Social Justice in the OECD – How Do the Member States Compare?

Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011

BertelsmannStiftung

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Table of Contents

Social Justice in the OECD

Social Justice

I Poverty prevention
II Access to education
III Labor market inclusion
IV Social cohesion and non-discrimination
V Health
VI Intergenerational justice

Australia
I 4.24
II 5.32
III 8.13
IV 7.79
V 7.67
VI 6.29

Austria
I 8.62
II 5.39
III 7.50
IV 6.05
V 6.87
VI 7.11

Belgium
I 7.61
II 6.32
III 5.79
IV 7.20
V 7.05
VI 6.10

Canada
I 7.12
II 7.15
III 7.90
IV 7.86
V 7.63
VI 6.06

Chile
I 3.20
II 6.20
III 7.24
IV 3.62
V 5.65
VI 5.92

Greece
I 5.87
II 4.38
III 5.29
IV 5.46
V 6.62
VI 3.47

Hungary
I 9.12
II 4.77
III 4.79
IV 6.46
V 5.09
VI 6.04

Iceland
I 9.04
II 9.33
III 9.02
IV 7.81
V 8.55
VI 7.18

Ireland
I 7.36
II 4.43
III 5.99
IV 7.58
V 7.00
VI 6.06

Italy
I 6.77
II 6.68
III 5.60
IV 5.41
V 7.44
VI 5.12

Norway
I 8.86
II 6.93
III 8.78
IV 9.21
V 7.32
VI 8.53

Poland
I 7.35
II 6.79
III 5.14
IV 5.94
V 5.04
VI 5.33

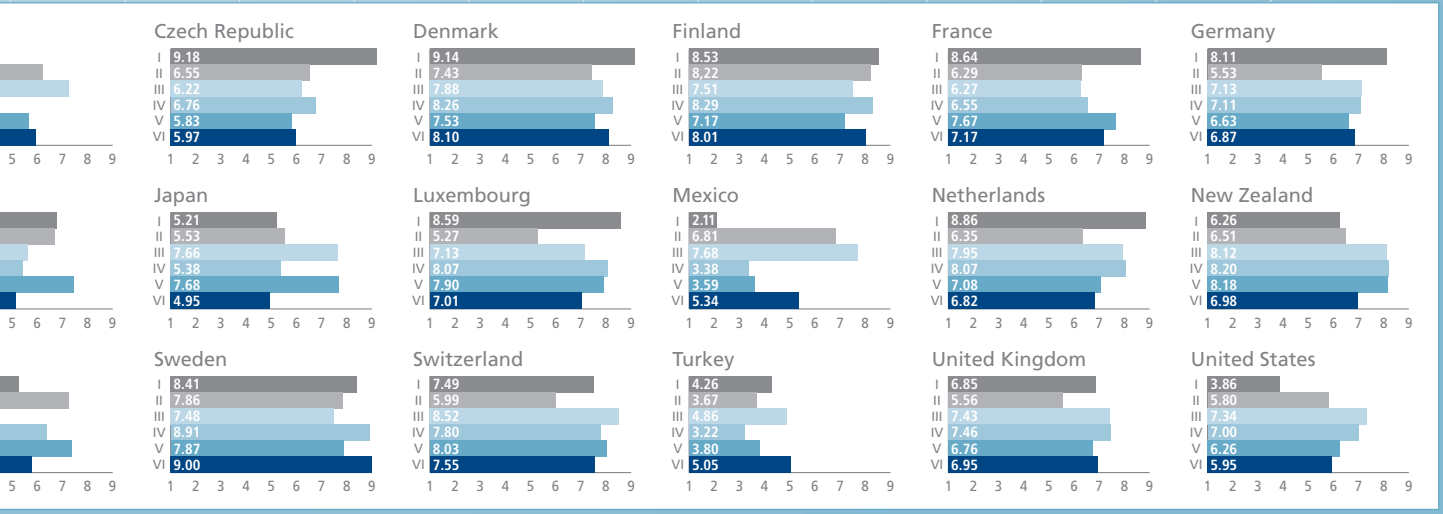
Portugal
I 5.45
II 5.89
III 6.53
IV 6.23
V 5.66
VI 5.60

Slovakia
I 8.42
II 4.93
III 4.36
IV 5.80
V 5.05
VI 5.24

South Korea
I 4.26
II 5.83
III 8.15
IV 5.27
V 7.18
VI 5.72

Spain
I 5.26
II 7.23
III 4.42
IV 6.35
V 7.35
VI 5.77

Annotation: Scores on a scale from 1 to 10. Higher Scores = better performance. For further information see "Methodology" (chapter 3).
Source: Own calculations.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II 6.55
III 6.22
IV 6.76
V 5.83
VI 5.97
Denmark
I 9.14
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III 7.88
IV 8.26
V 7.53
VI 8.10
Finland
I 8.53
II 8.22
III 7.51
IV 8.29
V 7.17
VI 8.01
France
I 8.64
II 6.29
III 6.27
IV 6.55
V 7.67
VI 7.17
Germany
I 8.11
II 5.53
III 7.13
IV 7.11
V 6.63
VI 6.87
Japan
I 5.21
II 5.53
III 7.66
IV 5.38
V 7.68
VI 4.95
Luxembourg
I 8.59
II 5.27
III 7.13
IV 8.07
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VI 7.01
Mexico
I 2.11
II 6.81
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IV 3.38
V 3.59
VI 5.34
Netherlands
I 8.86
II 6.35
III 7.95
IV 8.07
V 7.08
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New Zealand
I 6.26
II 6.51
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IV 8.20
V 8.18
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Sweden
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II 7.86
III 7.48
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Switzerland
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III 8.52
IV 7.80
V 8.03
VI 7.55
Turkey
I 4.26
II 3.67
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United Kingdom
I 6.85
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III 7.43
IV 7.46
V 6.76
VI 6.95
United States
I 3.86
II 5.80
III 7.34
IV 7.00
V 6.26
VI 5.95
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1. Key findings

A cross-national comparison of social justice in the OECD shows considerable variation in the extent to which this principle is developed in these market-based democracies. According to the methodology applied in this study, Iceland and Norway are the most socially just countries.[1] Turkey, which ranks among the bottom five in each of the six targeted dimensions, is the OECD's least socially just country. The findings of the cross-national study can be summarized as follows:

- The north European states comprise a league of their own. Leading by far on the Justice Index, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland achieve particularly good results in the dimensions of "access to education," "social cohesion" and "intergenerational justice." Yet even in Scandinavia, there are some areas in want of action. Despite its overall strong showing, Sweden, for example, struggles with a rate of youth unemployment three times as high as the general unemployment rate.

- Most central and northwestern European states rank in the upper midrange, although the Netherlands (6), Switzerland (7) and France (10) rank higher than Germany (14).

- The east-central European OECD members Hungary (17), Poland (20) and Slovakia (23) rank in the lower midrange together with their southern European neighbors. The high-ranking outlier here is the Czech Republic (12) due to its very low poverty levels in cross-national comparison.

All southern European countries lie considerably below the OECD average, with Turkey and Greece in the bottom group of the ranking. In both these countries, fair access to education and intergenerational justice (i.e., equity in burden-sharing across generations) are particularly underdeveloped.

- Canada (9) is the top performer among the non-European OECD states. Its high ranking can be attributed to strong results in the areas of education, labor market justice and social cohesion. Australia (21), despite its relatively inclusive labor market, is struggling with larger problems in poverty prevention and educational justice, and is therefore lagging behind in terms of creating a sound framework for social justice.

- Japan (22) and South Korea (24), where income poverty is relatively spread, fail to rank above the bottom third of the Justice Index. Japan also receives particularly low marks for intergenerational justice.

[1] This index draws upon the methods developed by Wolfgang Merkel (2001; 2007) and Merkel/Giebler (2009) to measure social justice. The construction of dimensions measured have been modified somewhat, as has the selection of indicators. Further details regarding these differences are discussed under "Methodology."

- The United States (27), with its alarming poverty levels, lands near the bottom of the weighted index, ranking only slightly better than its neighbor Mexico (30) and new OECD member Chile (29).

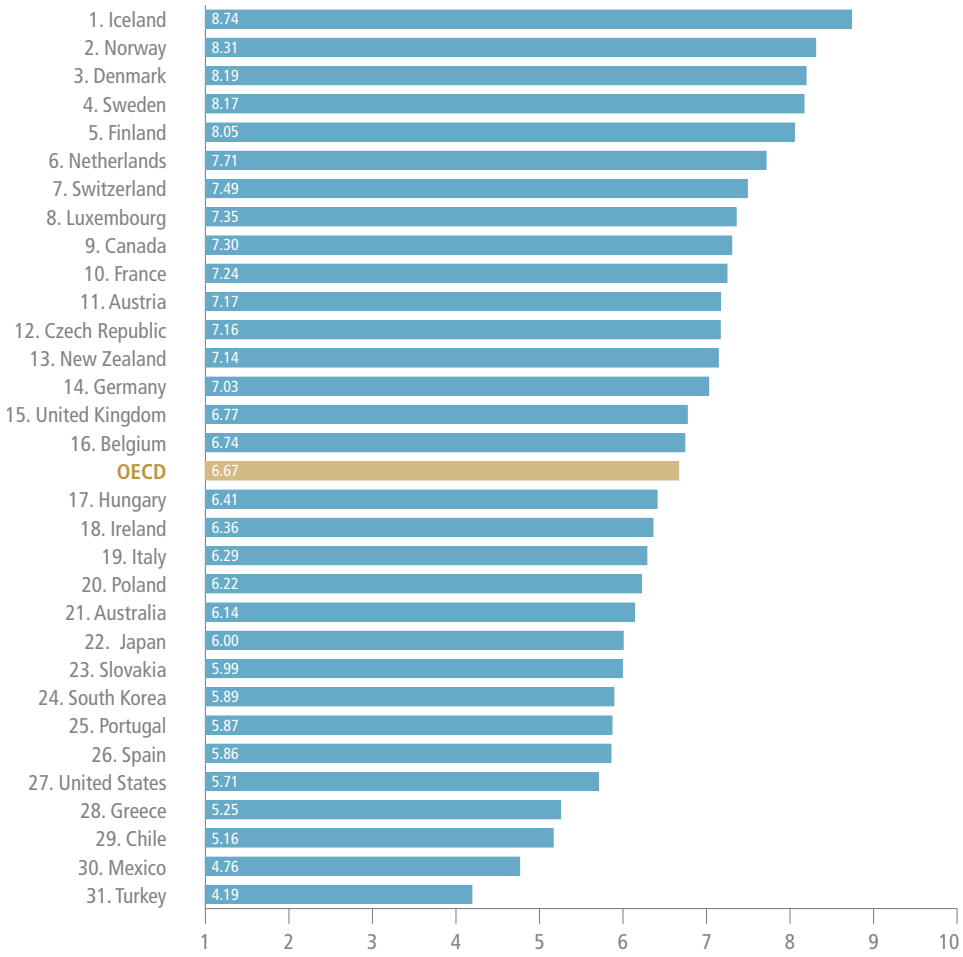
If we look at the results through the prism of the six targeted dimensions underlying the Justice Index, we see a mixed bag of strengths and weaknesses among the 31 OECD states surveyed:

- **Poverty prevention:** Income poverty is a widespread problem in the industrial states comprising the OECD. Among the surveyed countries, an average of 10.8 percent of the population is considered "poor," meaning these individuals live on less than half the national median income. Of particular concern is the alarming rate of child poverty in the OECD, which stands at an average of 12.3 percent – higher than the overall rate of poverty. This highlights the fact that there are several regions in the OECD where the basic conditions needed for social justice are not being met. After all, living in conditions of poverty makes it near impossible to participate in society and develop the capacity to lead a self-determined life. But there are stark contrasts among the OECD states: Denmark and the Czech Republic, for example, are by far most successful in preventing poverty. However, a relatively large percentage of the populations in the United States, Chile and Mexico live in income poverty, which puts them at a disadvantage in terms of participating in society.

- **Access to education:** A socially just society is distinguished by the presence of equal opportunities in education for all. The most recent PISA study results show that the north European states of Iceland, Finland, Sweden and Denmark come closest to fulfilling this ideal. Among all OECD states, Iceland and Finland show the weakest correlation between students' socioeconomic background and their success in education. In contrast, the means of access to success in education in Turkey, Greece, Ireland and Hungary are weak, which does not bode well for each country's future. A strong correlation between socioeconomic background and academic achievement and/or limited spending on early childhood education account for the poor results found in these four countries.

- **Labor market inclusion:** The economic crisis has had a negative impact on the labor markets of most countries. Ireland, for instance, has gone from enjoying near full employment before the crisis to struggling with two-digit unemployment rates (13.7 percent). Iceland, Norway and Switzerland are the best performers in terms of labor market inclusion – not only because of their continued encouraging employment rates, but also because they tolerate little discrimination in terms of age, gender or ethnic origin. Labor markets in Slovakia and Spain, by contrast, function under the least just conditions in the OECD. The difficult situation for labor markets has relaxed in only a few countries. In Germany, for example, unemployment figures have dropped for the first time in several years below three million. Nonetheless, the country's labor market shows deficits in other areas, particularly in terms of long-term unemployment.

Figure 1a: Social Justice (weighted index)



Source: Own calculations.

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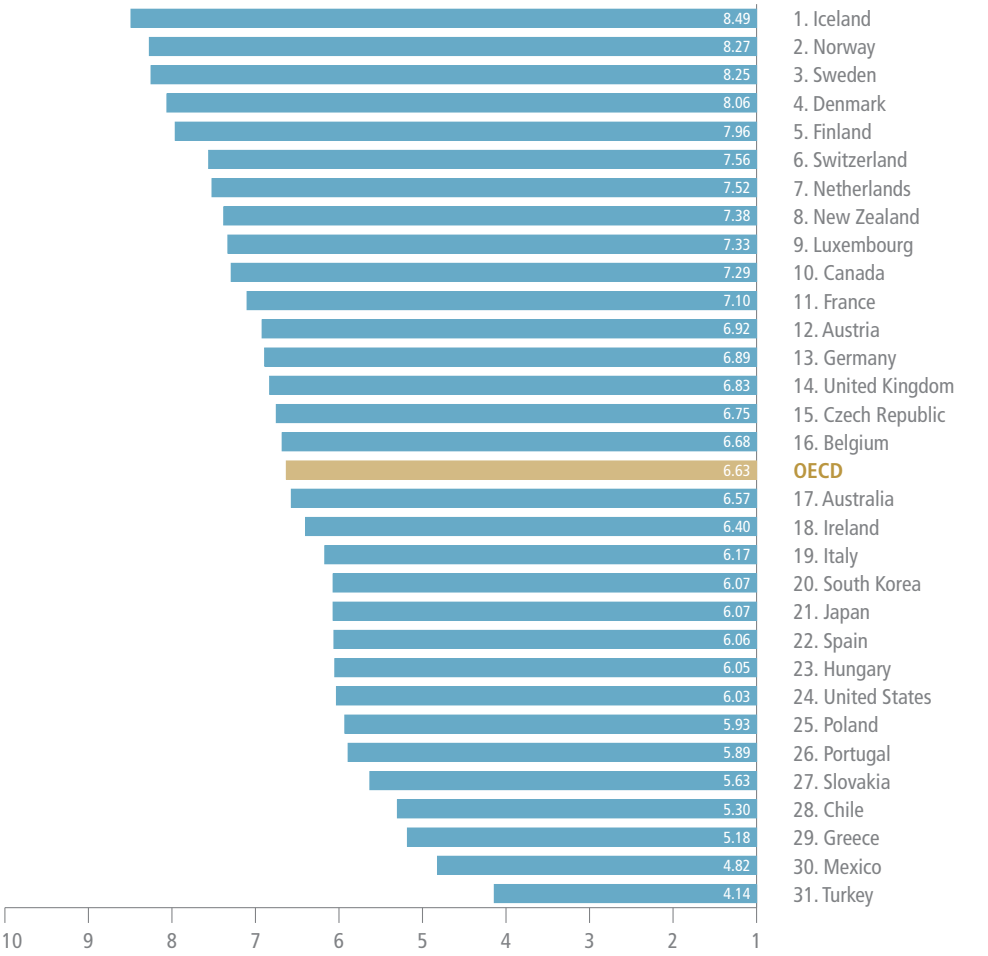
- **Social cohesion and non-discrimination:** This dimension of social justice encompasses various factors relevant to maintaining the social fabric of a national community, such as income distribution, the prevention of discrimination and social exclusion, and the integration of migrants into society. Norway and Sweden, followed by Finland and Denmark, attain the highest scores in this dimension, in part because the gap in earned income between men and women is smallest in these countries. Generally, tendencies of discrimination are effectively prevented within the egalitarian societies of northern Europe. However, some of the Nordic countries show defi-

Figure 1b: Social Justice (non-weighted index)



Source: Own calculations.

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cits in the area of integration policy. Turkey ranks last in social cohesion in part because of its poor performance in preventing discrimination. The OECD states of Mexico and Chile, where income distribution is particularly unequal, fare only marginally better on this point.

- **Health:** As it relates to equal opportunities for self-realization, health is another key dimension of the Justice Index. Healthy living conditions depend to a large extent on an individual's socio-economic context. Overall, Iceland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Luxembourg and Sweden receive

the highest marks in this category because health services in these countries are broadly inclusive and, on comparison, of higher quality. Mexico, Turkey, Poland and Slovakia receive the lowest scores in this category. Worth nothing is the fact that individuals' perceived health status can vary considerably across socioeconomic boundaries. Whereas in New Zealand, the percentage of those considering themselves healthy is among low-income earners only slightly lower than it is among high-income earners, we observe in other countries like Portugal, Czech Republic and Germany major differences according to income levels. In the latter countries, a much smaller percentage of those with lower incomes consider themselves healthy than do those with higher incomes.

- **Intergenerational justice:** Sustainable social justice can be ensured only if social burdens are shared among young and old, and if future generations are guaranteed sound social and environmental conditions. Particularly important considerations in this regard are consistency in family and pension policies, environmental policies that ensure a viable future, and fiscal sustainability. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland receive the highest marks in pursuing intergenerationally just policies. These countries come closest to meeting the complex multidimensional demands of such a goal. Greece receives the lowest scores in this category, in large part due to the major shortcomings observed there in its family, pension and environmental policies. Japan lands – at first glance somewhat surprisingly – at second-to-last place on this dimension due to its high level of national debt, which is more than twice that of its GDP.

2. Introduction: The concept of social justice

"Social justice" is a central constitutive element of the legitimacy and stability of any political community. Yet defining what social justice means and how best to achieve it is often subject to considerable controversy. The conceptual boundaries of social justice are continually in flux because the idea is a result of culturally and historically dependent value systems. Nevertheless, a modern concept of social justice that refers to the aim of realizing equal opportunities and life chances offers a conceptual ideal able to garner the consensus needed for a sustainable social market economy. This paradigm of justice suggests that establishing social justice depends less on compensating for exclusion than it does on investing in inclusion. Instead of an "equalizing" distributive justice or a simply *formal* equality of life chances in which the rules of the game and codes of procedure are applied equally, this concept of justice is concerned with guaranteeing each individual *genuinely* equal opportunities for self-realization through the targeted investment in the development of individual "capabilities."[2]

Thus, within the scope of his or her own personal freedom, every individual should be empowered to pursue a self-determined course of life, and to engage in broad social participation. Specific social backgrounds, such as membership in a particular social group or otherwise unequal starting-point, would not be allowed to negatively affect personal life planning.[3] By focusing on opportunities for self-realization, such a concept of social justice avoids the blind spots of an efficient market-driven, simply formal procedural justice on the one hand and a compensatory distributional justice on the other, and thus ultimately establishes a bridge between rival political ideologies.[4]

Although government policies of redistribution may be an instrument of social justice, they are conceived in terms of an investment rather than compensation. The concept of participation legitimizes the redistribution of resources within a community as an essential means of genuinely empowering all to seize the opportunities around them. Against this background, social justice can be understood as a framework of rules and guidelines for a participatory society that activates and enables its members. A sustainable social market economy able to combine market efficiency with social justice requires the state to take on more than a minimalist "night watch man" role. Rather, it requires a strong state led by actors that understand the need for social equity as a means of ensuring participation opportunities.

[2] See Sen (1993; 2009); Merkel (2001; 2007); Merkel/Giebler (2009), p. 192-194.
[3] See Rawls (1971); on the underlying principles of "equal opportunity" see Roemer (1998: 1) who distinguishes between a "level-the-playing-field principle" and a "nondiscrimination principle": "An instance of the first principle is that compensatory education be provided for children from disadvantaged social backgrounds, so that a larger proportion of them will acquire skills required to compete, later on, for jobs against persons with more advantaged childhoods. An instance of the second principle is that race or sex, as such, should not count for or against a person's eligibility for a position, when race or sex is an irrelevant attribute insofar as the performance of the duties of the position is concerned." The concept of social justice applied in the present report covers both principles. It is important to note that the concept of social justice employed here emphasizes less the principle of equality per se than it does the principle of individual freedom, which can be exercised only when the state and a society establish the most level playing field possible for the pursuit of life chances. See in this regard Merkel/Giebler (2009: 193-195).
[4] See Vehrkamp (2007), p. 11.

The Justice Index presented here is informed by this paradigm and encompasses those areas of policy that are particularly important for developing individual capabilities and opportunities for participation in society. In addition to the fundamental issue of preventing poverty, the Justice Index explores areas related to an inclusive education system, labor market access, social cohesion, health and intergenerational justice. The underlying methodology and further features of the index are explained further in what follows. The Justice Index is based on quantitative and qualitative data collected by the Bertelsmann Stiftung within the framework of its Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) project (www.sgi-network.org). The SGI survey (second edition published in March 2011), offers a systematic comparison of sustainable governance in 31 OECD member states. Some of the 150 indicators used in the SGI survey have been selected and aggregated for use in the Justice Index following a tested procedure for measuring social justice.[5]

Clearly, no set of indicators can be expected to fully represent the complexity of social reality on the ground. Creating an index by definition involves condensing information. But it also requires that pragmatic decisions sometimes be made when selecting indicators, especially given the limitations set by the availability of comparable data.

Detailed case studies of specific countries are therefore required in order to provide a more thick description and place findings within a context. We can nonetheless use the key indicators selected here (and for which there are internationally commensurable data) to establish some conclusions about what policy areas in the OECD states require most attention.

[5] The approach and procedure is derived from Merkel (2001; 2007) and Merkel/Giebler (2009); see discussion in following paragraph. The next edition of the SGI will also include new OECD members Israel, Estonia an Slovenia.

3. Methodology

Drawing upon Wolfgang Merkel's conceptual and empirical groundwork, we can differentiate several dimensions for measuring the construct of social justice.[6] The Justice Index is concerned with the following six target dimensions: poverty prevention, access to education, labor market inclusion, social cohesion and non-discrimination, health and intergenerational justice.

As a cross-national survey, the index is comprised of 21 quantitative and eight qualitative indicators, each associated with one of the six dimensions of social justice.[7] The data for the quantitative SGI indicators are derived primarily from the OECD. The qualitative indicators reflect the evaluations provided by more than 70 experts responding to the SGI's survey of the state of affairs in various policy areas throughout the OECD (see www.sgi-network.de). For these indicators, the rating scale ranges from 1 (worst) to 10 (best). In order to ensure compatibility between the quantitative and qualitative indicators, all raw values for the quantitative indicators undergo linear transformation to give them a range of 1 to 10 as well.[8]

According to Merkel and Giebler (2009), the first three dimensions of poverty prevention, access to education, and labor market access carry the most conceptual value, which is why they are each weighted more heavily in creating the index. For the purposes of comparison, in addition to the weighted Justice Index, a non-weighted ranking was created in which the six dimensions were treated equally.[9] The findings discussed here derive from the weighted Justice Index.

The effective prevention of poverty plays a key role in measuring social justice. Under conditions of poverty, social participation and a self-determined life are possible only with great difficulty. The share of people in (relative) poverty can accordingly serve as an equivalent surrogate for the group of those excluded from society. The prevention of poverty is in a certain sense a conditio sine qua non for social justice, and thereby takes precedence to the other dimensions from the perspective of justice theory. For this reason, the dimension of "poverty prevention" is weighted most strongly – in this case, given triple weight – in the overall ranking.

Particularly informative in this regard is the cross-national comparison of poverty rates. For reasons of cross-national comparability and data availability, we rely on the latest poverty figures from the OECD, which refer to individuals' disposable income in the "late 2000s." The poverty level in all states surveyed here has been set at 50 percent of the per capita national median income. We

[6] The methods of measuring social justice applied here are derived from those applied by Merkel (2001; 2007) and the approach and argument provided by Merkel/Giebler (2009). In contrast to Merkel/Giebler (2009), the index comprises six instead of seven dimensions to be measured. In addition, the weighting process and indicator set have been modified and supplemented. We are indebted to Dr. Margit Kraus (Calculus Consult) for providing important advice and feedback on statistical and technical issues, imputing missing values, and constructing Excel sheets for the aggregation of scores.

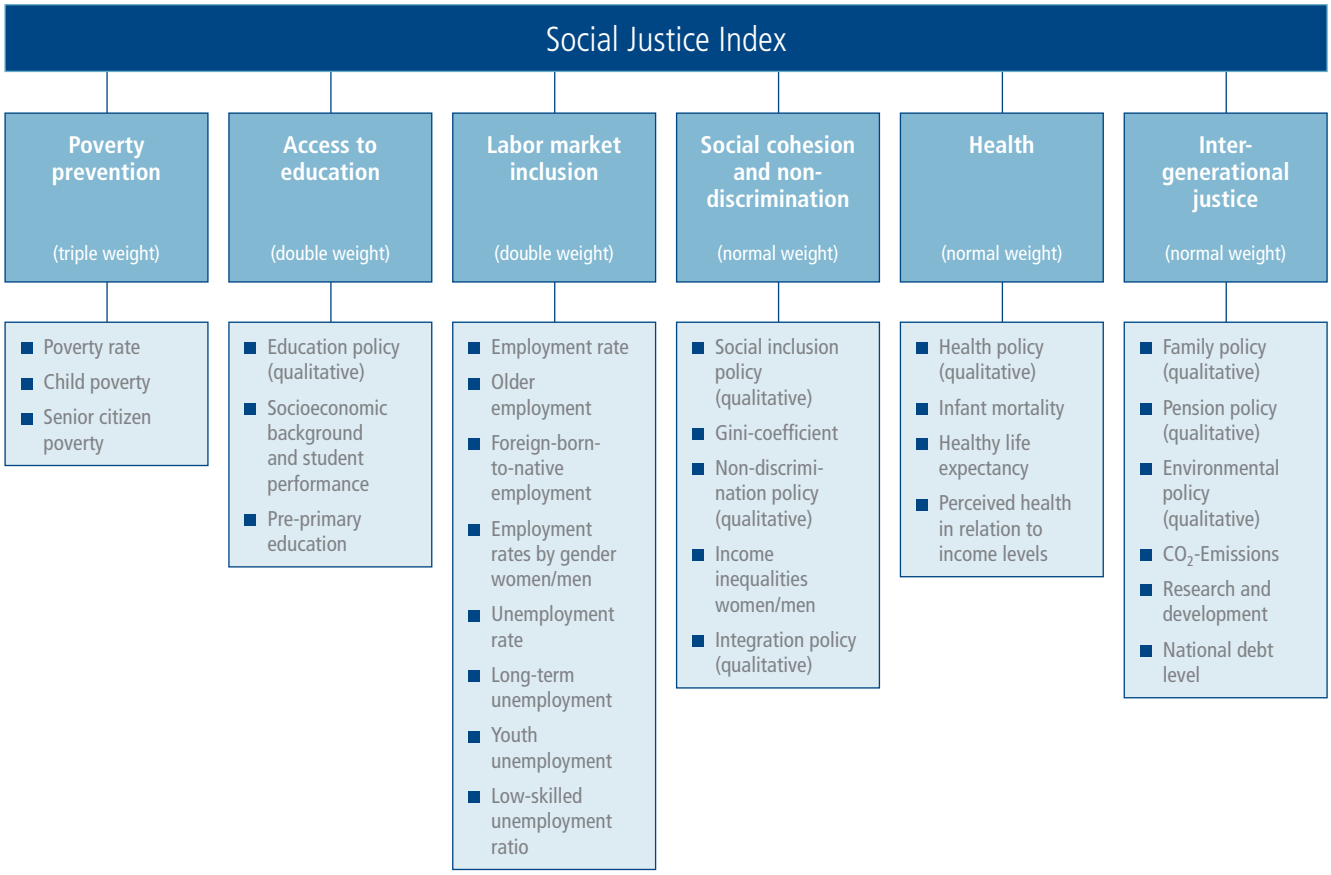
[7] A full list and description of individual indicators is provided in the appendix.

[8] The period under review for the Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011 survey extends from May 2008 to the end of April 2010 (www.sgi-network.org). The raw data for the Justice Index is provided in the appendix.

[9] See Table 1 in the appendix, p. 48.

draw here as well upon the OECD's definition of relative income poverty, in which people are classified as poor when their equivalized household income is less than half of the median prevailing in each country. The use of a relative income threshold means that wealthier countries will have the higher poverty thresholds. Higher poverty thresholds in wealthier countries underscore the notion that avoiding poverty entails the ability to access the goods and services regarded as customary (or the norm) in any given country. The poverty rate is a headcount of how many people fall below the poverty line.[10] Age groups particularly at risk of poverty are accorded special attention, which is why poverty rates for children (0-17 years of age) and the elderly (over 65) are considered in addition to the overall poverty rate.

Figure 2: Dimensions and indicators of the index



Individual indicators are weighted equally within the respective dimensions ("Poverty prevention," "Access to education," "Labor market inclusion," "Social cohesion and non-discrimination," "Health," "Intergenerational justice"). In total, 29 indicators are used for calculating the ranking (21 quantitative und 8 qualitative indicators). For a full list of indicators, definitions and sources see table 2 – 7 in the appendix.

Source: Own representation.

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[10] Definition and explanation derived from Society at Glance 2011: OECD Social Indicators, "Poverty" chapter, pgs. 68-69.

Equal access to good-quality education is another essential factor in providing equitable capabilities and opportunities for advancement (vertical mobility). Social, political and economic participation depends in large part on this public good. To this end, the state must take care that genuinely equal educational opportunities are available to every child. Social or cultural background must not be allowed to adversely affect educational success. On these grounds, the "access to education" dimension is weighted doubly in the Justice Index. The dimension considers efforts to provide early childhood education, the role of socioeconomic background in students' economic success (drawing on the latest PISA data), and finally a qualitative expert assessment of educational policies, focusing particularly on the provision of high-quality education and equitable access opportunities.
Assuring equity in education opportunities is primarily an ethical imperative, since weak access to education and social poverty generate a vicious circle in which those lacking education access are denied opportunities for social betterment, and the socially disadvantaged are denied access to education. Breaking this vicious circle is a principle of solidarity and in maintaining the social fabric of society. At the same time, it makes good economic sense to nourish and apply the talents and abilities of everyone in society – as much as possible.

The labor market's degree of inclusiveness is likewise of considerable importance to social justice, as an individual's status is defined in large part by his or her participation in the workforce. Exclusion from the labor market substantially limits individual opportunities for self-realization, contributes to an increase in the risk of poverty, and can even lead to serious health stresses: "So long as gainful employment remains the primary means by which not only income, but also status, self-respect and social inclusion are distributed in developed societies, inclusion in the labor market must be a high priority for a just society" (Merkel/Giebler 2009: 198). This dimension is therefore also counted doubly in the overall ranking. In order to do even rudimentary justice to the complexity of this dimension, four indicators apiece were used in the representation of employment and unemployment. Alongside the overall employment rate, the specific rates for 55- to 65-year-old workers, for foreign-born workers as compared to natives, and for women as compared to men are considered. In addition, the labor market inclusion dimension examines the overall unemployment rate, and is supplemented by the long-term unemployment rate and the degree of labor market exclusion experienced both by young and by low-skilled workers.

The dimension of social cohesion and non-discrimination examines the extent to which trends toward social polarization, exclusion and the discrimination of specific groups are successfully countered. This dimension is factored into the index with a normal weight. Income disparities, measured in terms of the Gini coefficient, are taken into account here as a potentially important factor of social polarization. However, from a social justice theory perspective, the issue of income inequality carries less conceptual salience relative to the first three dimensions of justice – namely poverty prevention, access to education and labor market inclusion.[11] Related to the issue of income disparity, the ratio of female-to-male earned income is another factor considered. This dimension also includes three

[11] See Merkel/Giebler (2009), p. 199 f.

qualitative indicators, each based on expert assessments. One of these indicators assesses how effectively social policies preclude social exclusion and decoupling from society, a second examines how effectively the state protects against discrimination based on gender, physical ability, ethnic origin, social status, political views or religion, and a third evaluates how effectively policies support the integration of migrants into society. The latter question covers integration-related policies comprising a wide array of cultural, education and social policies in so far as they affect the status of migrants or migrant communities in society.

The fifth dimension of the Justice Index covers questions of equity in the area of health. In 2008, the WHO's Commission on Social Determinants of Health pointed to dramatic differences in health within and between countries that are closely linked with degrees of social disadvantage: "These inequities in health, avoidable health inequalities, arise because of the circumstances in which people grow, live, work, and age, and the systems put in place to deal with illness. The conditions in which people live and die are, in turn, shaped by political, social and economic forces. Social and economic policies have a determining impact on whether a child can grow and develop to its full potential and live a flourishing life, or whether its life will be blighted."[12] Against this backdrop, an assessment of social justice must also take into account the issue of health. However, identifying meaningful indicators for which data are available for all OECD states is not an easy task. Unfortunately, we do not have internationally comparable data for all OECD countries that tell us exactly to what extent health inequalities exist and how they are shaped by social and economic background. Nevertheless, there are some indicators giving us at least a basic impression of differing degrees of fairness, inclusiveness and quality between the OECD countries' health systems. We use three quantitative indicators and one qualitative indicator. The qualitative indicator from our SGI survey assesses to what extent policies provide high-quality, inclusive and cost-efficient health care. The rationale behind the question is that public health care policies should aim at providing high-quality health care for the largest possible share of the population, at the lowest possible costs. Of the three criteria – quality, inclusiveness and cost efficiency – quality and inclusiveness are given priority over cost efficiency. The three quantitative indicators, "perceived health status," "infant mortality" and "healthy life expectancy at birth," are drawn from the OECD and Eurostat as well as from the World Health Organization (WHO). The indicator "perceived health status" additionally takes into account people's self-reported health in the lowest income group compared to that in the highest income group. As inequalities in health can be seen as being strongly determined by misguided developments in other areas, such as poverty prevention, education or the labor market, the health dimension is factored into the index with a normal weight.

[12] Cf. at http://www.who.int/social_determinants/thecommission/finalreport/en/index.html.

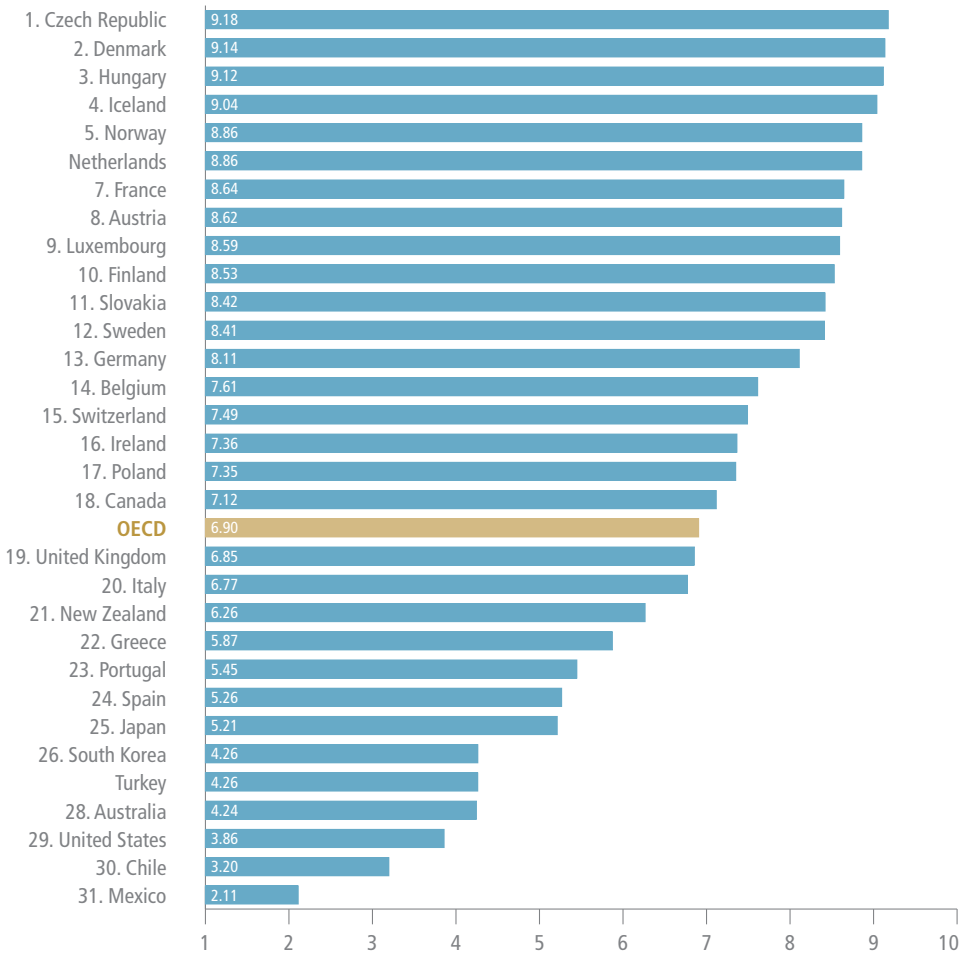
The sixth dimension of the Justice Index approaches the issue of intergenerational justice. The issue at stake here is the need for contemporary generations to lead lives they value without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same. This dimension, which is factored into the index with a simple weight, is comprised of three components. The first component addresses policy support for both younger and older generations. The former is captured through the SGI's qualitative "family policy" indicator, the latter through the "pension policy" indicator, which is also qualitative. The second component focuses on the idea of environmental sustainability and measures this on the one hand with the help of a qualitative indicator for environmental and resource protection policy, on the other through a quantitative indicator for CO_2 emissions relative to GDP. The third component, which is concerned with economic and fiscal sustainability, is comprised of two quantitative indicators. The first of which highlights public spending on research and innovation as an investment in future prosperity, and the second points to national debt levels as a mortgage to be paid by future generations.

4. Social Justice in the OECD

I Poverty prevention

A comparison of OECD member states shows that poverty in wealthy countries is not necessarily a simple fact of modern-day life but can be combated with success. Social participation is in no way exclusively a function of economic power, government spending or certain welfare-state traditions. Rather, it can be achieved when priorities are set and socially disadvantaged groups are not excluded. Among the surveyed countries, an average of 10.8 percent of the population is considered "poor," meaning these individuals live on less than half the national median income.

Figure 3: Poverty prevention



Source: Own calculations based on OECD data.

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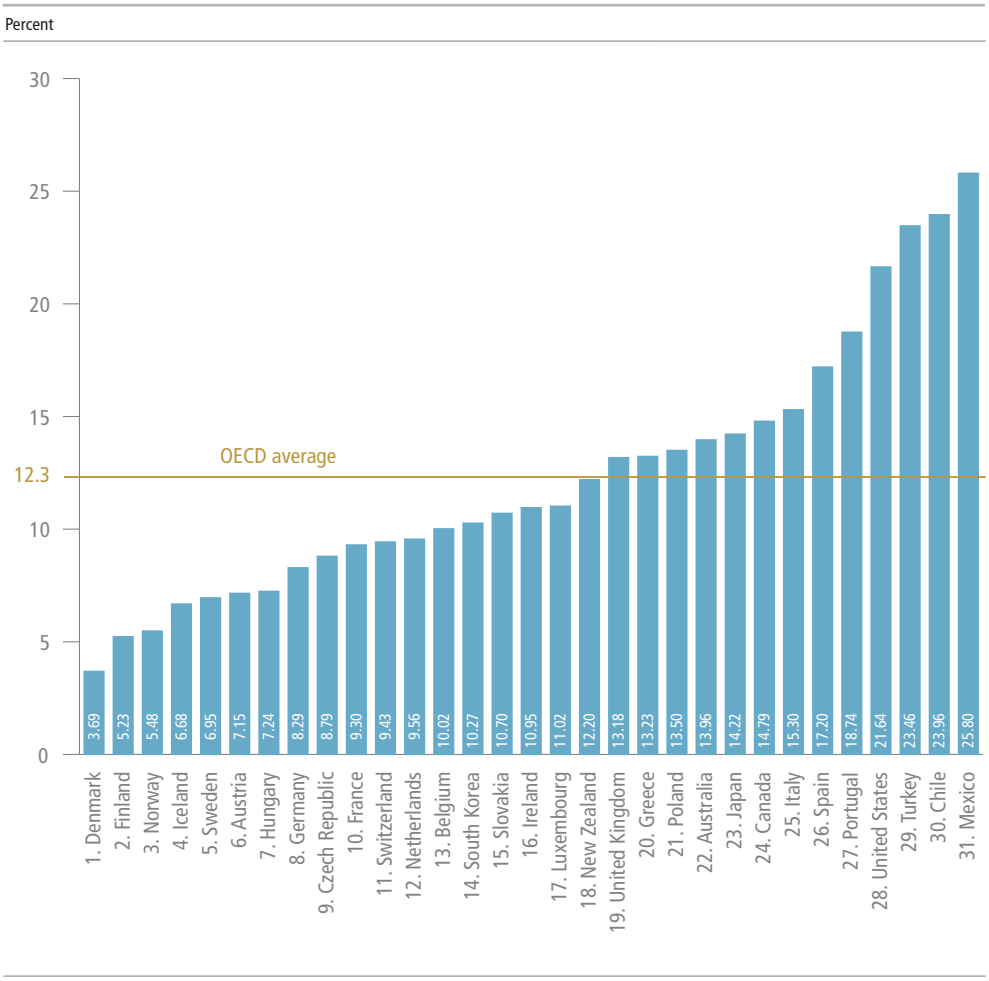
The Czech Republic, with an overall poverty rate of 5.4 percent, and Denmark (6.1 percent) achieve the highest scores for poverty prevention on a scale from 1 to 10. The aggregate score is based on the three single indicators "overall poverty rate," "child poverty" and "senior citizen poverty." The two leading countries are followed by Hungary, Iceland, the Netherlands and Norway. France, Austria, Luxembourg, Finland, Sweden and Slovakia also demonstrate solid performance in preventing poverty. It's worth noting that excepting Poland, the East European post-communist states on the whole score well in terms of poverty prevention. However, apart from the fact that income distribution in most of these countries is still relatively even, average income levels in the post-communist states lie considerably below those in Western Europe. This should be kept in mind when considering relative income poverty levels.

The midfield mainly comprises continental European welfare states such as Germany, Belgium or Switzerland. Most Anglo-Saxon welfare states find themselves in the lower midfield followed by Southern European countries. At the bottom of the ranking, we find South Korea, Turkey, the United States – where 17.3 percent of the population lives on less than 50 percent of the net median income – Chile and, finally, Mexico bringing up the rear with an overall poverty rate of 21 percent.

The causes of income poverty are undoubtedly complex. Income poverty can in part be attributed to the limits of a national government's short- and medium-term discretionary power. In many ways, however, income poverty reflects the consequences of weak policy-making in areas such as education, labor market and integration policy. From the perspective of social justice, the battle against child poverty tops the list of issues in need of urgent attention because of the profound way in which it undermines the goal of establishing greater equality of life chances. A society that deprives many of its youngest members the opportunities of participation is wasting potential and damaging itself. The average rate of child poverty among the 31 OECD countries surveyed in this study is alarming. At 12.3 percent, the rate is higher than the overall rate of poverty. This highlights the fact that there are several regions in the OECD where the basic conditions needed for social justice are not being met.

The data show considerable differences in child poverty rates among individual OECD states. Whereas in Denmark, only one in 27 children (3.7 percent) lives in poverty, one in four children (23.9 percent) in Chile grows up in a household that must make do with less than one-half of the median income. Turkey (23.5 percent), Mexico (25.8 percent) and the United States (21.6 percent) face a problem of similar magnitude in this regard. The south European Countries Portugal, Spain and Italy perform only slightly better with still alarming rates between 15 percent (Italy) and nearly 19 percent (Portugal). In sum, the Nordic countries with their universal welfare states are most successful in preventing child poverty, whereas the Anglo-Saxon welfare states are positioned again only in the second half of the ranking.

Figure 4: Child poverty



Source: OECD Society at a Glance 2011.

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In terms of preventing old-age poverty, the picture is mixed. South Korea lands at the bottom of the ranking. Some 45 percent of the country's citizens over 65 years of age must survive on incomes less than one-half of the national median income. According to the recent OECD figures, old-age poverty rates are also high in Australia (39.2 percent), Mexico (29 percent), New Zealand (23.5 percent), Chile (22.8 percent), Greece (22.7 percent) and the United States (22.2 percent), all of which lie far above the 31 countries' average of 14.5 percent. In the United States, which still represents the largest economy in the world, poverty rates among children and the old are above 20 percent. These high rates are a crushing burden for the country to bear, particularly in the face of its drastically high level of national debt and stagnating economy. In contrast, old-age poverty seems to be barely relevant in the Netherlands (2.1 percent) and Luxembourg (2.3 percent).

Again, when interpreting these figures it is important to bear in mind that the OECD's poverty measures refer solely to relative income poverty levels. The figures provide no additional information regarding aspects of material deprivation, as is the case in measures of consistent poverty.[13] Material deprivation can be understood "as the inability to possess the goods and services and/or engage in activities that are ordinary in the society or that are socially perceived as 'necessities.'"[14] Another aspect to be considered is "housing deprivation." Unfortunately, the kind of data needed, such as that being collected since 2009 within the framework of the European Union's social indicators, is either not available for certain OECD countries or complete enough to warrant satisfactory cross-national comparison.[15] When looking at the EU Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC) data for the 27 EU member states, the differences between income poverty and material deprivation become clearer. According to the EU's measurement of income poverty, countries like the Czech Republic, Hungary or Slovakia have low poverty rates. However, at the same time, they show medium-to-high levels of material deprivation as measured by the respective EU standards.[16] Nevertheless, since the concept of relative income poverty always refers to the respective national states as distinct referential systems, the use of income poverty measures makes thoroughly good sense. Compared to a country with a very low income poverty threshold, a wealthy country with a high income poverty threshold very likely also has different standards in terms of the goods and services that are deemed customary within its society. However, from such an intra-state perspective, the number of people who are de facto excluded from accessing these customary services and goods on account of their income level (which lies below the poverty threshold for a given country) is a vitally important figure.

A further point should be kept in mind: The OECD's most recent poverty figures do not yet fully reflect the effects of the global financial and economic crisis and the resulting dramatic rise in unemployment observed in many countries. It is thus to be feared that the steep rise in unemployment will have also increased the incidence rate of relative poverty at least in some countries. For further analyses and interpretation, the numbers on relative income poverty should therefore be considered within the context of other data, such as additional poverty measures, complementary data on deprivation (where available) or qualitative assessments of the OECD countries' respective social inclusion policy efforts, as is provided, for instance, in the SGI's country reports.[17]

[13] See, for example, the official approach applied in Ireland to measure consistent poverty, which was developed by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) and is comprised of 11 different items related to material deprivation (http://www.socialinclusion.ie/poverty.html).
[14] Fusco/Guio/Marlier (2010: 7).
[15] The EU indicators on material deprivation are based on the following items: the capacity to face unexpected expenses; one week annual holiday away from home; to pay for arrears (mortgage or rent, utility bills or hire purchase installments); a meal with meat, chicken or fish every second day; to keep home adequately warm; to have a washing machine; to have a color TV; to have a telephone; to have a personal car. Cf. Fusco/Guio/Marlier (2010: 10). For another possible scale see also Whelan et al. (2008).
[16] Fusco/Guio/Marlier (2010: 36) show that poverty and material deprivation measures are clearly associated: "However, even if the level of deprivation tends to decrease with income, this relationship is neither monotonic (individuals in the bottom of the income distribution are not always the most deprived) nor linear (the slope of this diminution varies across the distribution)."
[17] See all country reports at www.sgi-network.org.

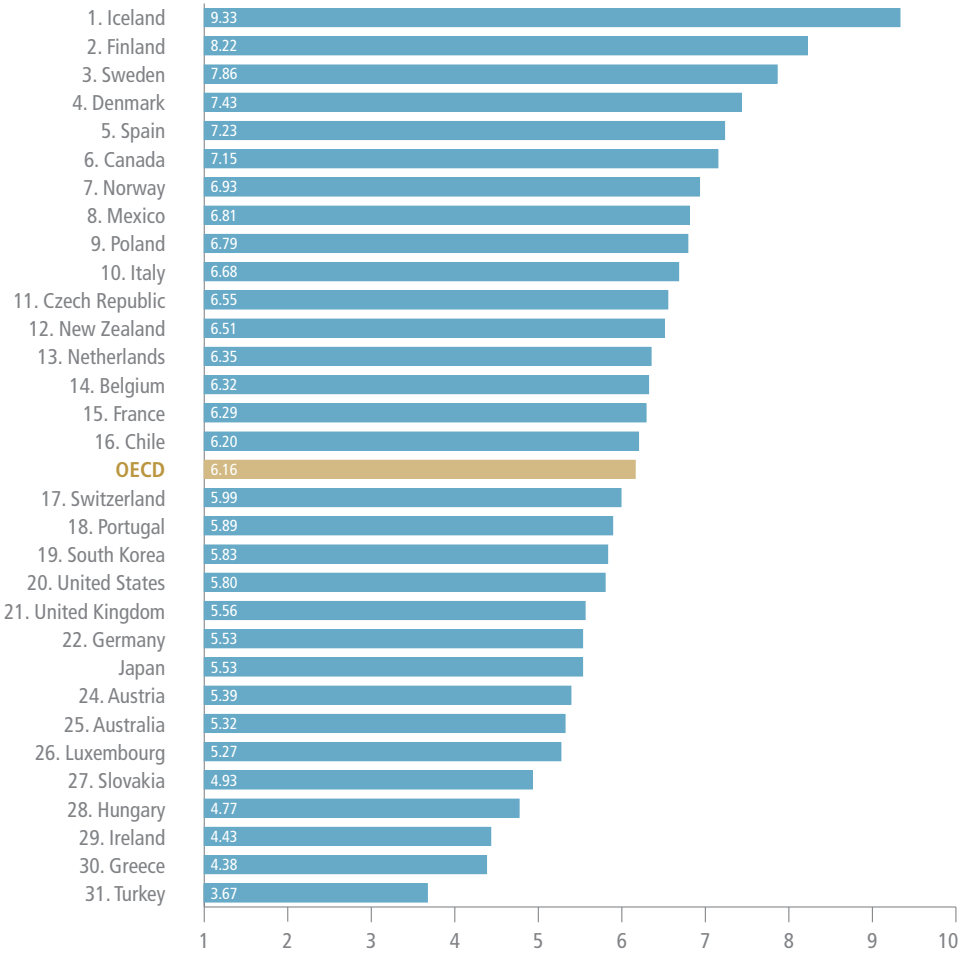
II Access to education

Data from the most recent OECD PISA study show the extent to which socioeconomic background influences the contours of performance among youth.[18] The influence is significant. The report highlights the fact that, on average across OECD countries, 14 percent of the differences in student reading performance within each country are associated with differences in students' socioeconomic background. Students from a more socioeconomically advantaged background (among the top seventh) generally perform better than students from an average background. This advantage averages to 38 score points in reading, or about one year's worth of education.[19] In addition to an individual student's socioeconomic background, a school's socioeconomic background also factors heavily in education performance. In some countries, "the performance gap between two students with similar socio-economic backgrounds, one of whom attends a school with an average socio-economic background and the another attending a school with an advantaged socio-economic background (among the top 16 percent in the country), is equivalent to more than 50 score points, on average, or more than a year's worth of education."[20] In order to mitigate the influence of students' and schools' socioeconomic backgrounds on education performance, governments must improve student support as well as educational systems and their infrastructure. Doing so is first and foremost an ethical necessity in terms of social justice. But there is an economic dimension to be considered as well. The costs resulting from the effects of inadequate performance and justice in education are immense.[21]

In terms of socially just education policies, the north European states once again stand out. Iceland and Finland are the top OECD performers here in terms of mitigating the relationship between a student's socioeconomic background and his or her academic progress. Moreover, students in Finland have also the second-highest reading performance in the OECD. This shows that high equity and high performance are certainly not opposing or impossible policy objectives.[22] Also in South Korea, the leading country as regards reading performance, the impact of the socioeconomic background on a student's performance is rather low. However, the SGI country experts point to the fact that, unlike the Nordic countries, "much of the success of Korean education can be attributed to parents' willingness to pay for education rather than to public policies."[23] In contrast to Iceland, Finland or Korea, the correlation between a student's socioeconomic background and his or her performance is particularly strong in Hungary, Belgium, and New Zealand. Countries such as Germany and Austria fail to rank above the lower midrange on this issue.

[18] In the present report, the calculation incorporates the strength and slope of the socioeconomic gradient, which the OECD uses as a measure of how tightly linked socioeconomic background and student achievement are. The strength of the gradient points to the level of influence socio-economic background has on student achievement. The slope refers to the gap in average achievement among students of various socioeconomic backgrounds. For details, see OECD (2010: 54).
[19] OECD (2010: 14).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid. 26.
[22] Ibid. 52.
[23] Kalinowski/Croissant (2011: 30).

Figure 5: Access to education



Source: Own calculations based on OECD and SGI data. | BertelsmannStiftung

Spain and Canada also score well on this issue, although one should, when comparing, be mindful of the relative education level and quality of education system in each. For example, according to the SGI experts, Canada clearly fares better on both of these points: “Canada has many strengths in the education area, including: the OECD’s highest proportion of the population aged 20-64 with post-secondary education, a number of world-class universities, a high completion rate for high school, and very high PISA scores.” At the same time, while Canada achieves good scores in terms of educational justice, there is still room for improvement in some specific areas: “Probably the biggest deficiency in education policy has been the failure to reduce the gap in educational attainment between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations.”[24]

[24] For details, see Sharpe/Savoie/Thunert (2011: 20-21).

The fact that Iceland leads by far on the point of minimizing the effects of socioeconomic background on learning performance is perhaps unsurprising given its population, which is small in number and notably homogenous in comparison to other OECD states. By contrast, the capacities and efforts of other Nordic countries such as Finland, Denmark and Sweden to create equal opportunities for self-realization through education are worth highlighting. Of course, this does not suggest that these countries have flawless education policies or perfect records in terms of ensuring social justice. In Sweden, for example, access to higher education is less open to second-generation immigrant children than to Swedish children without an immigration background.[25] Furthermore, according to the PISA data, unlike Finnish students, Danish and Swedish students do not perform particularly well in overall terms. In fact, their performance lies only slightly above the OECD average. Ideally, an education system should, in addition to facilitating equal opportunity, result in strong academic performance, as is the case in Canada and Finland.

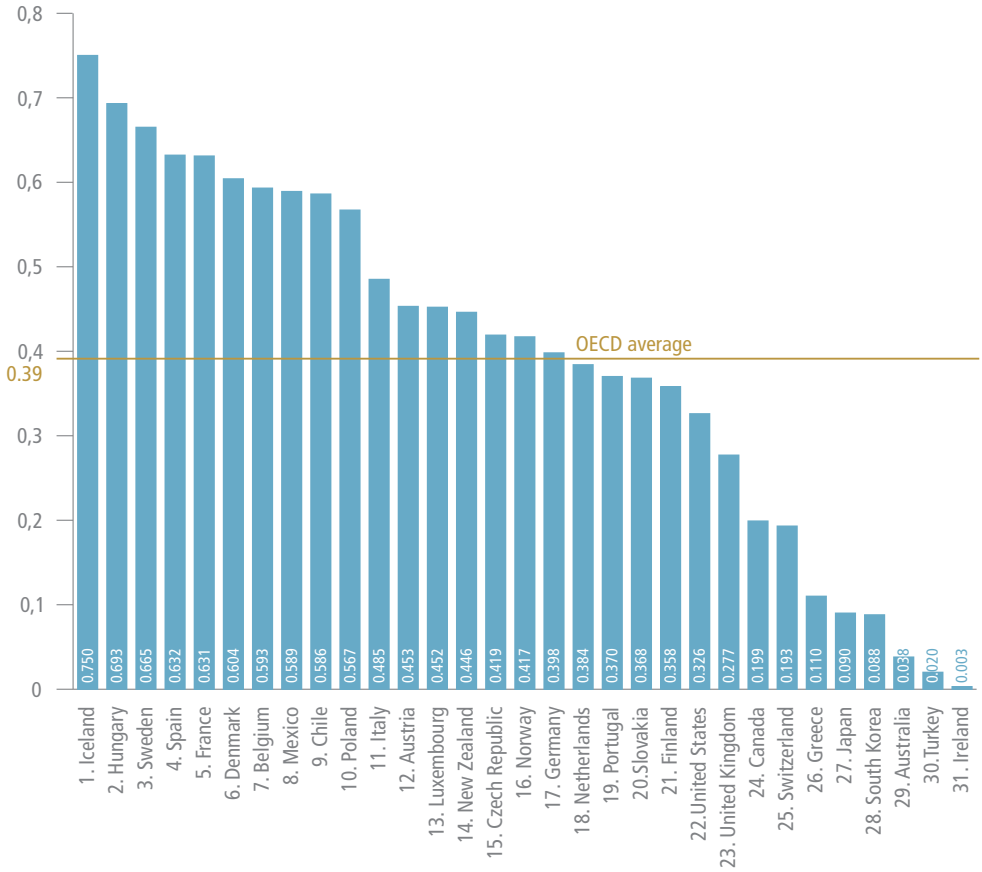
Investing in early childhood education is therefore a key component of efforts to level the playing field in this regard. The need for action to be taken on this front is great in several OECD states. Moreover, it is important that funding for social transfers not be pit against infrastructure funding if a society is to create the material conditions needed to lift disadvantaged children out of their precarious situation. Unfortunately, there is no sound or complete data on the *quality* of early childhood education internationally. Consequently, the Justice Index must refer instead to a quantitative indicator measuring the level of public spending on early childhood education, which allows at least an estimation of the financial priority given the issue by a government.

Iceland, Hungary, Sweden, Spain and France show the highest levels of public spending in the OECD on this form of investment in the future.[26] In Hungary and France, where the correlations between socioeconomic background and academic achievement are relatively high, the governments there are at least pointing their efforts in the right direction when it comes to combating this problem. Only time will tell to what extent these investments yield genuine improvements in educational justice. Despite having increased public spending on early-childhood education, Germany's spending on this area continues to hover among OECD average levels. And the relatively low qualification standards for pre-primary education in Germany do not reflect the importance of support provided during the first few years of a child's life.[27]

[25] For details, see Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 22).
[26] According to the OECD, differences regarding spending levels "can largely be explained by enrolment rates and starting age for primary education, but they are also sometimes a result of the extent to which this indicator covers private early childhood education. In Ireland, for example, most early childhood education is delivered in private institutions that were not covered by the Irish data for the year 2008. Moreover, high-quality early childhood education is provided not only by the educational institutions covered by this indicator but also in more informal settings", see OECD Education at a Glance 2011 (p. 226).
[27] Rüb/Heinemann/Zohlnhöfer (2011: 40).

Figure 6: Public expenditure on early childhood education

As a percentage of GDP



Source: OECD and Eurostat, see appendix p. 49.

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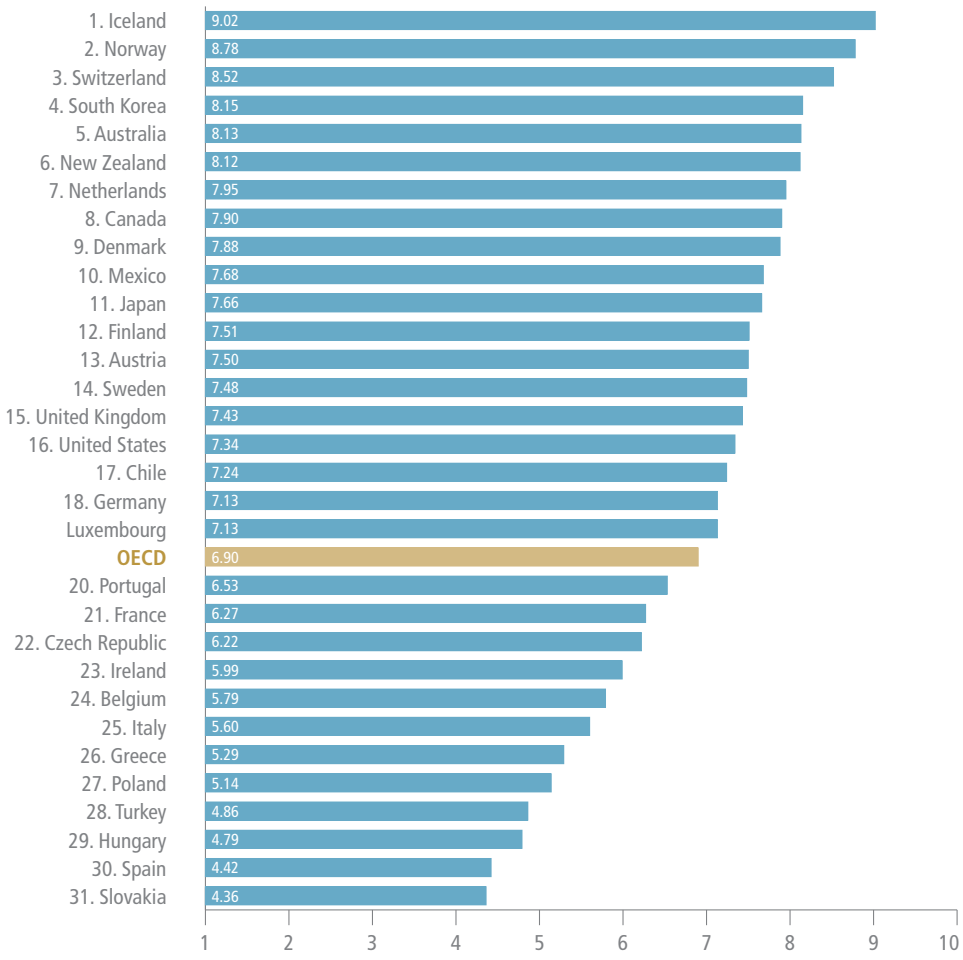
PISA study results are clear about the impact of pre-primary education: "Students who attended pre-primary school tend to perform better than students who have not. This advantage is greater in school systems where pre-primary education lasts longer, where there are smaller pupil-to-teacher ratios at the pre-primary level and where there is higher public expenditure per pupil at that level of education."

The PISA study results also point to another key factor shaping just opportunities in education: The earlier children are tracked and separated according to performance, the greater the influence of socioeconomic background on their educational success. At the same time, however, overall performance does not improve as a result of early onset tracking. In other words, integrative school systems in which children are not separated early on according to their capabilities are a better alternative in terms of learning success and educational justice.

III Labor market inclusion

The global economic crisis delivered a serious blow to labor markets around the world, although the extent to which specific countries have suffered as a consequence of the crisis varies. Labor markets in some countries are actually faring better than they were before the crisis. Germany's "Job Wunder" is notable in this respect, even if the country can only gradually overcome structural problems such as high long-term unemployment rates and poor labor-market entry for low-skilled workers. Ireland's labor market, however, has been hit very hard by the crisis. The country has gone from enjoying near full employment before the crisis to struggling with two-digit unemployment rates (13.7 percent), and long-term unemployment, a key driver for poverty, has risen dramatically to 6.7 percent as a share of the civilian labor force.

Figure 7: Labor market inclusion



Source: Own calculations based on OECD data.

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Examples of labor market justice as understood in the framework of this study are provided by Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, with every country showing different strengths and weaknesses. Although unemployment in Iceland has also increased sharply during the crisis (7.5 percent), the country still receives very good marks in terms of overall employment (78.9 percent), older employment (80.5 percent), its employment ratio between men and women, and low-skilled unemployment (1 percent). These figures go far in explaining why Iceland finds itself at the top of the overall ranking of labor market inclusion. Norway, ranking second, has the lowest overall unemployment rate (3.5 percent) and long-term unemployment remains unproblematic.

However, it is worth noting that with the exception of Iceland and Norway, the otherwise very successful north European states fail to rank among the top group in this dimension. Whereas all north European states rather effectively combat long-term unemployment, they falter in other areas. For example, the Swedish government faces a serious challenge in addressing a very high youth unemployment rate (25.2 percent), which is around three times higher than the general unemployment rate, just as governments in Finland, Norway and Denmark do in addressing the scarcity of employment opportunities for immigrants. Due to the recent global economic crisis, the general unemployment rate in Sweden and Finland has increased to around 8.4 percent. And also Denmark, well-known for its so called flexicurity approach, finds itself today far away from reaching full employment. Denmark's overall unemployment rate currently lies at 7.4 percent, which means that the country ranks behind the Czech Republic or Germany on this indicator.

South Korea, Australia, New Zealand and Canada rank best among the non-European members of the OECD in the category of labor market inclusion, and they receive salutary scores for their labor policies during the crisis. According to the SGI report, New Zealand's strong showing in this regard "has been achieved by government borrowing, as well as a labor market policy that includes working hours programs, extended transfer payments, and active labor market policies alongside longer-term measures to reduce non-wage labor costs. Nevertheless, areas of concern remain, such as the differentials between urban and non-urban areas, and the unemployment rate among the Maori population, which was more than 15 percent by the end of 2009. Differences in unemployment rates across groups reflect the growing shortage of skilled and professional labor. Government policy responses to these skills shortages have been limited, apart from the use of targeted immigration criteria."[28]

Australia experienced strong employment growth and declining unemployment up until late 2008. However, "the period of rapid growth faltered in late 2008 and early 2009. Following substantial monetary and fiscal stimuli, and as demand for resources picked up from the emerging economies, employment growth returned in mid-2009. Recent changes to labor market policies focused on

[28] Kaiser/Scott/Croissant (2011: 13).

the supply side of the market have included reforming the decentralized system of job search assistance, a step which has incorporated additional resources for disadvantaged job seekers; the introduction of a 'Compact with Youth,' whereby young people are guaranteed a place in an education course; the introduction of employment incentives for persons on the Age Pension; and an increase in the child care subsidy from 30 percent to 50 percent. Tight welfare eligibility criteria and mandatory participation in active labor market programs by unemployment benefit recipients have also been preserved."[29]

In Canada, "the expansion of the federal government work-sharing program during the crisis mitigated the rise in the unemployment rate,"[30] while South Korea's "comparatively good performance can be attributed to the effects of the largest fiscal stimulus package in the OECD, the country's export competitiveness due to massive currency devaluation, and corporatist arrangements that traded wage restraints for job security. On the other hand, labor market policies have been less successful in preventing the proliferation of precarious working conditions and irregular employment. (...) The overall employment rate in Korea also remains below the OECD average, due to low levels of employment among women and the lack of effectiveness of government measures designed to address this problem."[31]

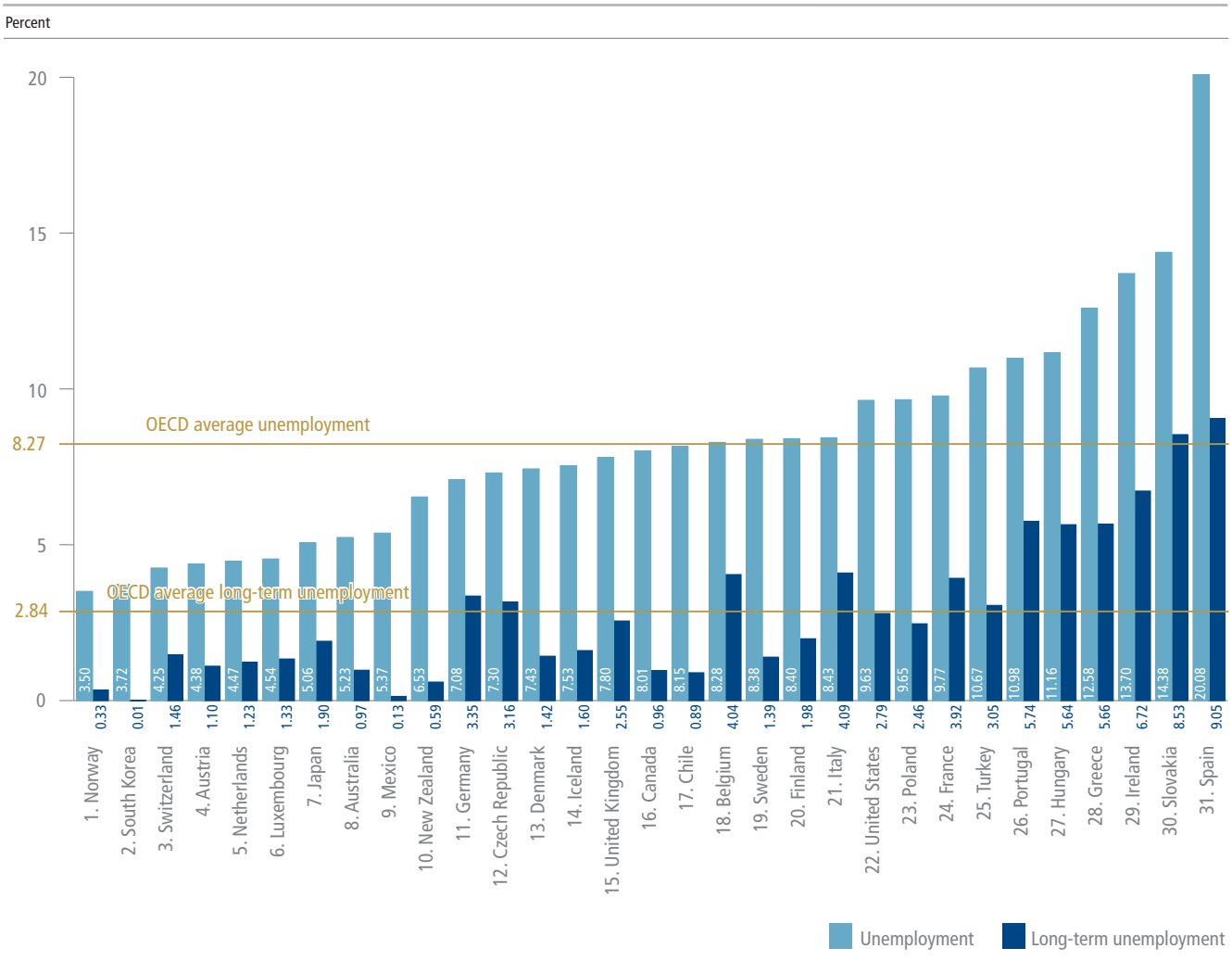
Greece, Poland, Turkey, Hungary, Spain and Slovakia receive the lowest scores for the dimension of labor market inclusion. Although Turkey has been showing clear improvements on many labor market indicators during the recent boom years, several key figures are still of particular concern: with overall employment at 46.3 percent and employment for older workers at 29.6 percent, Turkey still brings up the rear on these important indicators. In some respect, however, labor market inclusion is even worse in Slovakia and Spain. Slovakia is struggling with low employment and very high unemployment rates: While overall unemployment in Slovakia has increased during the crisis to 14.4 percent, youth unemployment is reaching an alarming 33.6 percent. Also in terms of long-term and low-skilled unemployment, Slovakia's labor market performance is worrying.

Massive structural deficits, combined with the effects of the global crisis, account for the disastrous situation in Spain with regard to social justice on the labor market. Unemployment rates in Spain have doubled since the crisis, "strongly hitting workers in low-skill occupations, particularly immigrants, women and young people."[32] Youth unemployment has recently broached 41 percent and general unemployment has reached 20 percent. The lack of future prospects for the Spanish public and the powder keg of social tensions this situation generates are of serious concern. The SGI experts identify a similar problem in Greece, where there "is a long-term, rising problem of structural unemployment affecting the young in particular, leading to growing fears of social exclusion and conflict."[33]

[29] McAllister/Wilkins/Croissant (2011: 16-17).
[30] Sharpe/Savoie/Thunert (2011: 15).
[31] Kalinowski/Croissant (2011: 19-20).
[32] Molina/Homs/Colino (2010: 22-23).
[33] Sotiropoulos/Featherstone/Colino (2010: 17-18).

Although unemployment is a problem in many industrial states, not all OECD states struggle with the same aspects of this problem. For example, some countries face a major labor market policy challenge in addressing long-term unemployment, defined as unemployment lasting longer than 12 months. Slovakia is one such country, where long-term unemployment has reached a worrying 8.5 percent – topped only by Spain (9.1 percent). But the figures in Ireland (6.7 percent), Portugal (5.7 percent), Greece (5.7 percent) and Hungary (5.6 percent) are discouraging as well. After all, as a key factor of poverty, long-term unemployment weighs particularly heavy upon social justice. Extended periods of exclusion from the labor market effectively preclude individuals from participating in society. In contrast to the aforementioned states, long-term unemployment is near-negligible in South Korea, Mexico, Norway and New Zealand.

Figure 8: Unemployment and long-term unemployment



Source: OECD, see appendix p. 50.

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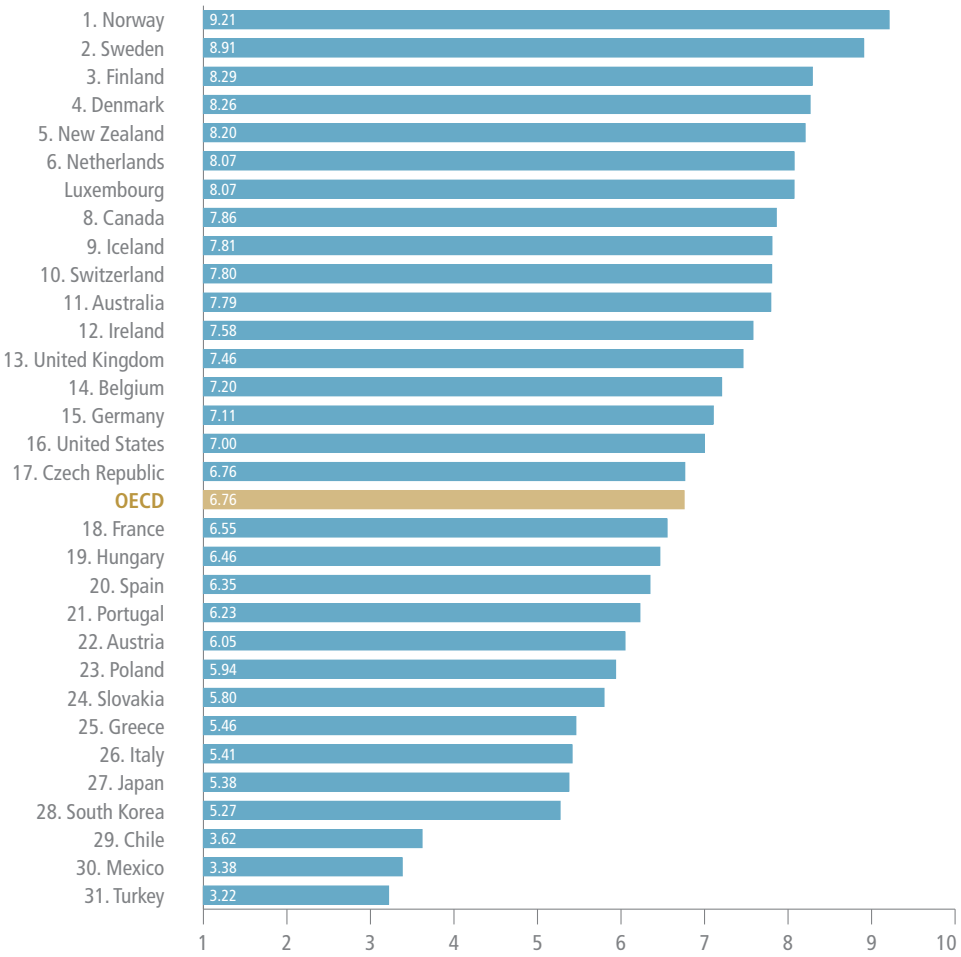
IV Social cohesion and non-discrimination

To what extent is social policy successful in averting social exclusion and isolation? How strong is the polarization of income within a country? How effectively does the state protect against discrimination based on gender, physical ability, ethnic origin, social status, political views or religion? To what degree does policy promote the integration of migrants into society? These issues are captured by the "social cohesion and non-discrimination" dimension. Norway and Sweden are in this area exemplary in almost all respects, followed by Finland, Denmark and New Zealand. Turkey, Mexico and Chile lag comparatively farthest behind.

Figure 9: Social cohesion and non-discrimination



Source: Own calculations based on OECD and SGI data.

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As regards the SGI experts' assessments on the question of social inclusion policy, the north European states of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, along with Luxembourg, receive the best overall ratings in cross-OECD comparison. The Nordic countries generally have relatively equitable and egalitarian societies. As discussed above, poverty rates in these countries are among the lowest in the world. Their universalistic welfare states effectively prevent tendencies of social exclusion by assuming responsibility for supporting the standard of living of disadvantaged or vulnerable groups.[34] Expenditures for social policy are well above the OECD average, and welfare programs to support the less well-off and disadvantaged citizens have strong legitimacy.[35] Values of equality, integration and community are deeply rooted in the Nordic countries' societies, and even though there are public debates about growing societal heterogeneity, these long-standing values continue to prevail in politics and in society.[36]

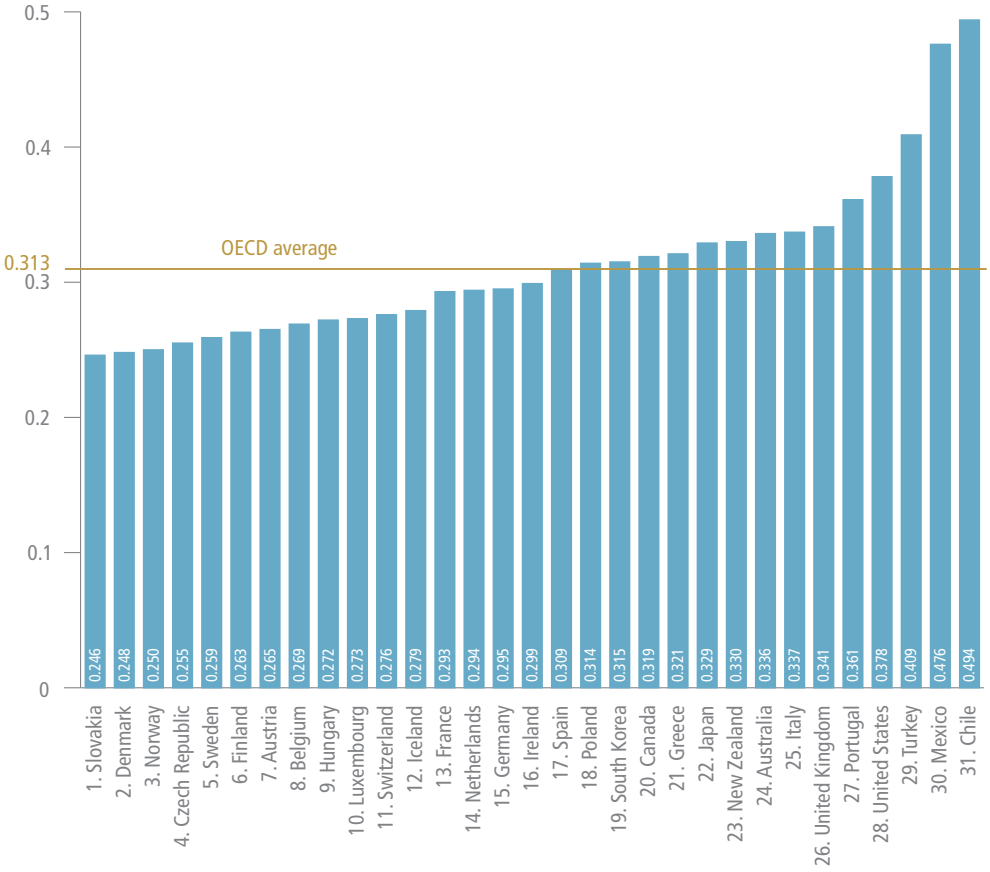
It comes thus as no surprise that also in terms of mitigating income inequalities, the Nordic countries stand out. The issue of income polarization offers a quite varied picture in OECD-wide comparison. The Gini coefficient, which provides information on the level of inequality in income distribution within a given country, shows the most even distributions to be found in Denmark and Norway. Only in Slovakia is the coefficient even slightly lower. By contrast, Chile shows the OECD's most substantial income polarization. Mexico, Turkey, the United States, Portugal as well as the United Kingdom also have very stark gaps in income distribution. With a Gini coefficient of 0.295, Germany today still rates slightly better than the OECD average (0.313). However, this should not obscure the fact that income inequality here has shown substantial increases since the mid-1980s. Since 2000, "absolute" as well as "relative" polarization of income groups has been evident. While the real income of population groups at risk of poverty has declined, that of the wealthy has risen.[37]

Related to the issue of income equality is the problem of gender-based wage inequality. In all OECD countries, the average earnings of men are higher than those of women. However, the degree of this wage inequality varies, as the following two examples show: The earnings of male employees in Sweden are "only" 1.2 times higher than the earnings of women; in Norway the ratio is similar. However, as it is stated in the SGI's country report on Norway, once the number of hours worked, occupation, education and experience are taken into consideration, there are no significant differences between the earnings of men and women in Norway. In contrast to these relatively even wage distributions, men in Turkey, for instance, earn on average 3.6 times more than women.

As stated in the introduction of this report, one of the central principles of an equality of opportunity perspective is effective non-discrimination. The problem of unjustified wage gaps between men and women is only one of many other aspects that comprehensive anti-discrimination policies

[34] Ringen/Sverdrup/Jahn (2011: 18).
[35] Laursen/Andersen/Jahn (2011: 26).
[36] Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 16).
[37] See Goebel/Gornig/Häußermann (2010).

Figure 10: Gini coefficient



Source: OECD Society at a Glance 2011. | BertelsmannStiftung

must address. From an equality of opportunity perspective, particular social backgrounds, such as membership in a particular social group or otherwise unequal starting-point, are not allowed to negatively affect personal life planning. Though most OECD countries have enacted legislation against discrimination, it persists to different extents against, for example, ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals and religious minorities. All in all, the SGI experts identify good or at least acceptable anti-discrimination policies in most OECD states. At the head of the group are Canada, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden and the United States.

By contrast, Mexico, South Korea, Slovakia and Turkey show the most significant deficiencies with respect to protection from discrimination. In these countries, minority elements face occasionally systematic discrimination. In South Korea, for example, the SGI experts criticized discrimina-

tion against homosexuals, as well as the frequent discrimination faced by irregular workers and migrant workers.[38] In Slovakia, strong tendencies toward discrimination target the Hungarian and Roma minority; there is even evidence of an increase in racially motivated violence against ethnic minorities.[39] Also in Hungary, the Roma population suffers from widespread discrimination in fields like employment, housing or access to political posts.[40] Turkey receives the lowest rating regarding ant-discrimination efforts. Although the principle of non-discrimination and equality before the law is stated in the Turkish constitution, SGI experts criticize that no separate act exists combating all forms of discrimination. Turkey has not yet passed a special anti-discrimination law to protect ethnic and religious minorities, disabled persons, persons with non-mainstream sexual orientations, women or elderly people. As a consequence, progress in terms of improving the status of disadvantaged groups is very limited, particularly with respect to women and children. Also the situation of Alevis, Roma and some officially accepted religious minorities (Greek and Armenian Christians and Jews) have been repeatedly underlined by the EU progress reports.[41]

Non-discrimination is also closely linked to the policy field of integration. In this regard, the Justice Index particularly draws on the respective qualitative assessments provided by SGI experts. In many OECD countries, a considerable portion of the population is made up of immigrants, who must be given a genuine opportunity to participate in society. Apart from Australia, New Zealand and Luxembourg, Canada is considered to be the most successful example of integration and social participation by migrants. Canadian multiculturalism is based on guiding values such as cultural tolerance and pluralism. Thanks to this basic social attitude and corresponding state support measures, about 250,000 immigrants per year are successfully integrated, though even in Canada young immigrants experience a higher rate of unemployment than do non-migrants.[42] However, one has to bear in mind that integration policies in Australia, Canada or New Zealand tend to favor better qualified immigrants.[43] In the case of New Zealand, for example, the SGI experts underline that the country's overall good performance in the field of integration policy "has to do with the fact that New Zealand employs a points-based selection system which helps to attract immigrants that are relatively self-sufficient financially and can be easily be integrated in the labor market. Indeed, the new Immigration Act 2009 for the first time clearly states that in New Zealand, skilled immigration is preferred. (...) More problematical are lesser-skilled immigrants who experience difficulties in settling when they are unable to bring other family members to New Zealand."[44]

Other countries, such as Germany, Austria or the Scandinavian countries have completely different migrant structures. In Germany, for instance, about 15 million people (20 percent of the population) have a migration background. While the government tries to attract highly skilled employees

[38] For details, see Kalinowski/Croissant (2011: 14-15).
[39] For details, see Kneuer/Malova/Bönker (2011: 10).
[40] For details, see Agh/Dieringer/Bönker (2011: 8).
[41] Togan/Seufert/Colino (2011: 15-16).
[42] For details, cf. Sharpe/Savoie/Thunert (2010: 18-19).
[43] See also OECD (2010: 67).
[44] Kaiser/Scott/Croissant (2011: 17).

to work in Germany, and therefore facilitates immigration for this group, the country has considerable problems when it comes to the integration of second- and third generation "migrants" (mainly descendants of the huge number of guest workers that were recruited in particular during the 1960s and 1970s) who often have a more disadvantaged socioeconomic background.[45] It is interesting to note that the Nordic states, which achieve best ratings on almost every indicator in the Justice Index's "social cohesion" dimension, are not in the top group in terms of integration policy. Although social exclusion is generally rare in Sweden, problems associated with the integration of non-Swedish citizens are discussed intensively in the public sphere.[46] The same goes for Denmark, Finland and also Norway, where non-Western immigrants, for instance, experience higher unemployment rates and lower wages than native Norwegians.[47]

Together with Italy, Slovakia or Turkey, Austria is among those OECD countries that receive the lowest ratings on integration policy: According to the SGI country experts, "the reality of integration politics in Austria is characterized by a profound dilemma. Although the economy depends on integration, as does the Austrian social system (given the demographic changes associated with an aging population), the public mood is increasingly hostile towards immigration. In consequence, politicians abstain from fostering policies favoring the integration of persons with a foreign background. This results in a vicious cycle in which the absence of constructive integration policies spells for failed integration, which in turn leads to an even more hostile mood regarding immigration."[48]

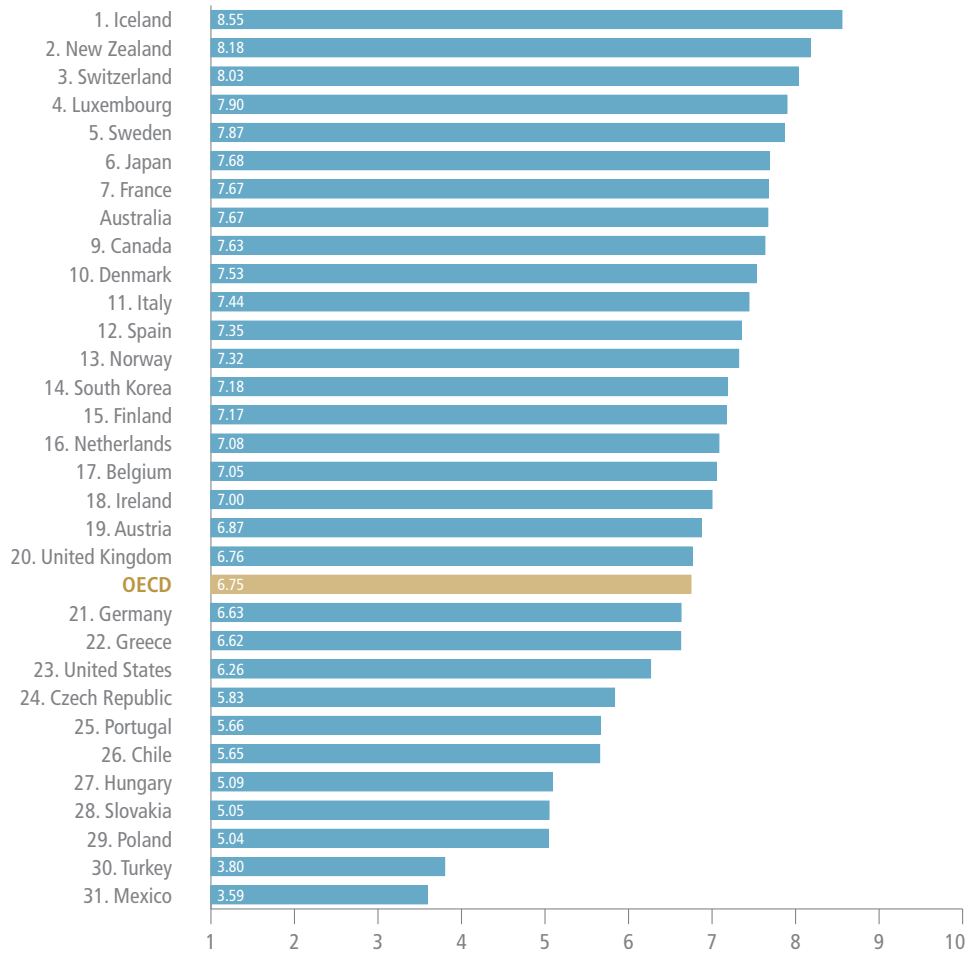
V Health

In the area of health, many OECD countries are clustered closely together, in large part because these highly developed countries are able to achieve comparable values on indicators such as (healthy) life expectancy and infant mortality. Overall, 20 of the 31 countries surveyed achieved a score between six and eight on a scale of one to 10. Iceland, New Zealand and Switzerland showed the best results, with overall results of more than eight points, while Hungary, Slovakia, Poland, Mexico and Turkey collectively formed the lowest group in this dimension of the Justice Index.

According to the qualitative assessments of SGI experts, the majority of the OECD countries' health systems can, in principle, be described as inclusive. However, there are definite differences in terms of the quality of health services, as well as variations in ease of access depending on the quality and type of health service. Whereas, for instance, health care in Switzerland, Sweden or Denmark is both inclusive and of very high quality, the "quality of health care varies widely in Mexico," as it is stated in the SGI report. "Private, self-financed health care is limited for the most part to middle-class and upper-class Mexicans. This group encompasses about 13 percent of the total population, but receives about 33 percent of all hospital beds. A larger minority of around one-

[45] See also Rüb/Heinemann/Zohlnhöfer (2011: 35-36).
[46] Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 16 and 18).
[47] Ringen/Sverdrup/Jahn (2011: 20).
[48] Pelinka/Winter-Ebmer/Zohlnhöfer (2011: 16-17).

Figure 11: Health - Inclusiveness, quality, perceived health/income (aggregate score)



Source: Own calculations based on OECD, Eurostat, WHO and SGI data. | BertelsmannStiftung

third of the population (most of whom work in the formal sector) can access health care through state-run occupational and contributory insurance schemes such as the Mexican Social Security Institute (Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social, IMSS) and the State Employees' Social Security and Social Services Institute (Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado, ISSSTE). (...) It is doubtful that there would be enough capacity to provide the vast majority of Mexicans with health care even if financial problems did not limit access, which is the case. (...) There are some health facilities available to the poor, though they are undercapitalized and often hard to reach for those Mexicans who live in rural areas."[49]

[49] Philip/Faust/Thunert (2011: 16-17).

The country experts also render a quite critical judgment in the case of Hungary: "The Hungarian health care system has suffered from inefficiencies, rising costs, low quality and an erosion of universal access through an increasing reliance on informal payments."[50] Greece, too, to take another example, demonstrates similar problems. Here it is above all mismanagement and the significant latitude allowed to corruption that negatively affects quality, inclusivity and the efficiency of services: "As a result, while health care policies do not generally provide poor health care to the population, inclusiveness is doubtful and cost efficiency leaves much be desired."[51]

On the indicators of healthy life expectancy and infant mortality, the vast majority of OECD countries lie quite closely together. But here too are outliers at both the top and bottom: Infant mortality rates are lowest in Iceland, Japan, Luxembourg and Sweden. These countries' statistics reveal just 1.8 to 2.5 deaths per thousand births. The large majority of OECD countries have a mortality rate between three and five cases per thousand. Only Chile (7.9), Turkey (13.1) and Mexico (14.7) show clearly worse values, although in all of these countries, infant mortality rates have trended significantly downward in recent years. It is also interesting that the performance of the United States, with an infant mortality rate of 6.5 per thousand, is worse than the OECD average.

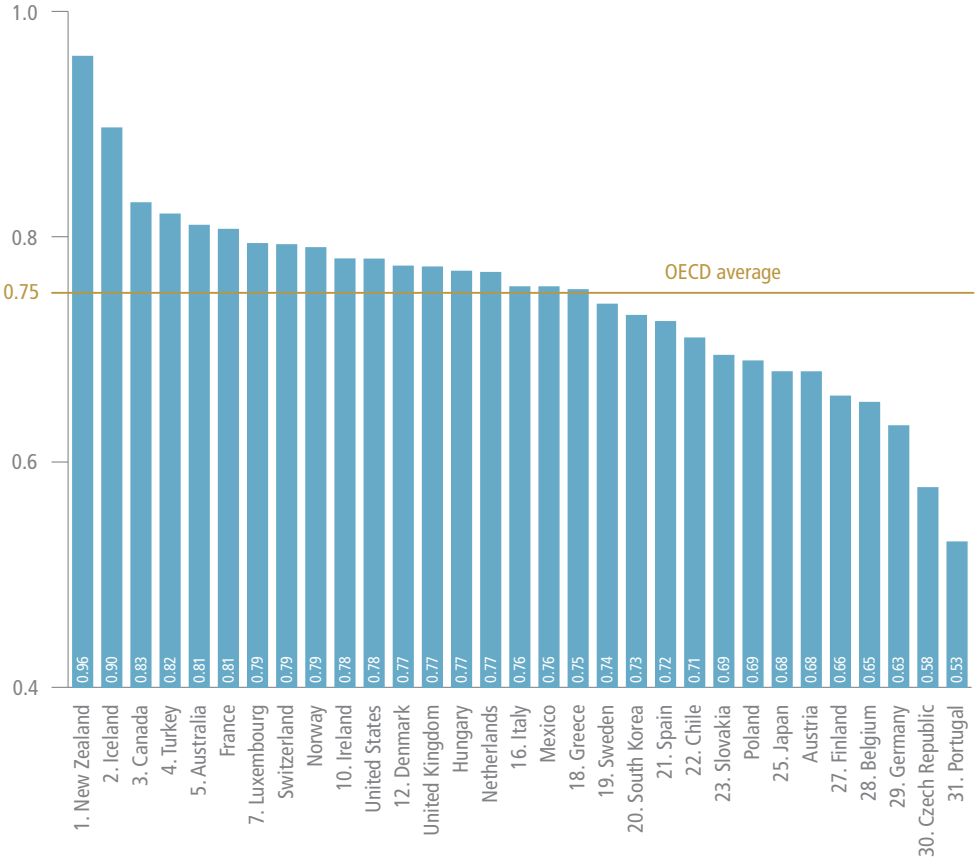
In looking at the indicator "Healthy Life Expectancy" somewhat more closely, similar patterns emerge from the distribution. The indicator provided by the WHO shows the average number of years that a person can expect to live in "full health," by taking into account years lived in less than full health due to disease and/or injury.[52] Once again, Turkey and Mexico perform most poorly. With respective healthy life expectancies of 67 and 69 years, both fall well under the OECD average (73.5 years). By contrast, Japan (78 years), France, Italy, Spain and Switzerland (each at 76 years), lie clearly over the average.

From the standpoint of social justice, self-assessments of personal health, broken down by income group, are also quite interesting. For this indicator, the health self-assessments of people in the country's lowest income quintile was compared to corresponding assessments by individuals in the highest income quintile. The more balanced this relationship is – with an optimal ratio of one – the less one's membership in a particular income bracket plays a role in the perception of personal health. In other words, if people in the lowest income quintile rate their own health as good less often than do people in the higher income group, the ratio declines. Though no clear statement regarding cause can be made, an inequality in the perception of personal health is evident in this case. People in lower income groups feel themselves to be less healthy than those in upper income groups. From the point of view of justice, this must be evaluated negatively, even if differences in self-assessment of personal health are not necessarily due to actual inequities in the health care system. But the mere fact that people in lower income groups judge their own health to be worse than do people in upper income brackets is certainly thought-provoking from the perspective of equal opportunity.

[50] Agh/Dieringer/Bönker (2011: 11).
[51] Sotiropoulos/Featherstone/Colino (2011: 21).
[52] See the WHO's definition at http://apps.who.int/ghodata/?vid=93000.

Figure 12: Perceived health in relation to income level

Ratio of self-perceived health between highest and lowest income quintile



Source: Own calculations based on OECD and Eurostat data, see appendix p. 51.

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Using this measure to assess the degree of inequality in self-perceived health, New Zealand (0.96) and Iceland (0.9) performed the best. For these countries, the ratio is close to one, meaning that people evaluated their personal health as similarly good largely independently of whether they belonged to the lowest or highest income group. At the bottom of the rankings, on the other hand, are the Czech Republic and Portugal, with ratios respectively of 0.53 and 0.58. Thus, in these countries, far fewer people in the lowest income group than in the higher income group assessed their own health as good. Finland, Belgium and Germany also performed badly in this respect. In Germany, barely 50 percent of people within the lowest income group assessed their personal health to be good or very good, as compared to 78 percent in the highest income group.

VI Intergenerational justice

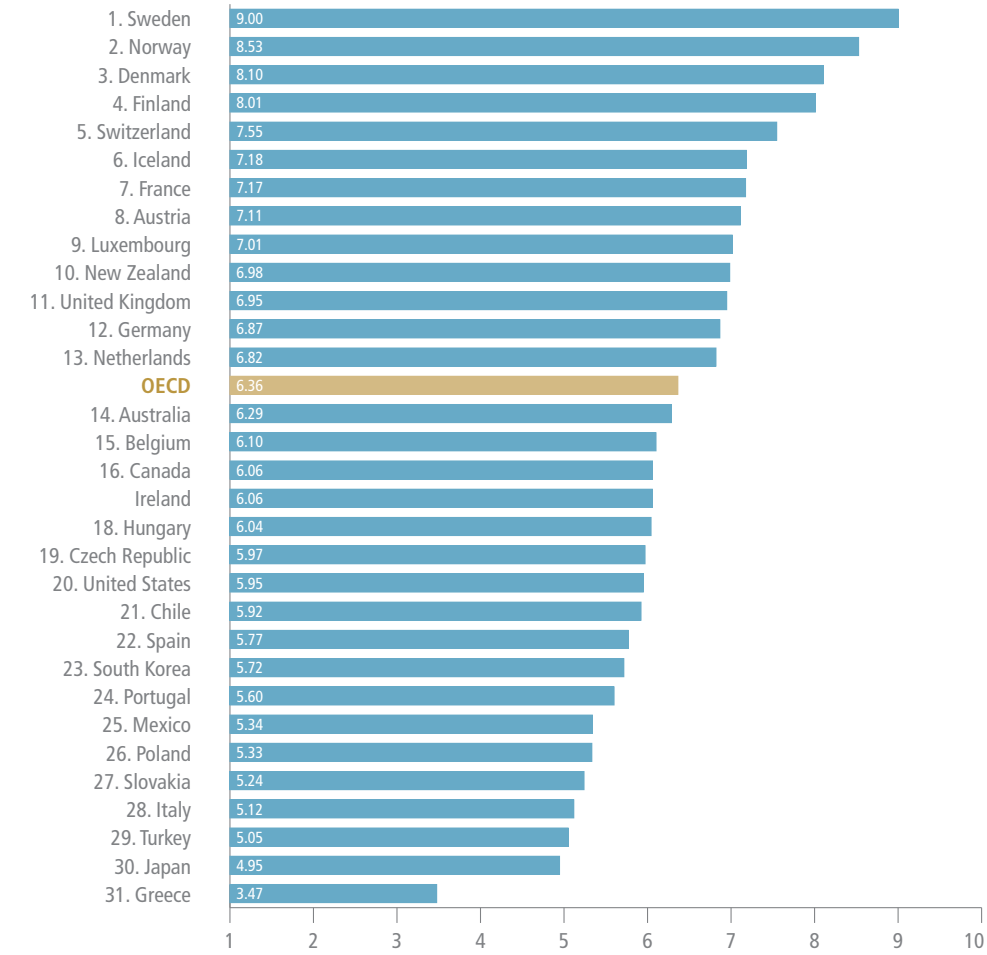
A fair balance between the generations is a fundamental element of social justice. The concept of intergenerational justice is here comprised of three distinct components. First, expert assessments of family and pension policies are used, in order to evaluate political measures aimed at both younger and older generations. Environmental policy, the second component, is assessed by using a qualitative indicator and an international comparison of CO_2 emissions per unit of GDP. The third component involves assessing the politico-economic conditions being established for future generations by measuring public investment in research and development and the level of debt contained in the public budget.

Overall, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland perform best in terms of intergenerational justice according to the criteria used here. This is due in part to their very good ratings on family, pension and environmental policies. By contrast, Greece displays the greatest weaknesses, with particularly negative ratings in the areas of fiscal, environmental and pension policies.

A policy oriented to generational justice keeps families and senior citizens alike in focus and seeks a balance between the interests of young and old. The Scandinavian states attain top ratings in categories of both family and pension policy. Child-friendly policies have always been a hallmark of the Scandinavian approach. Denmark's family policy is an example of the Nordic countries' successful approach to combining parenting and labor market participation. SGI experts in particular point to Denmark's system of day-care centers, crèches and kindergartens that allow sufficient flexibility for both parents to work. This leads to the fact that "female employment in Denmark is among the highest in OECD countries. Comparative research also shows that men in Nordic countries tend to contribute more to work at home than do men in many other countries. The system of parental leave, in connection with childbirth, is relatively generous and men also have parental leave rights. It is not just the government, including government municipalities that are in charge of day care facilities, which contribute to better family policy. Social parties and business have roles to play. The great majority of children attend daycare facilities in Denmark."[53] Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland all receive top marks in these regards, but it is worth noting that also France, Luxembourg and New Zealand achieve similar scores for their family policies. In contrast to these top performers, Switzerland only ranks in the bottom group in the area of family policy: According to the SGI experts, Swiss family policy offers relatively little benefit to women. Parental leave is only offered to mothers – but not to fathers – and the number of childcare facilities is limited.[54]

[53] Laursen/Andersen/Jahn (2011: 27). In Sweden, which can also be seen as a model for successful family policy, about 50 percent of fathers go on parental leave for some time. Cf. Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 17).
[54] Armingeon/Linder/Zohlnhöfer (2011: 21-22).

Figure 13: Intergenerational justice



Source: Own calculations based on OECD and SGI data. | BertelsmannStiftung

In addition to their exemplary family policies, the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish pension reforms of the 1990s and 2000s can also be viewed as promising from the point of view of financial sustainability and intergenerational justice. In Sweden's case, however, the SGI experts point out that intergenerational justice can only be ensured if the young generation is provided with promising access to the labor market. "The current problem of high youth unemployment therefore will determine the degree of inter-generational equity in the long run."[55] Norway is in a particular lucky position as "future pensions are underpinned by massive savings in the petroleum fund, now renamed the Government Pension Fund - Global (Statens pensjonsfond-Utland)."

[55] Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 17).

Together with recent reforms, this guarantees a high degree of fiscal sustainability. Moreover, "pensions are by international comparison generous and equitable, and are set to so remain. The universal basic minimum pension is on a sufficient level to by and large eliminate the risk of poverty in old age. The recent reform has strengthened the link between contributions and benefits in earnings-related pensions and has improved intergenerational equity in the system. There is broad confidence in the population in the adequacy of future pension from the state system and hence no massive escape into the refuge of private pension insurance."[56]

By contrast, Greece must address a number of more substantial problems if it is to bring its pension system onto financially solid and intergenerationally equitable ground. The SGI country experts conclude that the "system's distributional principles favor today's pensioners as well as the currently middle-aged cohort whose pension rights will mature in the next few years. Younger generations will face many more constraints unless the government urgently embarks on a streamlining of the pension system."[57] In the course of the recent debt crisis, the Greek government has already implemented a first round of fundamental reform and austerity measures. Portugal and Japan also face critical challenges in setting up a sustainable and equitable pension system that effectively prevents old age poverty.

Another aspect holding considerable importance in the realization of intergenerational justice is environmental policy. It is only through the conservation and renewal of natural resources that environmental conditions can be fairly preserved for future generations. Among OECD countries, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland achieve the best results in this area. Norway has among the lowest CO_2 emissions and highest degree of renewable resource use in the world. Due to the natural abundance of water, the country's main energy source is hydroelectric power.[58] Sweden is also praised for its environmental policy: "By increasing taxes on fossil fuel systems and creating incentives for alternative production and consumption patterns, the government seeks to drive society towards sustainable development."[59] However, one has to note that Sweden, as many other OECD countries, still relies substantially on nuclear energy. Although the construction of new nuclear plants was prohibited some 30 years ago in a referendum, the Swedish government reversed this decision in 2009. Especially after the disaster of Fukushima, one might question whether an approach of expanding the use of nuclear energy is still appropriate with a view to future generations.

It is worth noting that the United Kingdom too performs quite well in the area of environmental policy: Sustainable development and environmental policy have been high-profile policies over the last decade, with the Brown government having emphasized in particular the international aspects of the former.[60] The United Kingdom is also well ahead of many other OECD nations in

[56] Ringen/Sverdrup/Jahn (2011: 19-20).
[57] Sotiropoulos/Featherstone/Colino (2011: 23-24)
[58] Ringen/Sverdrup/Jahn (2011: 22-23).
[59] Pierre/Jochem/Jahn (2011: 20).
[60] Busch/Begg/Bandelow (2011: 27-28).

terms of $C0_2$ emissions, but lags well behind with respect to the share of renewable energy used in power generation. Measured relative to economic activity (GDP), Australia produces the most CO_2 of any OECD country, and accordingly has considerable catching up to do from an environmental perspective. A similar assessment can be made for the United States, Canada, Poland and the Czech Republic.

In addition to the above environmental indicators, some forward-looking fiscal policy indicators are also included in order to assess a country's record regarding intergenerational justice. The first is public expenditure on research and development. This plays a decisive role in determining a country's innovative capacity, and thus in future increases in wealth. Austria and Iceland are the only OECD countries that spend more than 1 percent of its GDP on research and development. In most countries, including the leading economies, the corresponding investment rates are between 0.5 percent and 1 percent. Sweden, Finland, Denmark, France and Norway attain quite good ratings in this area. However, when taking into account not only public spending on R&D, but also the level of private spending, the most successful countries are Sweden, Finland and Japan.

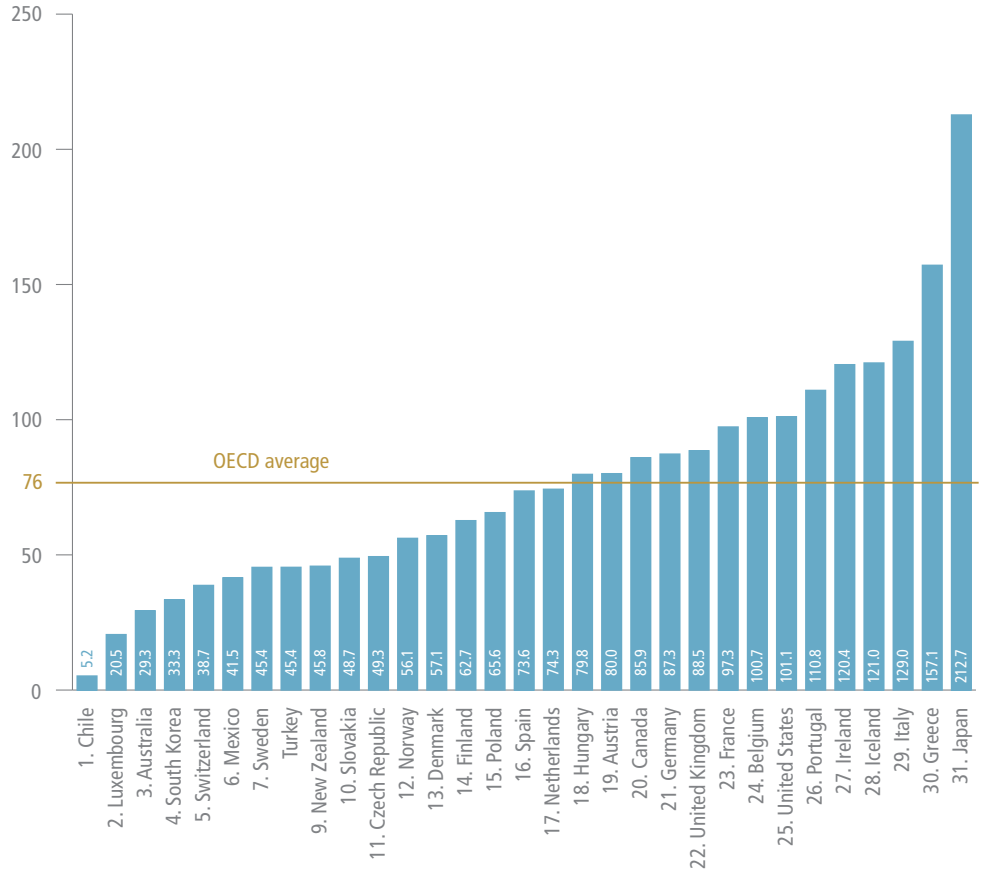
The governments of Chile (0.13 percent), Mexico (0.19 percent), Slovakia (0.24 percent) and Greece (0.28 percent) by contrast show the lowest levels of public investment in research and development, possibly undermining the long-term competitiveness of their countries thereby.

The "debt-to-GDP" indicator reflects the financial burden that will be left to future generations. A comparison of OECD countries shows widely varying results in this area. With by far the highest levels, Japan has accumulated a debt equivalent to 213 percent of GDP. But Greece (157 percent), Italy (129 percent), Iceland (121 percent), and Ireland (120 percent) too are struggling with immense quantities of debt, presenting governments with enormous challenges from the perspective of sustainable fiscal policy. In contrast, national debt levels in Luxembourg, Australia and South Korea remain moderate at between 20 percent to 33 percent of GDP. The top performer in terms of budgetary policy is OECD new member Chile. The SGI country experts highlight the fact that the "country's budgetary policy is based on a fiscal rule that explicitly and relatively transparently links overall government spending to an estimate of government revenue trends. This puts Chile at the international best-practice frontier regarding budget policies and fiscal regimes. Although temporarily suspended during the difficult 2009 – 2010 period, this rule's application since 2001 (and the adherence to fiscal orthodoxy even without a rule since the mid-1980s) has allowed the government to reduce overall debt, accumulate sovereign wealth and reduce its overall financial liabilities to negative levels. This policy proved absolutely adequate in dealing with the world financial crisis."

[61] Knebel/Schmidt-Hebbel/Thunert (2011: 16).

Figure 14: Debt levels

Percent of GDP



Source: OECD, CIA World Factbook, Eurostat, see appendix p. 51.

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5. Conclusion

Social justice is more than just a concept. Indeed, the sustainability of a socially responsible market economy depends on the extent to which social justice is defined in operational terms and realized through concrete measures, norms and decisive action. According to the understanding of social justice underlying the present study, a society must be able to guarantee all its members genuinely equal opportunities for self-realization through targeted investments in the development of individual capabilities. This concept, which encompasses both personal freedom and the empowerment to pursue a self-determined course of life, is thoroughly capable of garnering widespread consensus and bridging competing political agendas in a productive manner.

There are well-defined areas of political and social activity to be derived from the conceptual paradigm of enabling people to participate. It is incumbent upon states to target these areas of activity, namely the effective prevention of poverty, provision of equal opportunities of access to education and employment, prevention of any form of discrimination, facilitation of equal treatment, integration that precludes segregation, guaranteeing equal access to high quality health care provisions, and achieving a fair balance between generations, and to do so in concert with actors in civil society.

The Justice Index serves as a guide to the areas found wanting in individual OECD member states. Without presuming to represent the full complexity of social reality on the ground, a cross-national comparison of this kind shows clearly that social justice and market economic performance in no way counteract each other, as is demonstrated by the success observed on both fronts in the north European states. Even if these countries do not top the ranking of each indicator considered here, the “universalist” welfare states of northern Europe are nonetheless most capable of providing equal opportunities for self-realization within their respective societies.[62] In sum, these countries come closest to fulfilling the complex and multidimensional demands of the six single dimensions outlined in this report.

Of course, this is not to suggest that policies and approaches yielding success in one country will necessarily yield the same success in another political system. Long-standing institutional path dependencies, the diversity of political cultures, and diverging concepts of the welfare state must be taken into account when considering the state of affairs in another country. Nevertheless, this should not prevent those in search of effective approaches to draw inspiration from the priorities set and success of measures taken in other countries.

After all, the creation of equal participation opportunities constitutes more than an ethical and social obligation in terms of ensuring solidarity and mutual responsibility in society; it is a fundamental investment in the sustainability of our societies. Policies that facilitate participation in

[62] Esping-Andersen (1990). p. 77.

society require widespread consensus on a regulative and conceptual framework in which values such as solidarity, social responsibility and the common good are cherished. Political actors – as well as individual citizens – must therefore act to uphold the principles of a sustainable and socially just order in which economic strength and social equality do not undermine but complement and facilitate each other.

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Appendix

Table 1: Overview of results

Country	Weighted index	Non-weighted index	Poverty prevention	Access to education	Labor market inclusion	Social cohesion and non-discrimination	Health	Intergenerational justice
1. Iceland	8.74	8.49	9.04	9.33	9.02	7.81	8.55	7.18
2. Norway	8.31	8.27	8.86	6.93	8.78	9.21	7.32	8.53
3. Denmark	8.19	8.06	9.14	7.43	7.88	8.26	7.53	8.10
4. Sweden	8.17	8.25	8.41	7.86	7.48	8.91	7.87	9.00
5. Finland	8.05	7.96	8.53	8.22	7.51	8.29	7.17	8.01
6. Netherlands	7.71	7.52	8.86	6.35	7.95	8.07	7.08	6.82
7. Switzerland	7.49	7.56	7.49	5.99	8.52	7.80	8.03	7.55
8. Luxembourg	7.35	7.33	8.59	5.27	7.13	8.07	7.90	7.01
9. Canada	7.30	7.29	7.12	7.15	7.90	7.86	7.63	6.06
10. France	7.24	7.10	8.64	6.29	6.27	6.55	7.67	7.17
11. Austria	7.17	6.92	8.62	5.39	7.50	6.05	6.87	7.11
12. Czech Republic	7.16	6.75	9.18	6.55	6.22	6.76	5.83	5.97
13. New Zealand	7.14	7.38	6.26	6.51	8.12	8.20	8.18	6.98
14. Germany	7.03	6.89	8.11	5.53	7.13	7.11	6.63	6.87
15. United Kingdom	6.77	6.83	6.85	5.56	7.43	7.46	6.76	6.95
16. Belgium	6.74	6.68	7.61	6.32	5.79	7.20	7.05	6.10
17. Hungary	6.41	6.05	9.12	4.77	4.79	6.46	5.09	6.04
18. Ireland	6.36	6.40	7.36	4.43	5.99	7.58	7.00	6.06
19. Italy	6.29	6.17	6.77	6.68	5.60	5.41	7.44	5.12
20. Poland	6.22	5.93	7.35	6.79	5.14	5.94	5.04	5.33
21. Australia	6.14	6.57	4.24	5.32	8.13	7.79	7.67	6.29
22. Japan	6.00	6.07	5.21	5.53	7.66	5.38	7.68	4.95
23. Slovakia	5.99	5.63	8.42	4.93	4.36	5.80	5.05	5.24
24. South Korea	5.89	6.07	4.26	5.83	8.15	5.27	7.18	5.72
25. Portugal	5.87	5.89	5.45	5.89	6.53	6.23	5.66	5.60
26. Spain	5.86	6.06	5.26	7.23	4.42	6.35	7.35	5.77
27. United States	5.71	6.03	3.86	5.80	7.34	7.00	6.26	5.95
28. Greece	5.25	5.18	5.87	4.38	5.29	5.46	6.62	3.47
29. Chile	5.16	5.30	3.20	6.20	7.24	3.62	5.65	5.92
30. Mexico	4.76	4.82	2.11	6.81	7.68	3.38	3.59	5.34
31. Turkey	4.19	4.14	4.26	3.67	4.86	3.22	3.80	5.05

Source: Own calculations.

Table 2: Dimension I: Poverty prevention

Indicator	Definition	Source
A1 Poverty rate	Percentage of persons with "late 2000s" disposable income below 50 percent of national median, adjusted for household size	OECD Society at a Glance 2011 – OECD Social Indicators. Provisional data from OECD income database, last updated 4th April 2011
A2 Child poverty	Percentage of children 0 to 17 years old in households with "late 2000s" disposable income below 50 percent of national median, adjusted for household size	OECD Society at a Glance 2011 – OECD Social Indicators. Provisional data from OECD income database, last updated 4th April 2011
A3 Senior citizen poverty	Percentage of citizens 65 or older in households with "late 2000s"disposable income below 50 percent of the national median, adjusted for household size	OECD Society at a Glance 2011 – OECD Social Indicators. Provisional data from OECD income database, last updated 4th April 2011

Source: Own representation.

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Table 3: Dimension II: Access to education

Indicator	Definition	Source
B1 Education policy	Policy achievements in delivering high-quality, equitable education and training	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S19.1) "To what extent does education policy in your country deliver high-quality, efficient and equitable education and training?"
B2 Socioeconomic background and student performance	Product of the strength and slope of the socioeconomic gradient	PISA 2009 Results: Overcoming Social Background, Table II.3.2: Measures of the relationship between socio-economic background and reading performance
B3 Pre-primary education	Public expenditure on pre-primary education as a percentage of GDP	OECD Education at a Glance 2011, OECD Online Education Database (CAN, IRL), Eurostat (GRC, TUR)

Source: Own representation.

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Table 4: Dimension III: Labor market inclusion

Indicator	Definition	Source
C1 Employment rate	Percentage of persons of working age (15-64 years) who are in employment	OECD Employment Outlook 2011
C2 Older employment	Employment rate among the older labor force (55-64 years)	OECD Employment Outlook 2011
C3 Foreign-born-to-native employment	Ratio of foreign-born to native employment rate for the 15-64 population	OECD Society at a Glance 2011 OECD A Profile of Immigrant Populations in the 21st Century: Data from OECD countries, 2008 (JPN, MEX, NZL)
C4 Employment rates by gender women/men	Ratio of female to male employment (25-64 years)	OECD Employment Outlook 2011
C5 Unemployment rate	Standardized unemployment rate (percentage of civilian labor force)	OECD Employment Outlook 2011
C6 Long-term unemployment	Percentage of long-term unemployed (+12 months) to the civilian labor force	OECD Employment Outlook 2011 OECD Economic Outlook 87, OECD Factbook 2010
C7 Youth unemployment	Percentage of unemployed persons who are between 15 and 24 years old	OECD Employment Outlook 2011
C8 Low-skilled unemployment ratio	Percentage of unemployed persons who have completed less than an upper secondary education to overall unemployment	OECD Employment Outlook 2011 OECD Employment Outlook 2006 (JPN)

Source: Own representation. | BertelsmannStiftung

Table 5: Dimension IV: Social cohesion and non-discrimination

Indikator	Definition	Quellen
D1 Social inclusion policy	Policy performance in terms of strengthening social cohesion and inclusion	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S11.1) "To what extent does social policy in your country prevent exclusion and decoupling from society?"
D2 Gini-coefficient	Income distribution	OECD Society at a Glance 2011 – OECD Social Indicators
D3 Non-discrimination policy	Policy performance regarding non-discrimination	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S3.3) "How effectively does the state protect against discrimination based on gender, physical ability, ethnic origin, social status, political views or religion?"
D4 Income inequalities (women/men)	Percentage of estimated average female earned income to male earned income	OECD Gender, Institutions and Development Database
D5 Integration policy	Policy performance regarding the integration of migrants into society	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S14.1) "How effectively do policies in your country support the integration of migrants into society?"

Source: Own representation. | BertelsmannStiftung

Table 6: Dimension V: Health

Indicator	Definition	Source
E1 Health policy	Policy achievements in providing high-quality. inclusive and cost-efficient health care	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S10.1) "Do policies provide high-quality, inclusive and cost-efficient health care?"
E2 Infant mortality	Deaths per 1000 live births	OECD Health Data 2011
E3 Healthy life expectancy	Average number of years that a person can expect to live in "full health" by taking into account years lived in less than full health due to disease and/or injury	WHO Indicators
E4 Perceived health in relation to income levels	Ratio of percentage of persons in the lowest income group with self-reported health status "> = good" to percentage of persons in the highest income group with self-reported health status "> = good"	OECD Health Data 2011 Eurostat Indicators of the health and long-term care strand Data for MEX are MISSING; SGI-Estimate

Source: Own representation.

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Table 7: Dimension VI: Intergenerational justice

Indicator	Definition	Source
F1 Family policy	Policy performance in allowing for the compatibility of family and career/work	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S12.1) "To what extent do familiy support policies enable women to combine parenting with participation in the labor market?"
F2 Pension policy	Policy performance in providing pensions that prevent poverty, are intergenerationally just and fiscally sustainable	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S13.1) "To what extent does pension policy realize goals of poverty prevention, inter-generational equity and fiscal sustainability?"
F3 Environmental policy	Policy performance in the sustainable treatment and use of natural resources and the environment	Sustainable Governance Indicators 2011, expert assessment (indicator S17.1) "How effectively does environmental policy in your country protect and preserve the sustainability of natural resources and quality of the environment?"
F4 CO_2 emissions	CO_2 emissions per unit of GDP at PPP	CO_2 Emissions from Fuel Combustion (2010 Edition). IEA, Paris
F5 Research and development	Gross Public expenditure on R&D as a percentage of GDP	OECD Main Science and Technology Indicators 2011/1
F6 National debt level	Gross general government financial liabilities as a percentage of GDP	OECD Economic Outlook 89 OECD Factbook 2010 (CHL) CIA World Factbook 2011, extr. Aug 12 2011 (MEX) Eurostat European Structural Indicators Database (TUR)

Source: Own representation.

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Table 8: Raw data

Country	A1	A2	A3	B1	B2	B3	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8
Australia	14.6 %	14.0 %	39.2 %	8	5.84	0.04 %	72.40 %	60.6 %	0.92	0.84	5.23 %	0.97 %	11.53 %	1.18 %
Austria	7.2 %	7.2 %	9.9 %	5	7.97	0.45 %	71.73 %	42.4 %	0.89	0.86	4.38 %	1.10 %	8.83 %	1.75 %
Belgium	9.1 %	10.0 %	13.5 %	7	9.07	0.59 %	62.01 %	37.3 %	0.83	0.84	8.28 %	4.04 %	22.40 %	1.51 %
Canada	11.4 %	14.8 %	4.9 %	9	2.75	0.20 %	71.54 %	58.3 %	0.95	0.93	8.01 %	0.96 %	14.79 %	1.52 %
Chile	18.9 %	24.0 %	22.8 %	4	5.80	0.59 %	59.32 %	58.0 %	0.96	0.65	8.15 %	0.89 %	18.56 %	0.55 %
Czech Republic	5.4 %	8.8 %	3.6 %	7	5.70	0.42 %	65.00 %	46.5 %	1.01	0.77	7.30 %	3.16 %	18.34 %	3.27 %
Denmark	6.1 %	3.7 %	12.3 %	7	5.22	0.60 %	73.44 %	57.6 %	0.89	0.94	7.43 %	1.42 %	13.76 %	1.21 %
Finland	7.9 %	5.2 %	13.0 %	10	2.42	0.36 %	68.28 %	56.3 %	0.93	0.96	8.40 %	1.98 %	20.30 %	1.23 %
France	7.2 %	9.3 %	5.3 %	6	8.52	0.63 %	63.99 %	39.7 %	0.89	0.88	9.77 %	3.92 %	22.50 %	1.25 %
Germany	8.9 %	8.3 %	10.3 %	6	7.88	0.40 %	71.15 %	57.7 %	0.88	0.87	7.08 %	3.35 %	9.69 %	2.18 %
Greece	12.6 %	13.2 %	22.7 %	3	4.25	0.11 %	59.55 %	42.3 %	1.09	0.68	12.58 %	5.66 %	32.90 %	0.93 %
Hungary	6.4 %	7.2 %	4.7 %	4	12.48	0.69 %	55.40 %	34.4 %	1.19	0.84	11.16 %	5.64 %	26.58 %	2.10 %
Iceland	6.5 %	6.7 %	6.7 %	8	1.67	0.75 %	78.86 %	80.5 %	1.00	0.96	7.53 %	1.60 %	16.17 %	1.02 %
Ireland	9.8 %	11.0 %	13.4 %	5	4.91	0.003 %	60.44 %	50.8 %	1.00	0.87	13.70 %	6.72 %	28.70 %	1.30 %
Italy	11.4 %	15.3 %	8.9 %	5	3.78	0.48 %	56.88 %	36.6 %	1.10	0.68	8.43 %	4.09 %	27.86 %	1.08 %
Japan	15.7 %	14.2 %	21.7 %	6	3.44	0.09 %	70.11 %	65.2 %	0.87	0.75	5.06 %	1.90 %	9.22 %	1.43 %
Luxembourg	7.2 %	11.0 %	2.7 %	4	7.20	0.45 %	65.21 %	39.6 %	1.12	0.78	4.54 %	1.33 %	14.23 %	1.14 %
Mexico	21 %	25.8 %	29.0 %	4	3.63	0.59 %	60.39 %	54.5 %	1.01	0.56	5.37 %	0.13 %	9.51 %	0.73 %
Netherlands	7.2 %	9.6 %	1.7 %	6	4.74	0.38 %	74.71 %	54.1 %	0.85	0.87	4.47 %	1.23 %	8.67 %	1.16 %
New Zealand	11 %	12.2 %	23.5 %	9	8.63	0.45 %	72.34 %	73.3 %	0.87	0.85	6.53 %	0.59 %	17.06 %	0.96 %
Norway	7.8 %	5.5 %	8.0 %	6	3.10	0.42 %	75.36 %	68.6 %	0.91	0.95	3.50 %	0.33 %	9.32 %	1.37 %
Poland	10.1 %	13.5 %	7.7 %	6	5.77	0.57 %	59.26 %	34.0 %	0.73	0.81	9.65 %	2.46 %	23.67 %	1.70 %
Portugal	13.6 %	18.7 %	15.2 %	5	4.95	0.37 %	65.56 %	49.2 %	1.06	0.87	10.98 %	5.74 %	22.33 %	1.05 %
Slovakia	6.7 %	10.7 %	7.2 %	3	5.99	0.37 %	58.75 %	40.6 %	1.00	0.80	14.38 %	8.53 %	33.63 %	3.19 %
South Korea	15 %	10.3 %	45.1 %	7	3.52	0.09 %	63.31 %	60.9 %	0.96	0.71	3.72 %	0.01 %	9.84 %	0.82 %
Spain	13.7 %	17.2 %	20.6 %	5	3.94	0.63 %	59.37 %	43.6 %	0.96	0.81	20.08 %	9.05 %	41.61 %	1.22 %
Sweden	8.4 %	7.0 %	9.9 %	8	5.76	0.67 %	72.69 %	70.6 %	0.84	0.94	8.38 %	1.39 %	25.21 %	1.24 %
Switzerland	8.7 %	9.4 %	17.6 %	8	5.64	0.19 %	78.59 %	68.3 %	0.94	0.85	4.25 %	1.46 %	7.19 %	1.83 %
Turkey	17 %	23.5	13.7 %	3	5.51	0.02 %	46.29 %	29.6 %	1.07	0.39	10.67 %	3.05 %	21.74 %	0.94 %
United Kingdom	11.3 %	13.2 %	12.2 %	6	6.03	0.28 %	70.29 %	56.7 %	0.94	0.87	7.80 %	2.55 %	19.13 %	1.31 %
United States	17.3 %	21.6 %	22.2 %	7	7.06	0.33 %	66.69 %	60.3 %	1.01	0.88	9.63 %	2.79 %	18.42 %	1.71 %

Source: Own representation.

D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	E1	E2	E3	E4	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	Country
7	0.336	8	0.73	9	8	4.3	75	0.81	7	9	5	0.59	0.77 %	29.3 %	Australia
8	0.265	6	0.4	4	8	3.8	74	0.68	6	6	6	0.25	1.13 %	80.0 %	Austria
8	0.269	8	0.52	6	9	3.4	74	0.65	9	6	6	0.34	0.42 %	100.7 %	Belgium
7	0.319	9	0.65	9	8	5.1	75	0.83	8	9	5	0.52	0.64 %	85.9 %	Canada
4	0.494	6	0.41	4	7	7.9	72	0.71	6	8	5	0.37	0.13 %	5.2 %	Chile
7	0.255	6	0.6	5	7	2.9	72	0.58	6	7	7	0.54	0.67 %	49.3 %	Czech Republic
9	0.248	7	0.74	7	9	3.1	73	0.77	9	9	8	0.28	0.86 %	57.1 %	Denmark
8	0.263	9	0.72	7	8	2.6	75	0.66	9	9	8	0.34	0.95 %	62.7 %	Finland
6	0.293	6	0.62	6	7	3.9	76	0.81	10	5	6	0.21	0.82 %	97.3 %	France
7	0.295	8	0.61	6	7	3.5	75	0.63	7	7	8	0.34	0.76 %	87.3 %	Germany
4	0.321	6	0.53	5	5	3.1	74	0.75	4	2	3	0.34	0.28 %	157.1 %	Greece
5	0.272	6	0.67	5	4	5.1	69	0.77	5	7	7	0.33	0.48 %	79.8 %	Hungary
7	0.279	9	0.73	6	8	1.8	75	0.90	9	7	4	0.20	1.02 %	121.0 %	Iceland
8	0.299	9	0.58	7	6	3.2	74	0.78	7	6	6	0.28	0.58 %	120.4 %	Ireland
5	0.337	7	0.49	4	7	3.7	76	0.76	4	5	5	0.28	0.53 %	129.0 %	Italy
7	0.329	5	0.46	4	7	2.4	78	0.68	6	4	7	0.32	0.59 %	212.7 %	Japan
9	0.273	8	0.55	9	8	2.5	75	0.79	9	8	7	0.33	0.29 %	20.5 %	Luxembourg
3	0.476	5	0.42	4	5	14.7	69	0.76	6	5	5	0.34	0.19 %	41.5 %	Mexico
8	0.294	9	0.66	8	7	3.8	74	0.77	8	8	5	0.33	0.74 %	74.3 %	Netherlands
8	0.33	9	0.72	9	8	4.7	74	0.96	9	8	6	0.33	0.50 %	45.8 %	New Zealand
10	0.25	9	0.79	8	7	3.1	74	0.79	10	9	8	0.19	0.82 %	56.1 %	Norway
5	0.314	7	0.6	4	5	5.6	70	0.69	6	7	6	0.53	0.41 %	65.6 %	Poland
4	0.361	7	0.61	8	7	3.6	73	0.53	5	4	6	0.28	0.66 %	110.8 %	Portugal
5	0.246	4	0.59	4	5	5.7	70	0.69	5	7	4	0.38	0.24 %	48.7 %	Slovakia
5	0.315	5	0.52	4	8	3.5	74	0.73	4	6	4	0.44	0.85 %	33.3 %	South Korea
5	0.309	8	0.53	6	7	3.3	76	0.72	5	5	5	0.29	0.62 %	73.6 %	Spain
9	0.259	9	0.84	7	9	2.5	75	0.74	10	9	8	0.15	0.99 %	45.4 %	Sweden
8	0.276	8	0.66	7	9	4.3	76	0.79	4	9	8	0.16	0.68 %	38.7 %	Switzerland
4	0.409	3	0.28	4	5	13.1	67	0.82	4	5	4	0.32	0.29 %	45.4 %	Turkey
7	0.341	8	0.7	8	7	4.6	73	0.77	8	8	7	0.28	0.56 %	88.5 %	United Kingdom
6	0.378	9	0.64	8	7	6.5	72	0.78	7	7	6	0.48	0.75 %	101.1 %	United States

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