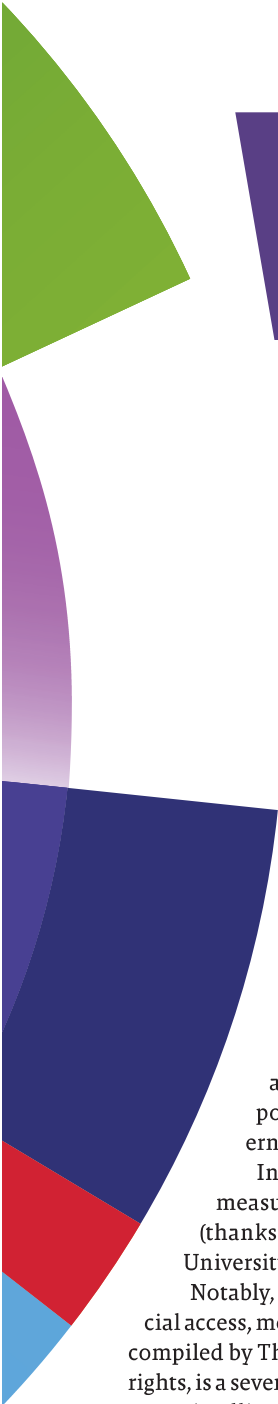




UPDATED AND EXPANDED VERSION

THE SOCIAL INCLUSION INDEX **2013**

In its second year, *AQ's Social Inclusion Index* adds three new variables, expands to four more countries, and includes new data on race and gender. Fresh data show improving trends in some countries and some curious contradictions.



We created the Social Inclusion Index last year for the fifth anniversary issue of *AQ* to provide a more nuanced and multifaceted discussion of a topic that is very much on the agenda of policymakers, multilateral agencies and politicians.

Our Index reflected the emerging consensus that social inclusion comprises an institutional, social, political, and attitudinal environment that goes beyond economics and the reduction of poverty and inequality—in much the same way that “sustainable development” (another trendy term) embodies issues, such as the environment, climate change and good governance, that go beyond the traditional notions of development current in the 1960s and 1970s.

At its most basic, social inclusion is about opportunity: it represents the combined factors necessary for an individual to enjoy a safe, productive life as a fully integrated member of society—irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation. But because political and social environments aren’t virtuous, any measure of social inclusion must also include the factors that allow for a citizen to express himself or herself to demand change and a reasonably accountable government that will respond to those demands.

This ambitiously humane concept touches on a wide range of factors that can be grouped roughly into inputs and outputs. They encompass, of course, economic growth, social spending, reduction of poverty, access to education and other social services, and access to formal employment. Also included are measures for the respect for basic human, political and civil rights, as well as the extent to which citizens participate in civil society and the perceived responsiveness of government.

But most of all, they require equal access to and enjoyment of these goods without regard to race, ethnicity and gender. The poor are not homogeneous. Effectively addressing poverty and social inclusion requires knowing who the poor are and, in particular, understanding the overlay of race and gender on access to private- and public-sector goods, and how race and gender influence political participation and popular attitudes of personal empowerment and government responsiveness.

In our second Social Inclusion Index, it is particularly important that we include measures by race/ethnicity and gender for most of the individual-level variables (thanks largely to the data made available to us by The World Bank and Vanderbilt University’s LAPOP surveys) in almost all the countries in Latin America.

Notably, our second SI Index includes three new important variables. The first, financial access, measures individuals’ interaction with the formal banking system based on data compiled by The World Bank’s Global Findex and disaggregated by gender. The second, LGBT rights, is a seven-point scale developed by Javier Corrales, Mario Pecheny and Mari Crook—the Gay Friendliness Index—that measures LGBT rights and protections in all 16 countries in our index. And third, with the help of Jane Marcus Delgado and Joan Caivano, we have included a scale of women’s rights, with five scores that measure maternal death rates, the presence of laws criminalizing sexual and physical violence against women, and women’s political representation, among others.



In all, we have a total of 21 variables. The lack of data for some countries permitted only 10 countries to be measured across all 21. When data were lacking for a country, we rescaled it according to those variables for which there were data. The final index for all countries and for some of the most important variables is in the conclusion, starting on page 58. This year, we also included Costa Rica, El Salvador, Panama, and Honduras in the scale. In the conclusion, we compare levels of social inclusion with rates of violence.

When we calculated the final index, we did not weight any of the variables; all were given the same importance. The reason, in part, is that in the absence of compelling quantifiable evidence that any one variable correlates most strongly to economic and social outcomes associated with social inclusion, we believe they should be valued equally.

Does that mean we are agnostic on which ones are more important? No. Logic would dictate that some are certainly more important than others (such as economic growth and access to secondary education), but to weight them against the others without any specific evidence for how much would be arbitrary.

Moreover, it would also violate the governing concept of the Index. What we seek to do in the pages that follow is lay out all the possible variables that arguably affect social inclusion. This is intended to be a dashboard presentation of variables that both grounds and broadens our discussion of social inclusion in a way that pushes the limits of how we define development. We are not saying that economic growth or access to secondary school is equivalent to, say, LGBT rights or racial equality in personal empowerment; but can we honestly believe that a country is socially inclusive without them?

None of these variables is easy to change in a year. Many are the result of centuries of discrimination, embedded cultural attitudes and bureaucratic or civil structure. Yet our second iteration demonstrates some notable shifts and changes.

The question is whether these changes will last.

The really good news is the quality of data that is available. When creating indices such as these, the risk is that you measure only what you have data for, while more important variables get pushed aside for lack of data. With only a few exceptions, we have either avoided that or found a compromise. For example, one of the variables in the five-point women's rights scale should have included reports of violence against women over a set period. Unfortunately, some governments are not

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forthcoming with that information. So, we scored countries on whether the government provided the data or not (receiving a 0 or a 1). Admittedly, this is less than perfect, but it does provide a critical proxy measure of how seriously governments take the issue of violence against women.

Clear, objective information does matter, not just to policy wonks but to citizens, who deserve to know how their government is performing. Which brings us to the issue of the quality of national data in some countries, and to the countries not included in this survey. We did have some concerns about Bolivia's data for access to secondary school and poverty, because there was an unusual jump from the previous year; we include that data, but with a warning.

The greatest problems were presented by Argentina and Venezuela. While there were data available for political and civil rights and for the public opinion variables, we simply did not have enough confidence in some of the other data to include either country in the broader index. That's regrettable, since the governments of both countries have staked their political claims and legitimacy on social inclusion—and arguably, there have been advances in each.

KEY TO VARIABLES AND SOURCES

INPUTS

GDP GROWTH A country can reduce poverty and inequality only if it grows economically. This measure takes the country's average growth from 2002–2012.

PERCENT GDP SPENT ON SOCIAL PROGRAMS There are no measures of the effectiveness of state spending on social programs. We used a simpler measure of percent of GDP spent. Countries were scored on a relative basis, since there is no optimal level—though up to a certain point, more, of course, is better.

CIVIL RIGHTS These scores, ranging from 0 to 60, are from Freedom House's survey *Freedom in the World 2012*. They evaluate respect for 15 civil liberties in 4 categories: freedom of expression and belief (4 questions); associational and organizational rights (3); rule of law (4); and personal autonomy and individual rights (4).

WOMEN'S RIGHTS These scores account for maternal mortality rates, reproductive rights, women in political power, rates of violence against women, and the availability of data on sexual violence against women. The data, compiled by Joan Caivano and Jane Marcos Delgado, is based on research by the Inter-American Dialogue. The score ranges from 1 to 26.

LGBT RIGHTS Based on Javier Corrales' "Gay Friendliness Index," this score reflects the existence and permissibility of same-sex relationships, related anti-discrimination laws and laws on same-sex relationships, and ranges from 0 to 7.

ENROLLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOL There is near-universal enrollment in primary schools in the region, so we looked at secondary school. We used data disaggregated by gender and race/ethnicity and analyzed by The World Bank. Non-minority refers to respondents who did not identify as Indigenous, Afro-descendant or other similar terms.

POLITICAL RIGHTS These scores, ranging from 0 to 40, are from Freedom House's survey *Freedom in the World 2012*. They evaluate respect for 10 political rights in 3 categories: electoral process (3 questions); political pluralism and participation (4); and functioning of government (3).

Name of Country		Overall Score	

INPUTS	
GDP Growth 2002–2012	%
GDP Spent on Social Programs	%
Enrollment Secondary School	%
by gender	%
by race	%
Political Rights	0 20 40 60 80
Civil Rights	0 20 40 60 80 100
Women's Rights	1–10 14–26
LGBT Rights	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Civil Society Participation	%
by gender (1–6)	%
by race (1–6)	%
Financial Inclusion	%
by gender	%

COMMENTS	

SOCIAL INCLUSION INDEX 2012	
OUTPUTS	
Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day	%
by gender	%
by race	%
Personal Empowerment	%
by gender (1–7)	%
by race (1–7)	%
Government Responsiveness (EIRAS)	%
by gender (1–7)	%
by race (1–7)	%
Access to Adequate Housing	%
by gender	%
by race	%
Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 15–65)	%
by gender	%
by race	%

CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION Based on 2012 data from *AmericasBarometer*, this measures the average number of associations respondents said they participated in, out of a possible 6. Data has a margin of error of +/- 2.9%.

FINANCIAL INCLUSION This score uses the WB's data on access to an account at a formal institution. It measures the percentage of respondents with an account at a bank, credit union, another financial institution, or the post office, including respondents who have a debit card.

OUTPUTS

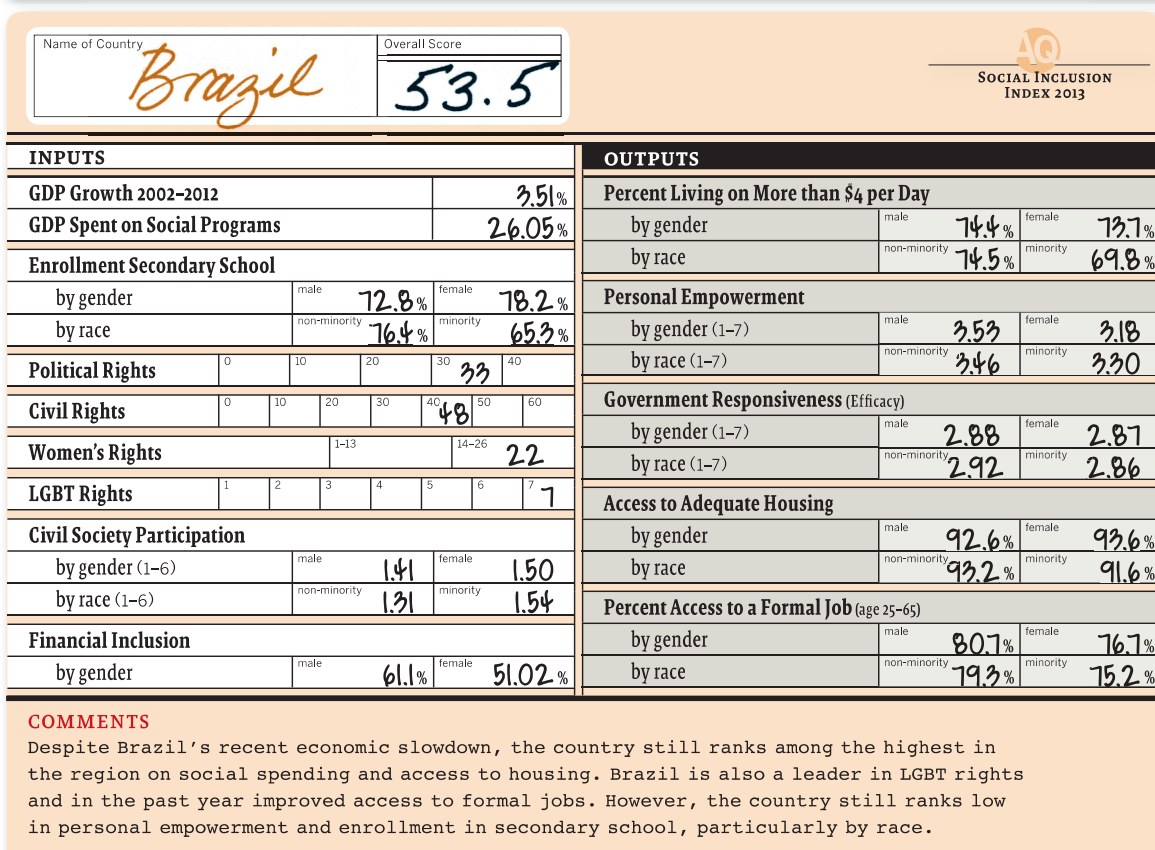
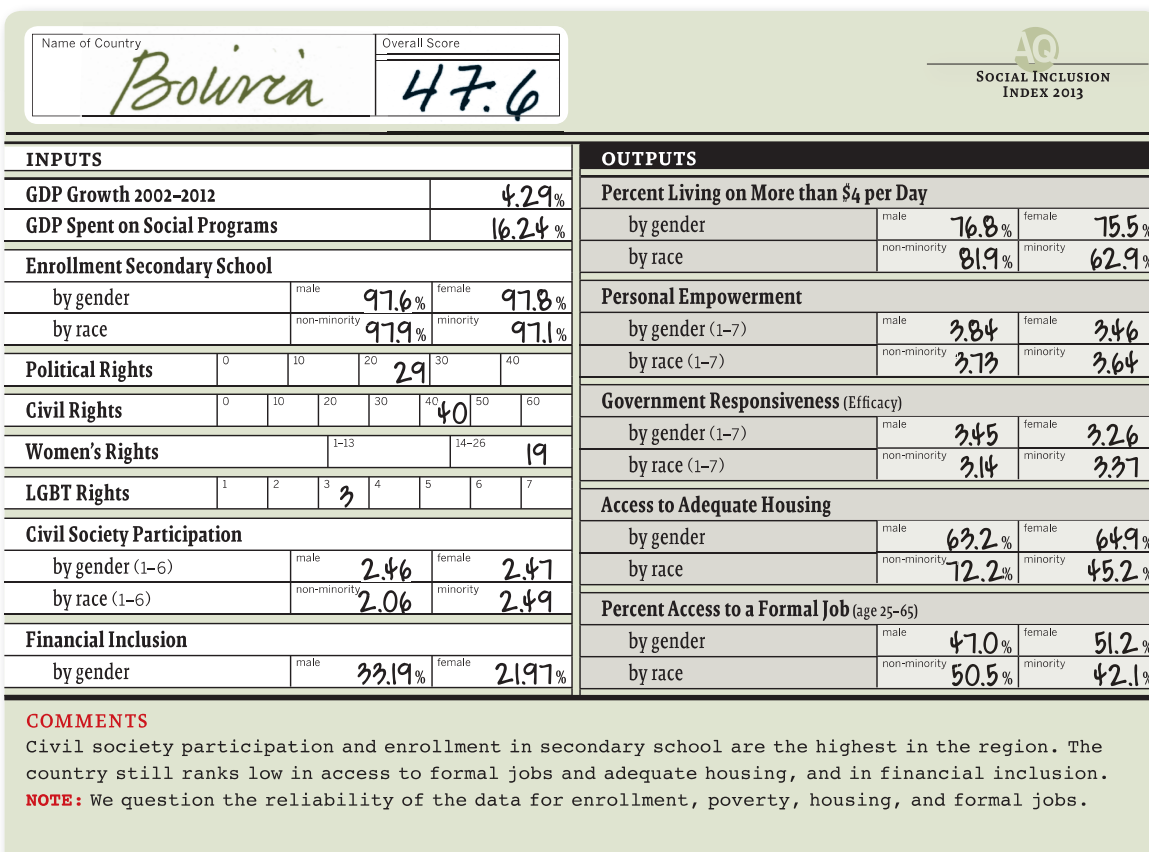
PERCENT LIVING ON MORE THAN \$4 PER DAY These are based on household data disaggregated by gender and race/ethnicity (non-minority/minority). According to The World Bank, over \$4 per day is defined as above moderate poverty—for our purposes, a better measure than being out of absolute poverty (\$2.50/day).

PERSONAL EMPOWERMENT This is the standard measure of what is called "internal efficacy" in political science. Drawn from 2012 *AmericasBarometer* survey data, it is based on the statement, "You feel that you understand the most important political issues of the country," asking respondents to disagree or agree on a scale of 1 to 7. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.9%.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS (EFFICACY) This is the standard measure of what is called "external efficacy" in political science. Drawn from 2012 *AmericasBarometer* survey data, it is based on the statement, "Those who govern are interested in what people like you think," asking respondents to disagree or agree on a scale of 1 to 7. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 2.9%.

PERCENT ACCESS TO A FORMAL JOB Based on household data disaggregated by gender and race/ethnicity. An individual between 25 and 65 is considered to have a formal job if he/she will receive a pension.

ACCESS TO ADEQUATE HOUSING Based on household data disaggregated by gender and race/ethnicity. It includes 3 indicators of adequate housing: access to water; access to electricity; and lack of severe overcrowding.



Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>Chile</i>	<i>68.4</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	88.3%
												female	87.2%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	88.2%
												minority	81.4%
by gender										Personal Empowerment			
by race										by gender (1-7)		male	3.43
												female	3.99
Political Rights										by race (1-7)		non-minority	4.15
												minority	4.16
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
Women's Rights										by gender (1-7)		male	3.17
												female	3.28
LGBT Rights										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.12
												minority	3.41
Civil Society Participation										Access to Adequate Housing			
by gender (1-6)										by gender		male	95.9%
by race (1-6)												female	96.4%
										by race		non-minority	97.0%
												minority	84.3%
Financial Inclusion										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
by gender										by gender		male	83.5%
												female	75.1%
										by race		non-minority	80.4%
												minority	74.4%

COMMENTS

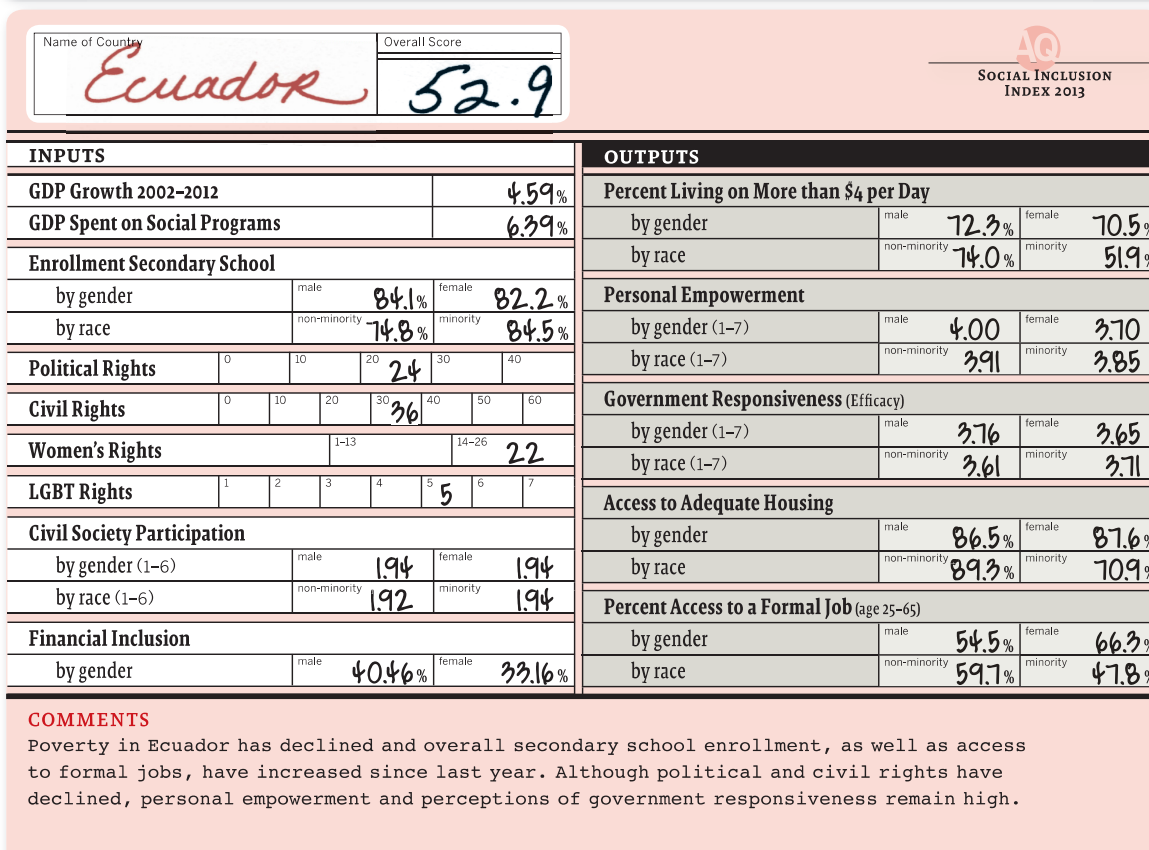
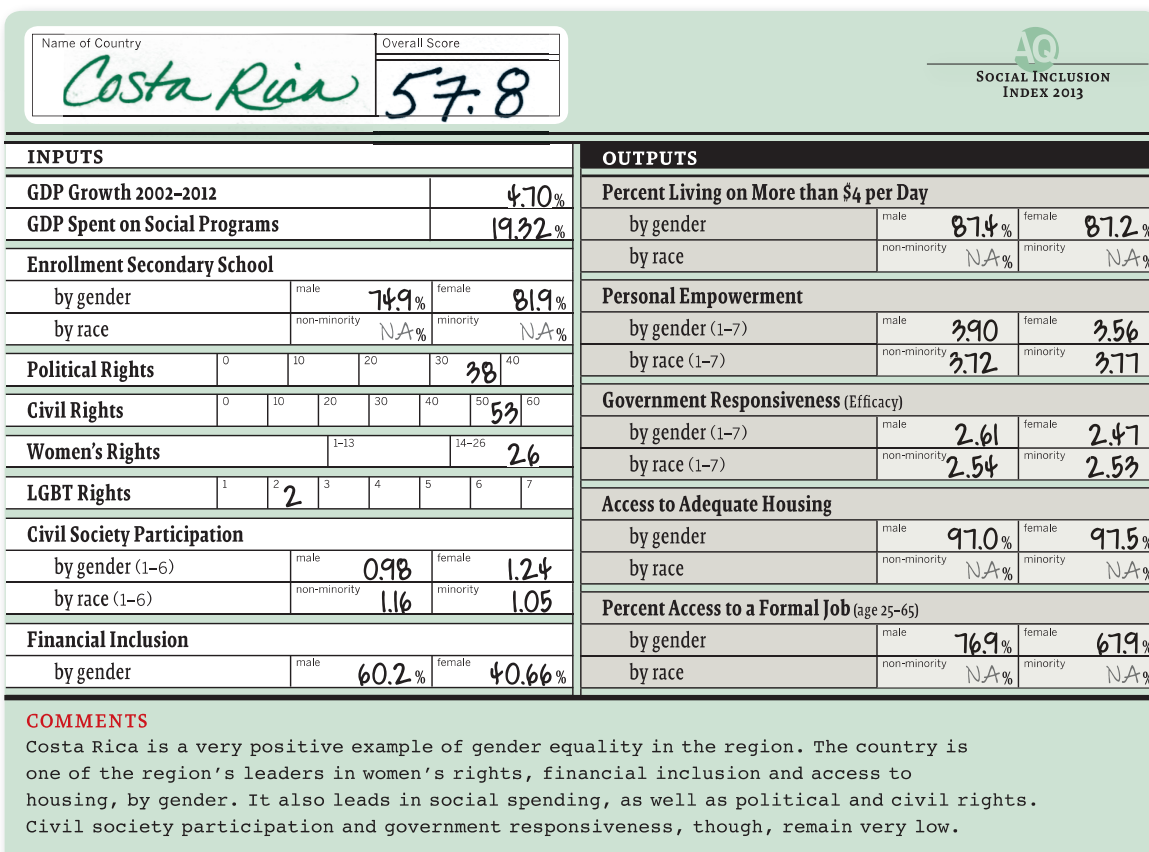
Chile's rankings are consistently high across all indicators. The country leads the pack in political and civil rights, though civil society participation is among the lowest in the region. In women's and LGBT rights it scores quite low.

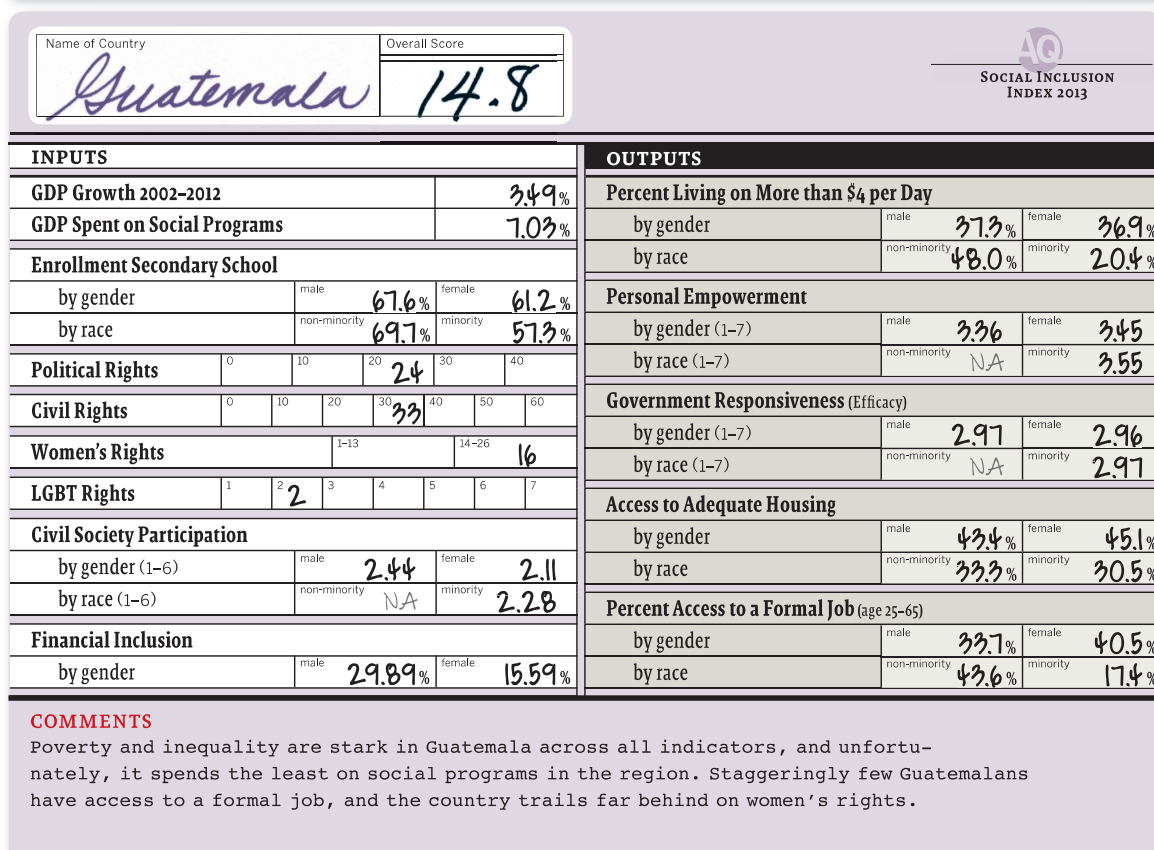
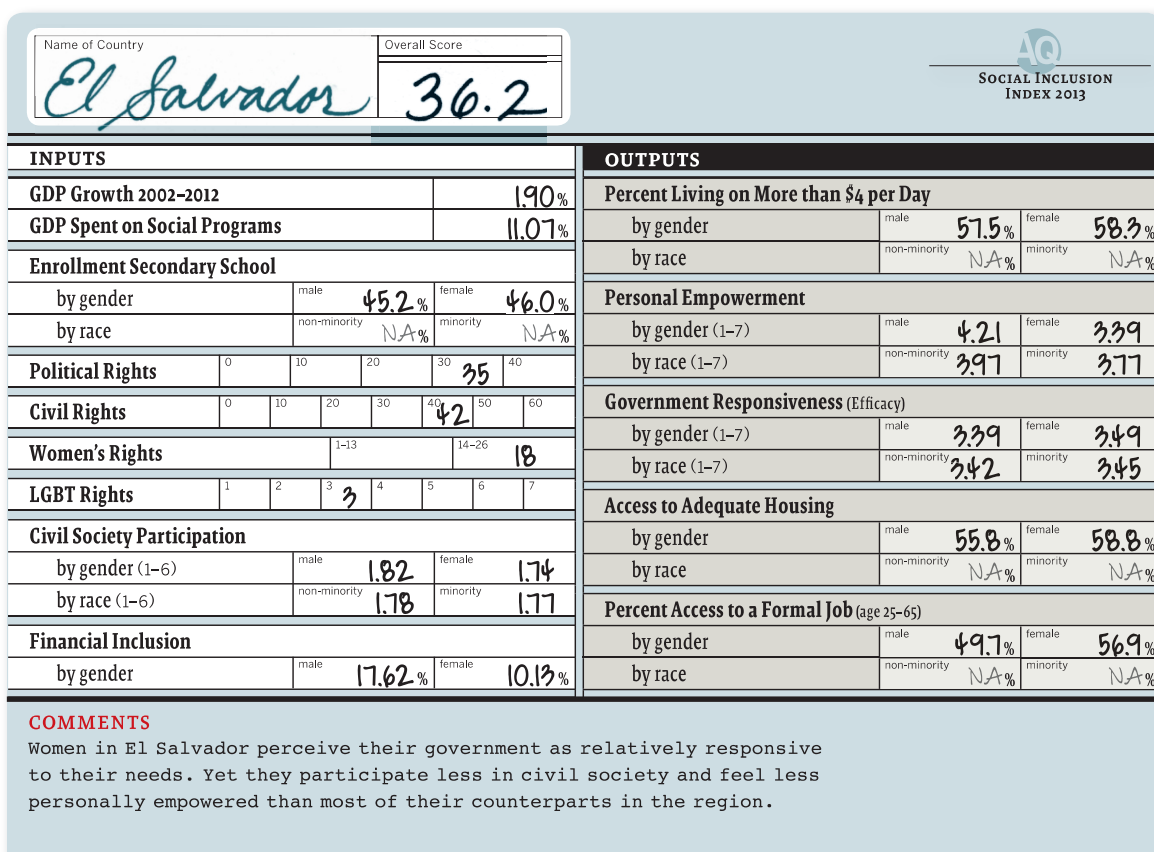
Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>Colombia</i>	<i>48.4</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	68.3%
												female	67.1%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
by gender										Personal Empowerment			
by race										by gender (1-7)		male	3.94
												female	3.25
Political Rights										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.52
												minority	3.63
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
Women's Rights										by gender (1-7)		male	3.20
												female	3.13
LGBT Rights										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.14
												minority	3.18
Civil Society Participation										Access to Adequate Housing			
by gender (1-6)										by gender		male	84.5%
by race (1-6)												female	85.8%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Financial Inclusion										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
by gender										by gender		male	63.6%
												female	61.8%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%

COMMENTS

Colombia continues to be one of the strongest performers in economic growth in the region. It is a leader in women's and LGBT rights. Although it ranks low on civil rights and personal empowerment, civil society participation—by race and by gender—are relatively high.





Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>Honduras</i>	<i>23.0</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	44.6%
												female	44.6%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
by gender												male	58.6%
by race												non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Political Rights										Personal Empowerment			
										by gender (1-7)		male	3.51
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.49
												minority	3.46
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
										by gender (1-7)		male	2.72
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	2.77
												minority	2.67
Women's Rights										Access to Adequate Housing			
										by gender		male	65.3%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
LGBT Rights										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
										by gender		male	5.1%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Civil Society Participation													
by gender (1-6)												male	1.83
by race (1-6)												non-minority	1.89
												minority	1.83
Financial Inclusion													
by gender												male	26.27%
												female	14.92%

COMMENTS

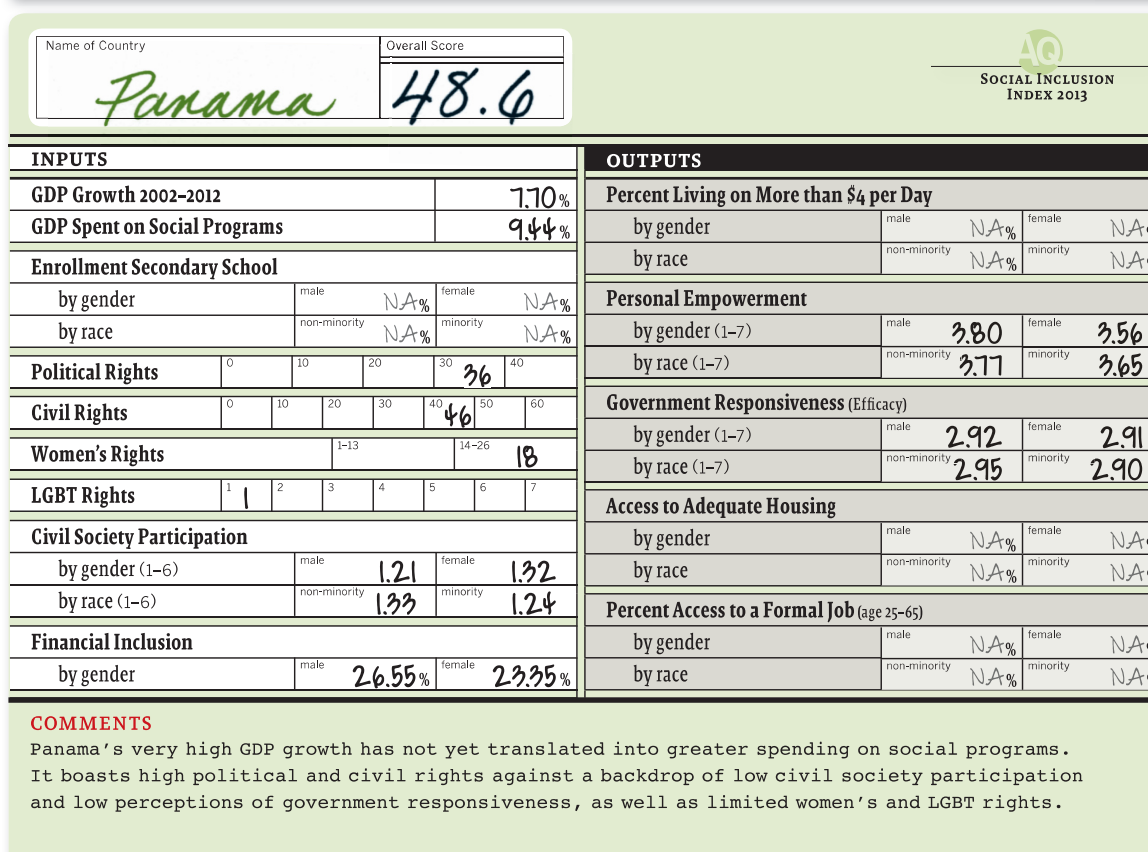
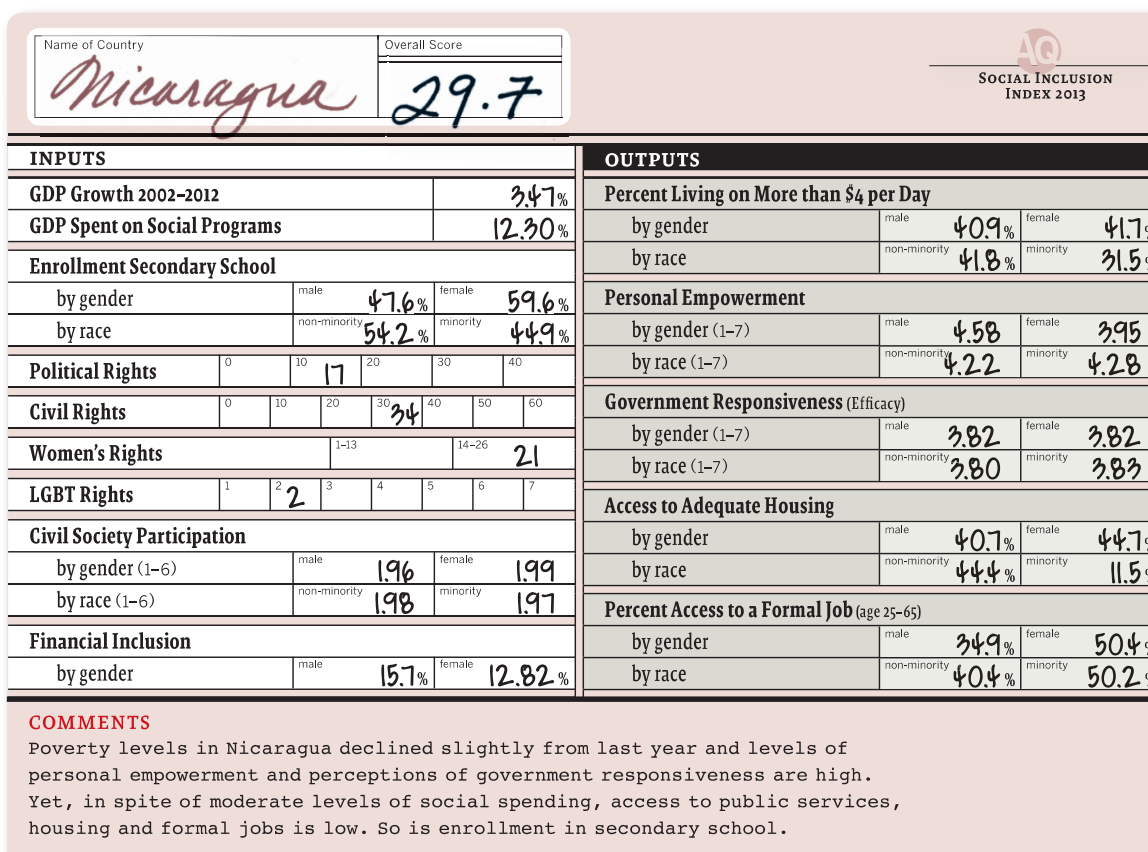
Poverty in Honduras is extreme and access to formal jobs is very low. In spite of this—and relatively weak civil, political, women's, and LGBT rights, plus low perceptions of government responsiveness—Hondurans feel more personally empowered than many in the region.

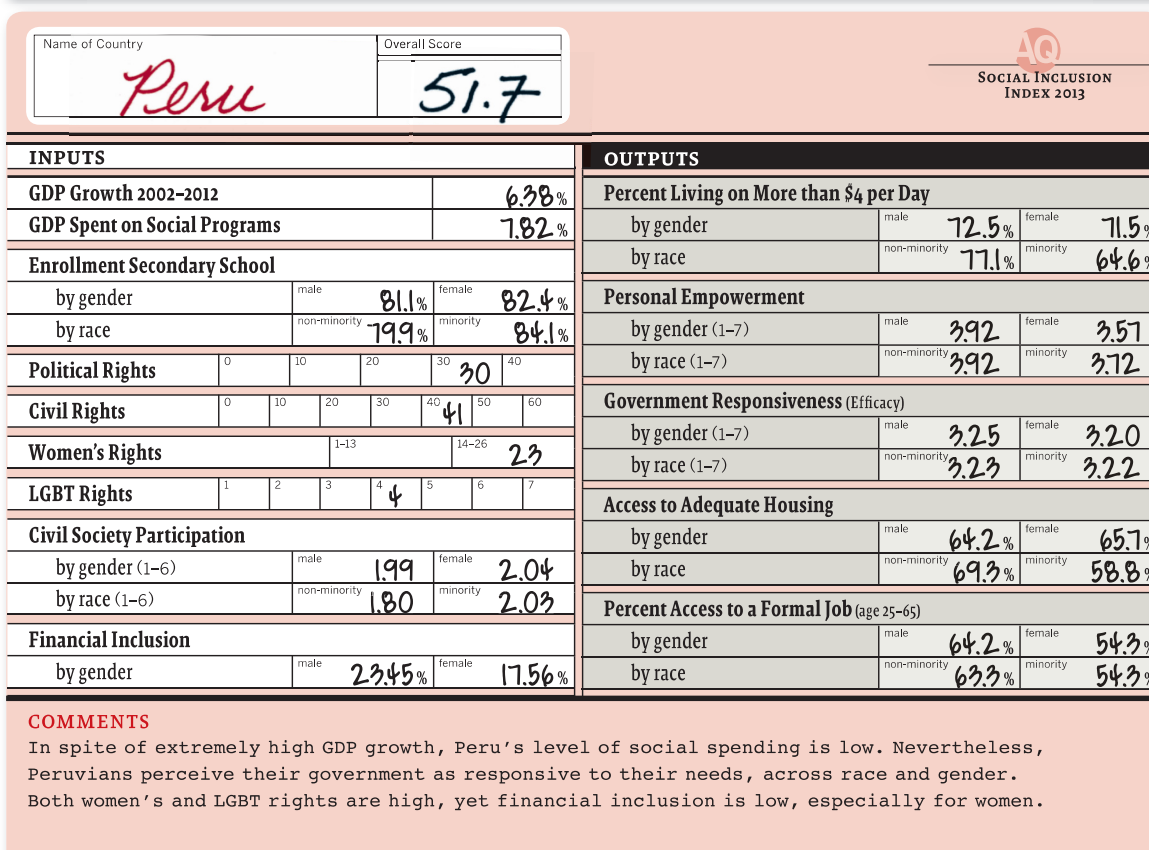
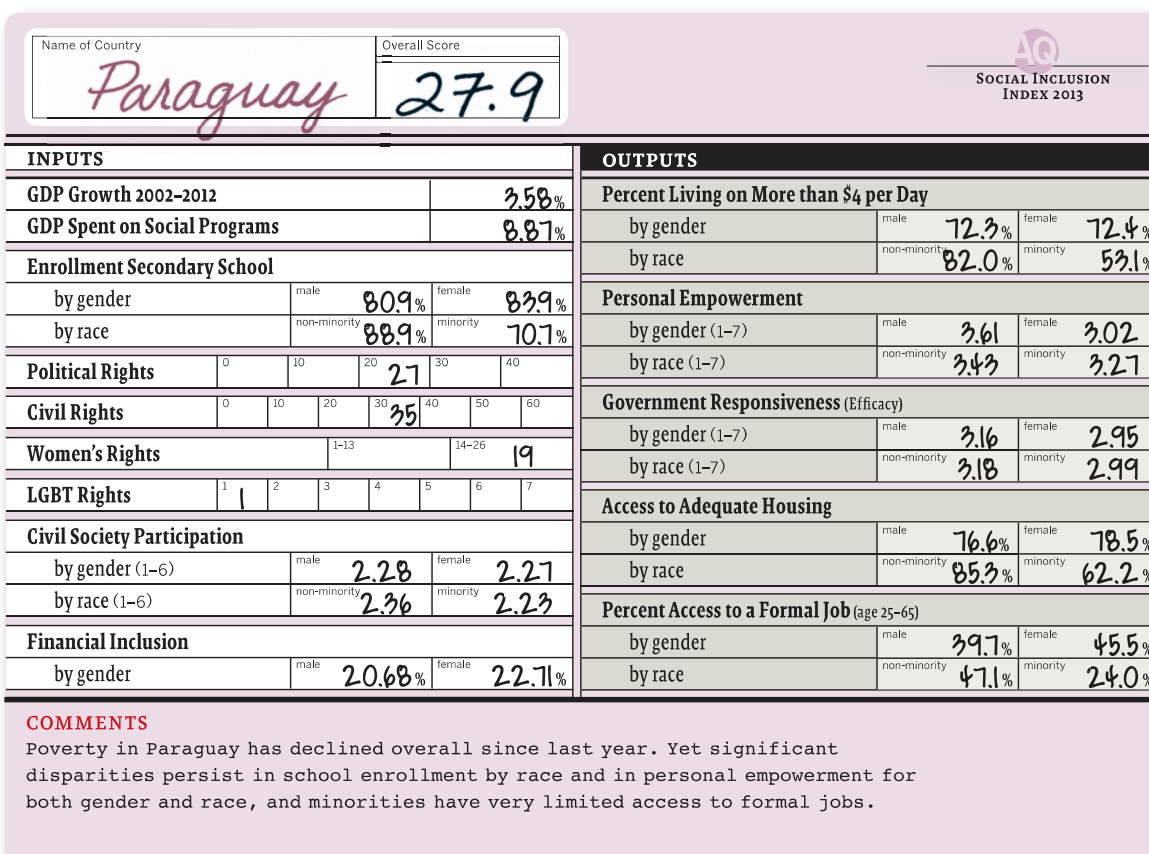
Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>Mexico</i>	<i>45.2</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	72.7%
												female	71.6%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	75.4%
												minority	61.3%
by gender												male	76.3%
by race												non-minority	76.4%
												minority	69.9%
Political Rights										Personal Empowerment			
										by gender (1-7)		male	4.04
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.97
												minority	3.78
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
										by gender (1-7)		male	3.34
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.63
												minority	3.25
Women's Rights										Access to Adequate Housing			
										by gender		male	90.0%
										by race		non-minority	92.0%
												minority	84.1%
LGBT Rights										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
										by gender		male	41.1%
										by race		non-minority	44.3%
												minority	33.1%
Civil Society Participation													
by gender (1-6)												male	1.56
by race (1-6)												non-minority	1.62
												minority	1.59
Financial Inclusion													
by gender												male	31.12%
												female	25.11%

COMMENTS

Mexico stands out for its strong women's and LGBT rights. However, in spite of relatively low poverty rates and higher levels of development than other countries in the region, fewer than half of Mexicans have access to a formal job.





Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>United States</i>	<i>64.6</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	NA%
												female	NA%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Political Rights										Personal Empowerment			
										by gender (1-7)		male	5.44
												female	4.68
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	5.05
												minority	5.04
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
										by gender (1-7)		male	2.74
												female	3.05
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	2.67
												minority	3.40
Women's Rights										Access to Adequate Housing			
LGBT Rights										by gender		male	NA%
												female	NA%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Civil Society Participation										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
										by gender		male	NA%
												female	NA%
										by race		non-minority	NA%
												minority	NA%
Financial Inclusion													
										by gender		male	91.98%
												female	84.07%

COMMENTS

The United States boasts extremely high levels of personal empowerment by both race and gender; the strongest women's rights; very high LGBT, civil and political rights; and the highest levels of financial inclusion in the region. Yet it ranks among the lowest in terms of perceptions of government responsiveness and civil society participation, by both gender and race.

Name of Country	Overall Score
<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>75.5</i>

INPUTS										OUTPUTS			
GDP Growth 2002-2012										Percent Living on More than \$4 per Day			
GDP Spent on Social Programs										by gender		male	91.4%
												female	91.2%
Enrollment Secondary School										by race		non-minority	91.7%
												minority	83.8%
Political Rights										Personal Empowerment			
										by gender (1-7)		male	3.92
												female	3.57
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.92
												minority	3.72
Civil Rights										Government Responsiveness (Efficacy)			
										by gender (1-7)		male	3.87
												female	3.86
										by race (1-7)		non-minority	3.92
												minority	3.72
Women's Rights										Access to Adequate Housing			
LGBT Rights										by gender		male	95.9%
												female	96.7%
										by race		non-minority	96.6%
												minority	91.0%
Civil Society Participation										Percent Access to a Formal Job (age 25-65)			
										by gender		male	89.6%
												female	85.4%
										by race		non-minority	88.1%
												minority	79.8%
Financial Inclusion													
										by gender		male	23.2%
												female	23.83%

COMMENTS

Uruguay ranks among the highest on social spending and leads the pack on political, civil and LGBT rights. It also boasts strong women's rights, as well as a very high sense of government responsiveness for both race and gender. However, it trails other countries in terms of civil society participation, for both race and gender.



CONCLUSION

Two major changes have occurred in the 2013 regional Social Inclusion Index rankings since last year. They are difficult to discern because this year—as we will do in the future—we included four more countries in the overall survey (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama) and ranked the United States, though it lacked data for eight variables. In addition, we disaggregated civil society participation, personal empowerment and sense of government responsiveness by gender and race/ethnicity. To more easily compare this year with last, we untangled updated results from the new additions below.

First, Uruguay moved up to claim the top spot over Chile. The change is partly due to the addition of two of the three new indicators—women's rights, where Uruguay ranks third and Chile ranks ninth; and LGBT rights, where Uruguay is tied for first and Chile is tied for seventh.

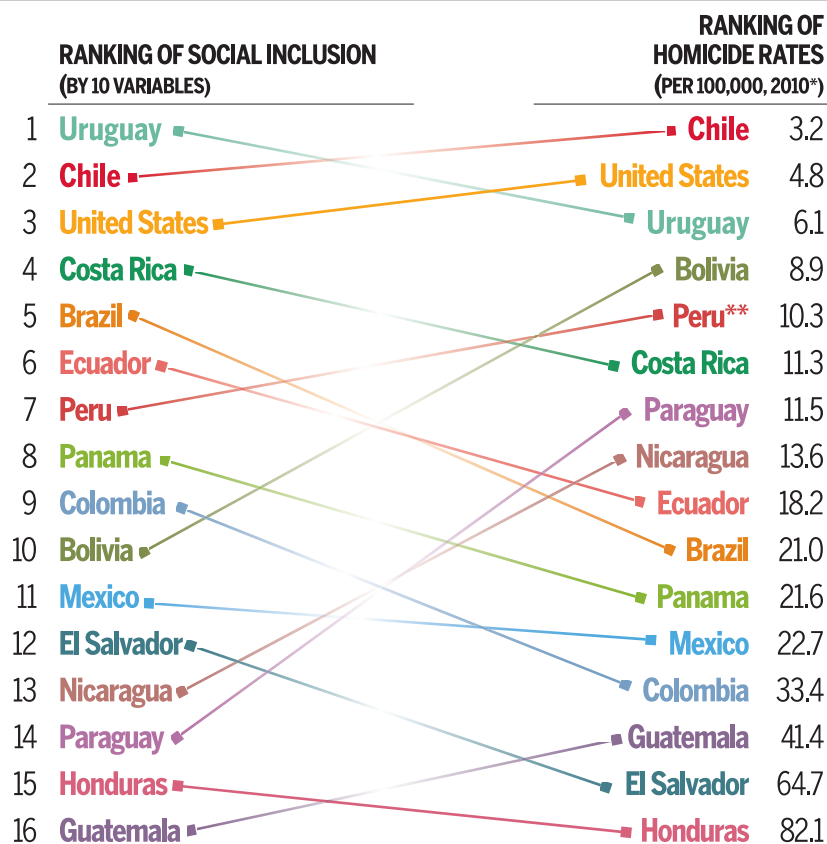
In most of the other variables, the two countries maintained their relative positions, with both ranking consistently in the top quarter for all the variables, and scoring first or second in political and civil rights. Chile placed near the top in women's sense of personal empowerment and their access to adequate housing, and placed third to the U.S. and Brazil

for the financial inclusion of women. Uruguay led the ranking in percentage of GDP spent on social programs, perceptions of government responsiveness by both gender and race, and access to a formal job.

One clear takeaway is that both countries (despite Chile's lower score on women's rights) have made strides in gender equality, which boosted their scores overall and correlated with other measures of inclusion.

A second change in this year's ranking is Colombia's slump by one place: from fifth in 2012 to sixth (among the countries measured last year)—and ninth this year overall. Colombia's strong GDP growth in 2013 placed it

The U.S.' rank below Uruguay and Chile may come as a surprise. While there are clear challenges to social inclusion in the U.S., it's worth noting that we didn't have U.S. data for eight of the variables on which we ranked the other countries, explaining, in part, its place.



*Homicide data is from the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. **Peru data is from 2009.

Ranking by variable: This is how countries stacked up in our three new indicators. To see a full list of rankings by all the variables, please visit www.americasquarterly.org/socialinclusionindex2013.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS	LGBT RIGHTS
1 Costa Rica United States	1 Brazil Uruguay
3 Colombia Mexico Uruguay	3 United States
6 Peru	4 Mexico
7 Brazil Ecuador	5 Colombia Ecuador
9 Chile Nicaragua	7 Chile Peru
11 Bolivia Paraguay	9 Bolivia El Salvador
13 El Salvador Honduras Panama	11 Costa Rica Guatemala Nicaragua
16 Guatemala	14 Honduras Panama Paraguay

fifth overall (third compared to the countries in last year's survey), but low scores in civil rights, poverty by gender and personal empowerment across race/ethnicity and gender, weakened it. And this was in spite of its strong scores in two of the three new variables: women's rights (tied for third) and LGBT rights (tied for fifth). Colombia scored comparatively low in women's financial inclusion (ninth, followed by Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, and Nicaragua).

While not dramatic changes, two other results are noteworthy. The first is Brazil's landing in fifth place this year. While the result of the addition of two new countries that scored above it (U.S. and Costa Rica), its aggregate score (53.5) is markedly lower than the score of the top three countries: Uruguay (75.5); Chile (68.4); and the U.S. (64.6). The second is the tragically low score of Guatemala at 14.8.

Of course, greater social inclusion is a worthy goal—for economic and moral reasons—in and of itself. This year, though, we compared the Social Inclusion rankings with the homicide rates in those countries, using 2010 data from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. The purpose was not to measure causality but to see correlation. (In fact, any causality between the two measures would flow both ways: social exclusion and marginality may contribute to violence, but violence also exacerbates social exclusion and marginality.)


Four trends stand out in comparing rates of social inclusion with rates of violence.

The first is the clear grouping

of countries at the top of the ranking. The comparison at the bottom is less clear, with the two lowest countries in the Social Inclusion ranking placing 14th and 16th in the violence ranking with El Salvador in between. (Note: The El Salvador numbers pre-dated the truce between the MS-13 and Barrio 18.)

But above that there is no clear relationship. Nicaragua and Paraguay, while 13th and 14th on the Social Inclusion Index, rank eighth and seventh in the violence index; Bolivia and Peru also score better in terms of violence than social inclusion—all an indication that violence, or lack of it, is contingent on more than just underdevelopment and exclusion.

Another pattern is the discrepancy between higher social inclusion scores and higher rates of violence in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, Brazil, and Costa Rica. The violence ranking of the first two comes as no surprise, given the narcotics-related crime that has plagued those countries. The score for Costa Rica, though, is particularly troubling, given that Costa Rica scores at the bottom in terms of civil society participation and perception of government responsiveness (both by gender and race) and the news of a growing narco-trafficking presence in the country.

Clearly, there's much more here than space will allow us to summarize and elaborate upon. We invite you to review the data, results and the rankings for all the variables on our website at www.americasquarterly.org/socialinclusionindex2013, and offer your suggestions for next year's Index. 

FINANCIAL INCLUSION BY GENDER
1 United States
2 Brazil
3 Chile
4 Costa Rica
5 Ecuador
6 Uruguay
7 Panama
8 Mexico
9 Colombia
10 Paraguay
11 Bolivia
12 Peru
13 Nicaragua
14 Honduras
15 Guatemala
16 El Salvador