNA damage and repair deficiency in granulosa cells*
934 *are associated with ovarian aging in rhesus monkey.* *Journal of Assisted Reproduction*
935 *and Genetics*, 2015. **32**(7): p. 1069-1078.
- 936 44. Tamura, H., et al., *Long-term melatonin treatment delays ovarian aging.* *Journal of*
937 *Pineal Research*, 2017. **62**(2).
- 938 45. Boucret, L., et al., *Deep sequencing shows that oocytes are not prone to accumulate*
939 *mtDNA heteroplasmic mutations during ovarian ageing.* *Human Reproduction*, 2017.
940 **32**(10): p. 2101-2109.
- 941 46. May-Panloup, P., et al., *Ovarian ageing: the role of mitochondria in oocytes and*
942 *follicles.* *Human Reproduction Update*, 2016. **22**(6): p. 725-743.
- 943 47. Leidy, L.E., L.R. Godfrey, and M.R. Sutherland, *Is follicular atresia biphasic?*
944 *Fertility and Sterility*, 1998. **70**(5): p. 851-859.
- 945 48. Alvergne, A. and V. Högqvist Tabor, *Is Female Health Cyclical? Evolutionary*
946 *Perspectives on Menstruation.* *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 2018. **33**(6): p. 399.
- 947 49. Franceschi, C. and J. Campisi, *Chronic Inflammation (Inflammaging) and Its*
948 *Potential Contribution to Age-Associated Diseases.* *Journals of Gerontology Series A:*
949 *Biomedical Sciences and Medical Sciences*, 2014. **69**: p. S4.
- 950 50. Cant, M.A., R.A. Johnstone, and A.F. Russell, *Reproductive conflict and the evolution*
951 *of menopause, in Reproductive Skew in Vertebrates: Proximate and Ultimate Causes.*
952 2009. p. 24-50.
- 953 51. Williams, G.C., *Pleiotropy, Natural Selection, and the Evolution of Senescence.*
954 *Evolution*, 1957. **11**(4): p. 398.
- 955 52. Hawkes, K., et al., *Grandmothering, menopause, and the evolution of human*
956 *life histories.* *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of*
957 *America*, 1998. **95**(3): p. 1336-1339.
- 958 53. Peccei, J.S., *Menopause: Adaptation or epiphenomenon?* *Evolutionary Anthropology:*
959 *Issues, News, and Reviews*, 2001. **10**(2): p. 43-57.
- 960 54. Ellison, P.T., *Reproductive ecology and human evolution.* 2001, New York: Aldine
961 Transaction.
- 962 55. Packer, C., *The ecology of menopause.* *Sex and Longevity: Sexuality, Gender,*
963 *Reproduction, Parenthood*, 2001: p. 91-101.
- 964 56. Cant, M.A. and R.A. Johnstone, *Reproductive conflict and the separation of*
965 *reproductive generations in humans.* *Proceedings of the National Academy of*
966 *Sciences*, 2008. **105**(14): p. 5332.
- 967 57. Kirkwood, T.B. and D.P. Shanley, *The connections between general and reproductive*
968 *senescence and the evolutionary basis of menopause.* *Annals of the New York*
969 *Academy of Sciences*, 2010. **1204**: p. 21-9.
- 970 58. Hawkes, K. and J.E. Coxworth, *Grandmothers and the evolution of human longevity:*
971 *a review of findings and future directions.* *Evolutionary anthropology*, 2013. **22**(6): p.
972 294-302.
- 973 59. Croft, D.P., et al., *Reproductive Conflict and the Evolution of Menopause in Killer*
974 *Whales.* *Curr Biol*, 2017. **27**(2): p. 298-304.

- 975 60. Gould, S.J. and R.C. Lewontin, *SPANDRELS OF SAN-MARCO AND THE*
976 *PANGLOSSIAN PARADIGM - A CRITIQUE OF THE ADAPTATIONIST PROGRAM.*
977 Proceedings of the Royal Society Series B-Biological Sciences, 1979. **205**(1161): p.
978 581-598.
- 979 61. Cohen, A.A., *Female post-reproductive lifespan: a general mammalian trait.*
980 Biological Reviews, 2004. **79**(4): p. 733-750.
- 981 62. Takahashi, M., R.S. Singh, and J. Stone, *A Theory for the Origin of Human*
982 *Menopause.* Frontiers in Genetics, 2017. **7**.
- 983 63. Kirkwood, T.B.L., *Time of our lives : the science of human ageing.* 1999, London:
984 Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- 985 64. Kirkwood, T.B.L., *EVOLUTION OF AGING.* Nature, 1977. **270**(5635): p. 301-304.
- 986 65. Giuliani, C., P. Garagnani, and C. Franceschi, *Genetics of Human Longevity Within an*
987 *Eco-Evolutionary Nature-Nurture Framework.* Circulation Research, 2018. **123**(7): p.
988 745-772.
- 989 66. Abondio, P., et al., *The Genetic Variability of.* Genes (Basel), 2019. **10**(3).
- 990 67. Meng, F.T., et al., *ApoE genotypes are associated with age at natural menopause in*
991 *Chinese females.* Age, 2012. **34**(4): p. 1023-1032.
- 992 68. Koochmeshgi, J., et al., *Apolipoprotein E genotype and age at menopause.* Ann N Y
993 Acad Sci, 2004. **1019**: p. 564-7.
- 994 69. Tempfer, C.B., et al., *Polymorphisms associated with thrombophilia and vascular*
995 *homeostasis and the timing of menarche and menopause in 728 white women.*
996 Menopause, 2005. **12**(3): p. 325-30.
- 997 70. May-Panloup, P., et al., *Mitochondrial macro-haplogroup JT may play a protective*
998 *role in ovarian ageing.* Mitochondrion, 2014. **18**: p. 1-6.
- 999 71. Lin, W.N., et al., *Ovarian Aging in Women With BRCA Germline Mutations.* Journal
1000 of Clinical Endocrinology & Metabolism, 2017. **102**(10): p. 3839-3847.
- 1001 72. Kaplan, H., J. Lancaster, and A. Robson, *Embodied capital and the evolutionary*
1002 *economics of the human life span.* Population And Development Review, 2003. **29**: p.
1003 152.
- 1004 73. Ellison, P.T., *Energetics and reproductive effort.* American Journal of Human
1005 Biology, 2003. **15**(3): p. 342.
- 1006 74. Gluckman, P.D., A. Beedle, and M.A. Hanson, *Principles of evolutionary medicine.*
1007 2009, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1008 75. Stearns, S.C., *The evolution of life histories.* 1992, Oxford ; New York: Oxford
1009 University Press. xii, 249 p.
- 1010 76. Stearns, S.C., et al., *Experimental evolution of aging, growth, and reproduction in*
1011 *fruitflies.* Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of
1012 America, 2000. **97**(7): p. 3309.
- 1013 77. Hidaka, B.H. and A.M. Boddy, *Is estrogen receptor negative breast cancer risk*
1014 *associated with a fast life history strategy?* Evolution, medicine, and public health,
1015 2016. **2016**(1): p. 17.
- 1016 78. Nettle, D., *Dying young and living fast: Variation in life history across English*
1017 *neighborhoods.* Behavioral Ecology, 2010. **21**(2): p. 387.
- 1018 79. Ellis, B.J., *Timing of pubertal maturation in girls: An integrated life history approach.*
1019 Psychological Bulletin, 2004. **130**(6): p. 920-958.
- 1020 80. Noguera, J., *Interacting effects of early dietary conditions and reproductive effort on*
1021 *the oxidative costs of reproduction.* PeerJ, 2017. **5**(3).
- 1022 81. Ossewaarde, M.E., et al., *Age at menopause, cause-specific mortality and total life*
1023 *expectancy.* Epidemiology, 2005. **16**(4): p. 556-562.

- 1024 82. Sievert, L.L., *Anthropology and the study of menopause: evolutionary, developmental,*
1025 *and comparative perspectives.* Menopause-the Journal of the North American
1026 Menopause Society, 2014. **21**(10): p. 1151-1159.
- 1027 83. Schoenbaum, E.E., et al., *HIV infection, drug use, and onset of natural menopause.*
1028 *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, 2005. **41**(10): p. 1517-1524.
- 1029 84. Conde, D.M., A.M. Pinto-Neto, and L. Costa-Paiva, *Age at menopause of HIV-*
1030 *infected women: A review.* Gynecological Endocrinology, 2008. **24**(2): p. 84-86.
- 1031 85. Aktipis, C.A., et al., *Modern reproductive patterns associated with estrogen receptor*
1032 *positive but not negative breast cancer susceptibility.* Evolution, Medicine, and Public
1033 Health, 2014. **2015**(1): p. 52.
- 1034 86. Jasienska, G., et al., *The Arc of Life Evolution and Health Across the Life Course.*
1035 2017. p. VIII, 200 p. 32 illus., 9 illus. in color.
- 1036 87. Strassmann, B.I., *Menstrual Cycling and Breast Cancer: An Evolutionary Perspective.*
1037 *Journal of Women's Health*, 1999. **8**(2): p. 193.
- 1038 88. Strassmann, B.I., *The Biology of Menstruation in Homo Sapiens: Total Lifetime*
1039 *Menses, Fecundity, and Nonsynchrony in a Natural-Fertility Population.* Current
1040 anthropology, 1997. **38**(1): p. 123.
- 1041 89. Sheppard, P. and Z. Van Winkle, *Using sequence analysis to test if human life*
1042 *histories are coherent strategies.* Evolutionary Human Sciences, 2020. **2**: p. e39.
- 1043 90. Nepomnaschy, P.A., et al., *Socio-Ecological Challenges as Modulators of Women's*
1044 *Reproductive Trajectories.* Annual review of anthropology, 2020. **49**(1).
- 1045 91. Ryan, C.P., et al., *Reproduction predicts shorter telomeres and epigenetic age*
1046 *acceleration among young adult women.* Scientific Reports, 2018. **8**.
- 1047 92. Kirkwood, T.B.L. and R.G.J. Westendorp, *Human longevity at the cost of*
1048 *reproductive success: Trade-offs in the life history.* Sex and Longevity: Sexuality,
1049 Gender, Reproduction, Parenthood, 2001: p. 1-6.
- 1050 93. USC programme on Global Ageing, H. and Policy. *Gateway to Global Aging Data,*
1051 *Produced by the USC Program on Global Aging, Health & Policy, with funding from*
1052 *the National Institute on Aging.* 2018 [cited 2018 June]; Available from:
1053 <https://g2aging.org/>?
- 1054 94. Beard, J.R. and D.E. Bloom, *Towards a comprehensive public health response to*
1055 *population ageing.* The Lancet, 2015. **385**(9968): p. 658.
- 1056 95. Graham, W.J., *Outcomes and effectiveness in reproductive health.* Social science &
1057 medicine, 1998. **47**(12): p. 1925.
- 1058 96. Rossouw, J.E., G. Anderson, and A. Oberman, *The Women's Health Initiative baseline*
1059 *summary—foreword.* Vol. 13. 2003. S1-S4.
- 1060 97. Nabel, E.G., *The Women's Health Initiative—A Victory for Women and Their Health.*
1061 *Jama*, 2013. **310**(13): p. 1349.
- 1062 98. The Million Women Study Collaborative, G., *The Million Women Study: design and*
1063 *characteristics of the study population.* Breast Cancer Research, 1999. **1**(1): p. 73-80.
- 1064 99. Harding, J., *Bodies at risk: Sex, surveillance and hormone replacement therapy,* in
1065 *Foucault, health and medicine,* A.R. Petersen and R. Bunton, Editors. 1997,
1066 Routledge: London.
- 1067 100. Lock, M.M., *Encounters with aging : mythologies of menopause in Japan and North*
1068 *America.* 1993, Berkeley ; London: University of California Press.
- 1069 101. Wiley, A.S. and J.M. Cullin, *Biological normalcy.* Evolution, medicine, and public
1070 health, 2020. **2020**(1): p. 1-1.
- 1071 102. Levine, M.E., et al., *Menopause accelerates biological aging.* Proceedings of the
1072 National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America 2016. **113**(33): p.
1073 9327-9332.

- 1074 103. Wells, J.C.K., et al., *Evolutionary public health: introducing the concept*. The Lancet,
1075 2017. **390**(10093): p. 500.
- 1076 104. Rowe, J.W. and R.L. Kahn, *Successful Aging 2.0: Conceptual Expansions for the 21st*
1077 *Century*. J Gerontol B Psychol Sci Soc Sci, 2015. **70**(4): p. 593-6.
- 1078 105. Hardy, C., *Menopause in the workplace: what to consider*, B.M.S. Bms, Editor. 2019.
- 1079 106. Sear, R., *Beyond the nuclear family: an evolutionary perspective on parenting*.
1080 Current Opinion in Psychology, 2016. **7**: p. 98-103.
- 1081 107. Pickard, S., *From the third age to the third sex: A feminist framework for the life*
1082 *course*. J Aging Stud, 2019. **49**: p. 56-65.
- 1083 108. Padamsee, T.J., *The pharmaceutical corporation and the 'good work' of managing*
1084 *women's bodies*. Social Science & Medicine, 2011. **72**(8): p. 1342-1350.
- 1085