

Social Well-Being in Canada: How do the Provinces Measure Up?

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INTRODUCTION

This report ranks the social well-being of the Canadian provinces, measured by the following widely accepted indicators: life expectancy, student achievement, infant mortality, homicide, incarceration, teenage pregnancy, trust in others, obesity, and mental health.

In their book “The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone” (2010) Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett argue that social well-being varies a lot between advanced industrial countries. Using the well-being indicators above, they show that there is little relationship between the level of GDP per capita and social well-being. However, they find that there is a strong positive relationship between a low level of income inequality and well-being; in other words, they find that societies with a high degree of income equality among its members are generally happier and healthier than more unequal societies.

This report by the Broadbent Institute replicates Wilkinson and Pickett’s study for the Canadian provinces using data from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada and Statistics Canada.

For each indicator, the ten provinces are ranked according to their performance. Then, the provinces are ranked according to their overall performance.

Following this, potential explanations for the differences and similarities in the well-being outcomes between the provinces are examined:

- 1) Provincial GDP per capita (income per person) - Do wealthier provinces perform better on the well-being outcomes than poorer provinces?
- 2) The level of income inequality within each province - Do provinces with lower levels of income inequality do better on the well-being outcomes than provinces that are more unequal?
- 3) Outlier provinces- Why are some of the provinces outliers on the well-being outcomes?
- 4) Provincial social spending per capita and federal support to the provinces - Do provinces with higher social spending per capita have better social outcomes? What role might federal support have in influencing provincial well-being outcomes?

Methodology

Data for the provinces are from Human Resources and Skills Development Canada’s (HRSDC) “Indicators of Well-being in Canada” website and Statistics Canada. HRSDC presents data on the provinces’ outcomes on more than 60 indicators of well-being, including several indicators that Wilkinson and Pickett used in their study.

The territories are not included in this study because data for several indicators was not available for the territories.

To examine the relationship between the provinces' well-being outcomes (i.e. the 'dependent variables') and (1) GDP per capita and (2) level of income inequality (i.e. the 'independent variables'), the provincial data for each indicator were plotted against the values for each independent variable. Then the R^2 values were found, which indicate the percentage of the variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by the independent variable (see Appendix I).

In this report, the terms 'advanced industrial countries' and 'OECD countries' refer to the 23 OECD countries that Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) used in their study. It does not include all OECD and advanced industrial countries. Also, 'national average' in this report is calculated as the average of the ten provinces' performances on an indicator. 'Canadian average' refers to the total average for Canada, which is given on a per capita basis.

Limitations of the study

It is difficult to measure the impact that GDP per capita and social spending have on well-being outcomes. This is because of the volatile nature of these variables and the time lag that exists between changes in these variables (e.g. increased social spending) and the possible effects of these changes on well-being outcomes.

For example, if a substantial increase in educational spending by a province will positively impact student achievement on standardized tests, there will likely be a time lag between the financial investment made in education and when this change will be reflected in student achievement.

Newfoundland and Labrador provides an example of this time lag. It has the highest social spending and 3rd highest GDP per capita in Canada. However, its high levels of social spending and GDP per capita are a relatively recent phenomenon compared with the other provinces. If these changes will have an effect on Newfoundland and Labrador's performance on one or more indicators, it is not likely that such consequences can be seen on the very recent well-being outcome data presented in this study.

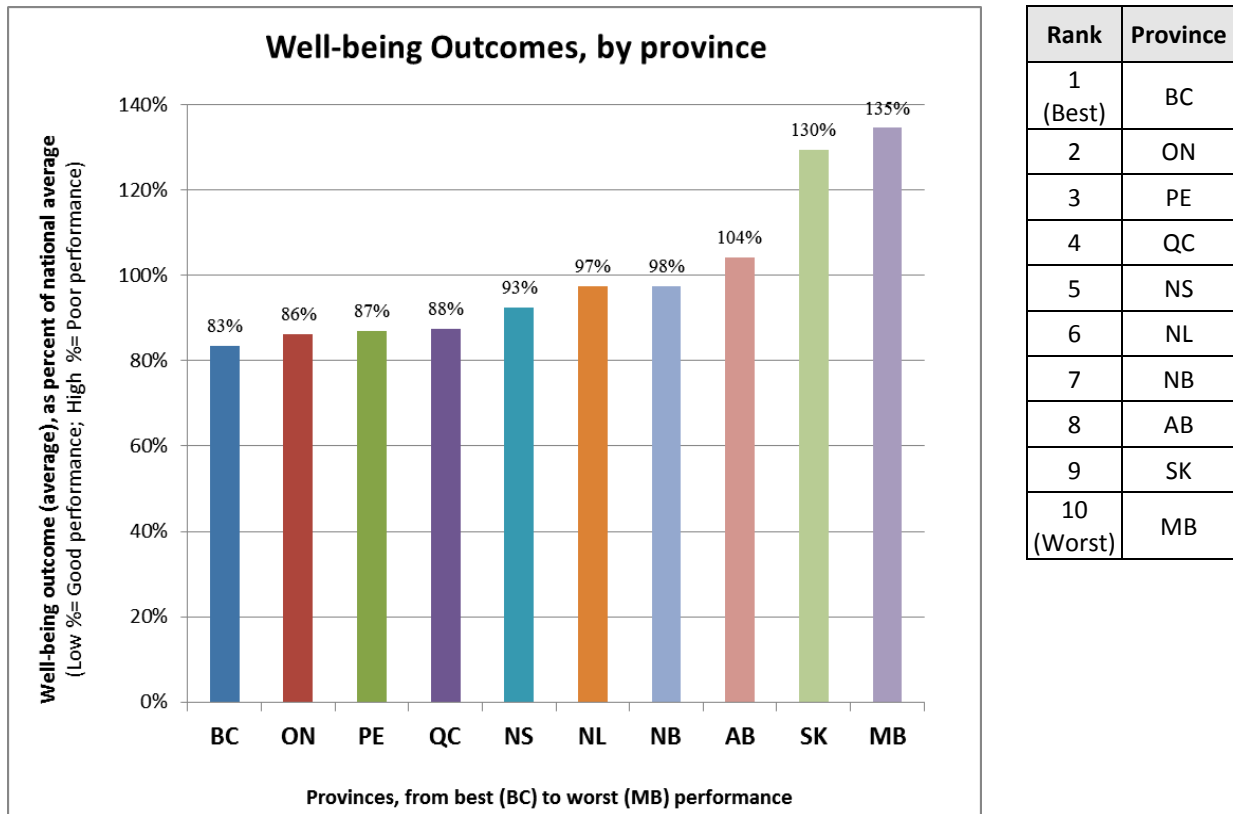
A further limitation of this study is that most of the data used for the well-being indicators and explanatory variables are from one year only, or from a narrow range of years. Data that are more longitudinal would provide a more accurate representation of the relationships between the well-being outcomes and the explanatory variables. However, in Wilkinson and Pickett's study, the data used for most indicators were also a snapshot of only one year.

PROVINCIAL REPORT CARDS: HOW DO THE PROVINCES DO IN TERMS OF SOCIAL WELL-BEING?

How do the provinces perform overall on the well-being outcomes?

There are only modest differences between the provinces in terms of overall well-being outcomes, with the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which perform poorly compared with the other provinces (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *On the whole, most of the Canadian provinces share similar well-being outcomes. Manitoba and Saskatchewan are outliers, performing relatively poorly on the outcomes.*



Individual indicators: How do the provinces perform on each indicator?

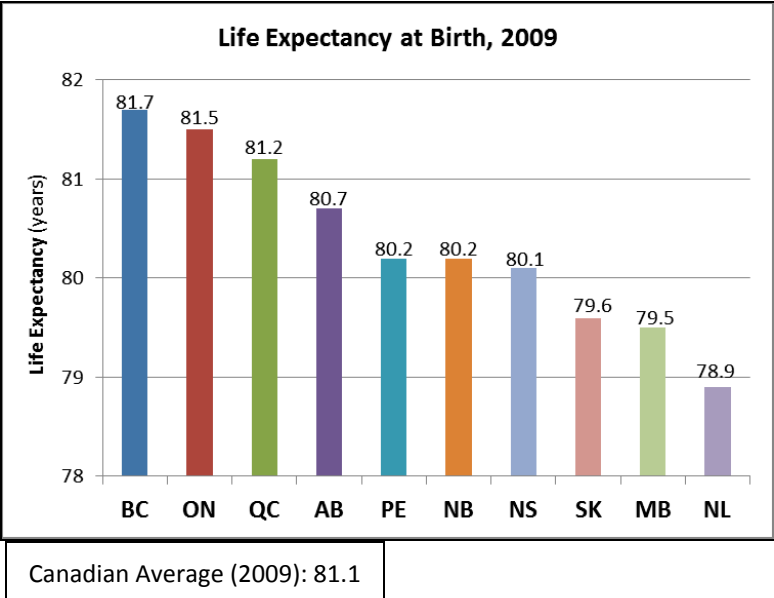
The charts below rank the provinces on each indicator.

In addition, the Canadian, US, and OECD averages from Wilkinson and Pickett’s study are presented as means of comparison. Here, ‘OECD average’ refers to the average among the 23 OECD countries that Wilkinson and Pickett examined (2010). However, not all 23 countries had comparable data available for teen pregnancy, obesity, and mental health and so fewer countries’ outcomes could be compared on these indicators.

1. Life expectancy

The very narrow range of life expectancy rates among the provinces illustrates that the outcomes for this well-being indicator are very similar across Canada. All of the provinces, therefore, have high life expectancy rates on a global scale, as Canada has the 3rd highest life expectancy among the advanced industrial countries.

Figure 2 *Life Expectancy at birth, in years, 2009*



Sources: HRSDC. “Health - Life Expectancy at Birth.” Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=3>; Statistics Canada. 2012. “Life expectancy, at birth and at age 65, by sex, Canada, provinces and territories, annual (years)” (CANSIM Table 102-0512).

Figure 3 *Life Expectancy at birth, in years, 2004*

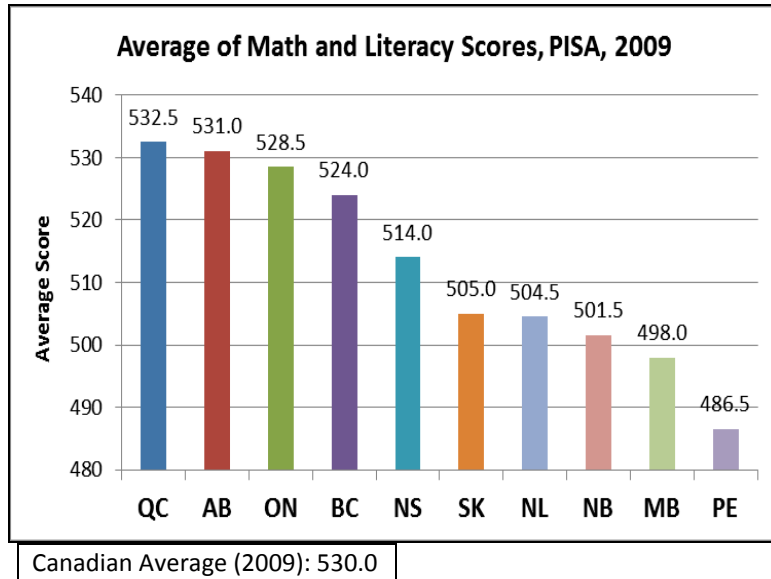
Canadian Average (2004): 79.3
OCED-23 Average (2004): 78.5
US Average (2004): 77

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

2. Education - Student Achievement on standardized tests

The provinces’ scores on the OECD’s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) for mathematics and reading also show fairly modest variation, with no major outliers. This indicates that the provinces perform relatively equally on the PISA assessments and that all are performing well on a global scale, as Canada has the second highest PISA scores in the OECD-23.

Figure 4 *Education Scores: Combined average of Reading and Math scores of 15-year-olds on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 2009*



Sources: Statistics Canada. 2010. “Measuring up: Canadian Results of the OECD PISA Study - The Performance of Canada’s Youth in Reading, Mathematics and Science 2009 - First Results for Canadians Aged 15.” <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-590-x/81-590-x2010001-eng.pdf>

Figure 5 *Education Scores: Combined average of Reading and Math scores of 15-year-olds on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 2003*

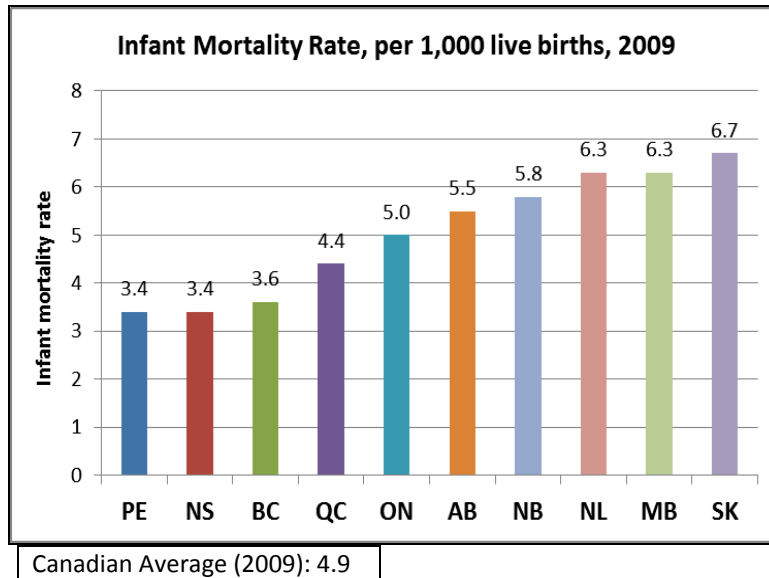
Canadian Average (2003): 530.0
OCED-23 Average (2003): 501.4
US Average (2003): 489.0

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

3. *Infant Mortality*

There is some variation in infant mortality rates between the provinces. The infant mortality rate of the worst performing province, Saskatchewan, is almost double that of the provinces with the lowest rates (Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia). Among the OECD-23, Canada fares relatively poorly with the 7th highest rate of infant mortality.

Figure 6 *Infant Mortality rates, per 1,000 live births, 2009*



Sources: HRSDC. “Family Life- Infant Mortality”. Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=2>; Statistics Canada. 2012. “Infant mortality, by sex and birth weight, Canada, provinces and territories, annual.” (CANSIM Table 102-0504).

Figure 7 Number of deaths in child’s first year of life, per 1,000 live births, 2005

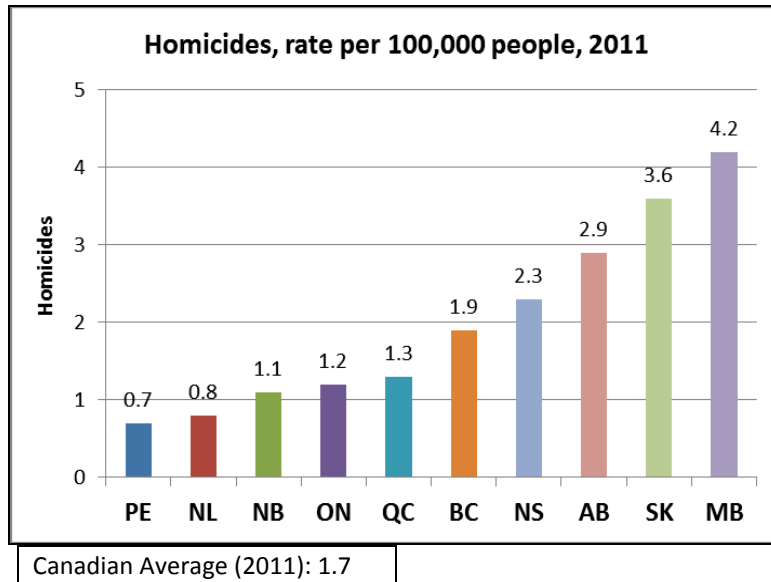
Canadian Average (2005): 5.3
OECD-23 Average (2005): 4.8
US Average (2005): 6.9

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

4. Homicides

Of all the well-being indicators, the provinces show the greatest range of outcomes for homicide. Manitoba has the highest rate of homicide, which is six times higher than that of the province with the lowest rate (Prince Edward Island), and more than double the national average. Canada has the 8th highest homicide rate in the OECD-23.

Figure 8 Homicides, rate per 100,000 people, 2011



Source: Brennan, Shannon. "Police-reported crime statistics in Canada, 2011." Statistics Canada. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2012001/article/11692-eng.htm>

Figure 9 *Homicides, rate per 100,000 people, 1999-2000 (averaged)*

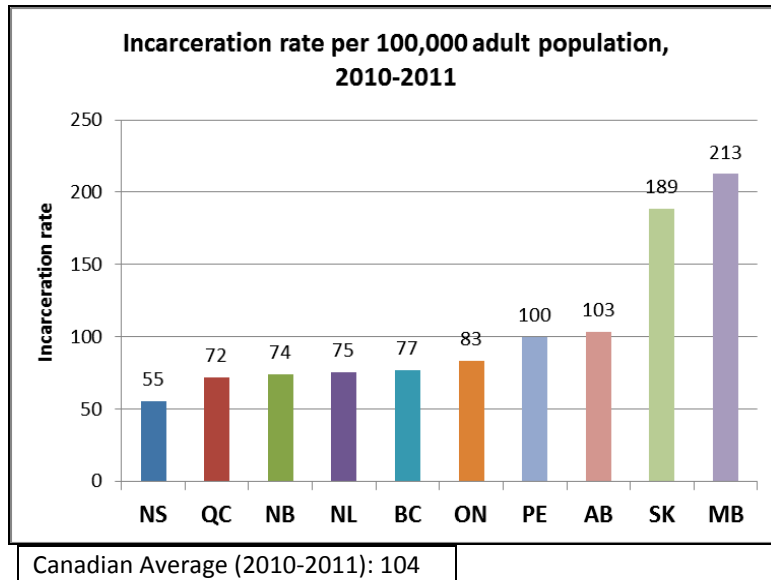
Canadian Average (1999-2000): 1.7
OECD-23 Average (1999-2000): 1.8
US Average: (1999-2000) 6.4

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

5. *Incarceration*

Incarceration rates also show large variation across the provinces. Manitoba's incarceration rate - the highest in Canada - is nearly four times that of Nova Scotia, which has the lowest rate. As was also the case for homicide, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, respectively, have the highest rates of incarceration; in particular, Manitoba and Saskatchewan are outliers on this indicator, with incarceration rates around double the national average. Canada has the seventh highest incarceration rate in the OECD-23.

Figure 10 *Incarceration rate per 100,000 adult population (18 years and over), 2010-2011*



Source: Dauvergne, Mia. "Adult criminal court statistics in Canada, 2010/2011." Juristat. Component of Statistics Canada catalogue no. 85-002-X. Statistics Canada. Oct 11, 2012. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2012001/article/11715-eng.htm>

Figure 11 *Natural log of people in prison, rate per 100,000 people, 1997-1998*

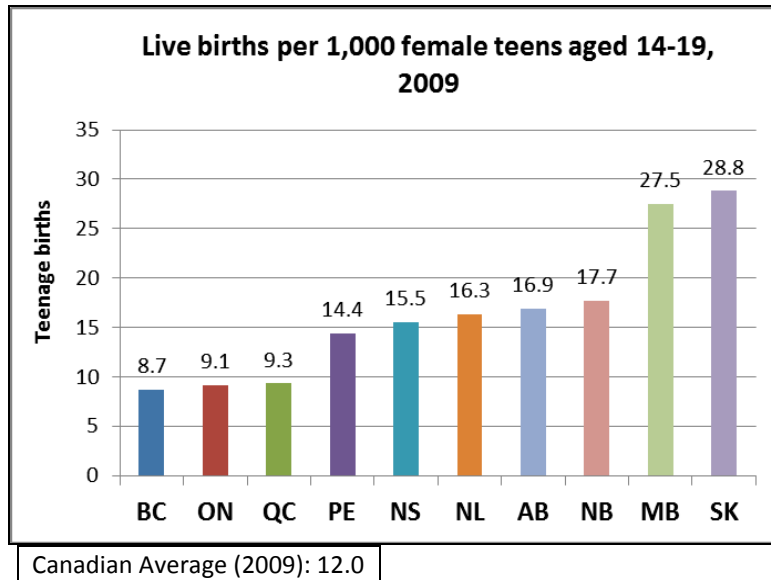
Canadian Average (1997-1998): 4.77 (log)
OCED-23 Average (1997-1998): 4.54 (log)
US Average (1997-1998): 6.36 (log)

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

6. *Teenage births*

There is also a large range of teenage pregnancy rates among the provinces. Manitoba and Saskatchewan are outliers with the highest rates - approximately triple those of the provinces with the three lowest rates (British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, respectively). Canada has the 5th highest teenage pregnancy rate among the OECD-21 countries.

Figure 12 *Live births per 1,000 female teens aged 14-19, 2009*



Source: HRSDC. "Family Life - Age of Mother at Childbirth." Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=75>; Statistics Canada. 2012. "Live births, mean age of mother, Canada, provinces and territories, annual (years)." (CANSIM Table 102-4504).

Figure 13 *Live births per 1,000 female teens aged 15-19, 1998*

Canadian Average (1998): 20.2
OCED-21 Average (1998): 15.1
US Average (1998): 52.1

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

7. *Trust in others*

Trust in others is an indicator of social well-being because it affects how willing people are to participate in economic and social activities within their society (HRSDC nd; Tov and Diener 2008). To measure trust, survey respondents were asked if they feel that 'people can be trusted' (HRSDC, nd). With the exception of Quebec, there was little variation in responses among the provinces. Only 35% of people in Quebec said that they feel people can be trusted, compared to a national average of 60%.

Figure 14 *The percentage of people, aged 15 and over, who feel that 'people can be trusted'*



Source: HRSDC. "Social Participation - Trust in Others." Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.lt.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=73>; Statistics Canada. 2003 General Social Survey on Social Engagement, Cycle 17: An Overview of Findings. Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 2004 (Cat. No.89-598-XIE).

Figure 15 *The percentage of people who agree with the statement 'most people can be trusted', 1999-2001*

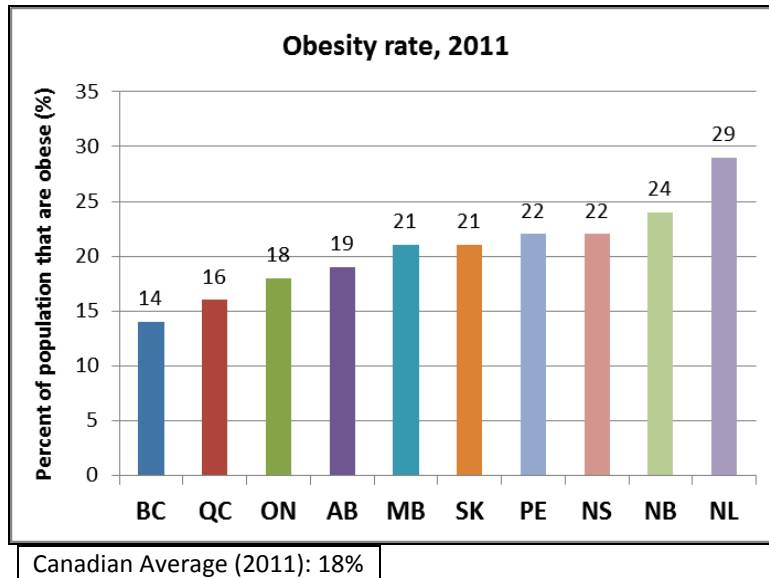
Canadian Average (2000): 39%
OECD-23 Average (1999-2001): 39%
US Average (1999): 36%

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

8. Obesity

Obesity rates vary moderately among the provinces. Newfoundland and Labrador is a slight outlier with the highest rate in Canada (29%). Its rate of obesity is more than double that of British Columbia (14%), which has the lowest rate in Canada. Canada ranks slightly better than average among the OECD-21, with the 8th lowest obesity rate.

Figure 16 *Obesity, measured as the percentage of the population aged 18 and over with a Body Mass Index greater than 30, age standardized percent, 2011*



Source: HRSDC. “Health-Obesity.” Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=6>; Statistics Canada. 2012. “Health Indicator profile, age-standardized rates annual estimates, by sex, Canada, provinces and territories.” (CANSIM Table 105-0503).

Figure 17 *Percentage of the population aged 18 and over with a Body Mass Index greater than 30, 2002 (not age standardized)*

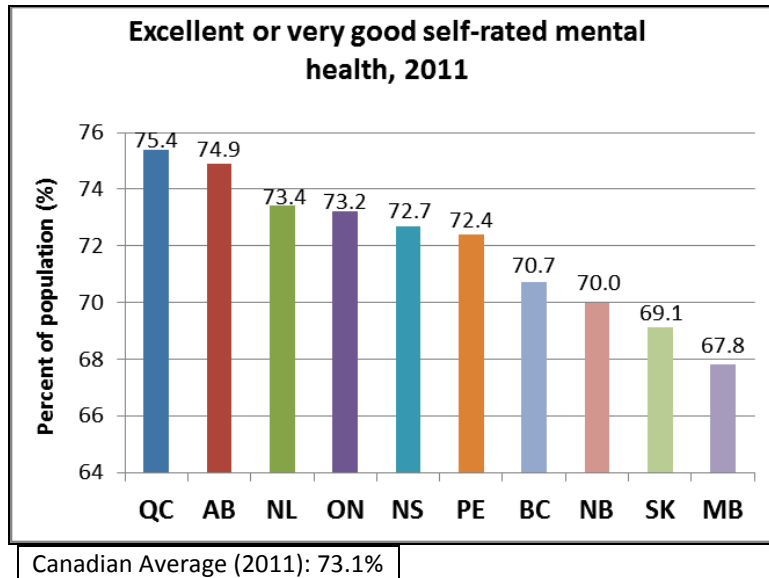
Canadian Average (2002): 13%
OCED-21 Average (2002): 15%
US Average (2002): 31%

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

9. *Mental Health*

There is very little variation among the provinces in terms of the proportion of people who rate their mental health as excellent or very good. Of the 12 OECD countries with data available for this indicator, Canada’s mental health rate ranks 5th worst (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010).

Figure 18 *Percentage of people aged 12 and over who rate their mental health as ‘Excellent’ or ‘Very good’ 2011*



Source: HRSDC. “Health-Self-rated Mental Health.” Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.lt.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=11>; Statistics Canada. 2012. Health Indicator profile, age-standardized rate, annual estimates by sex, Canada, provinces and territories. (CANSIM Table 105-0503).

Figure 19 *Prevalence of any mental illness in previous 12 months, people aged 18 and over, 2001-2003*

Canadian Average: 19.9%
OCED-12 Average: 16%
US Average (1993-2001): 26.4%

Source: Wilkinson, Richard and Kate Pickett. 2010. *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Press/Penguin Books.

DISCUSSION

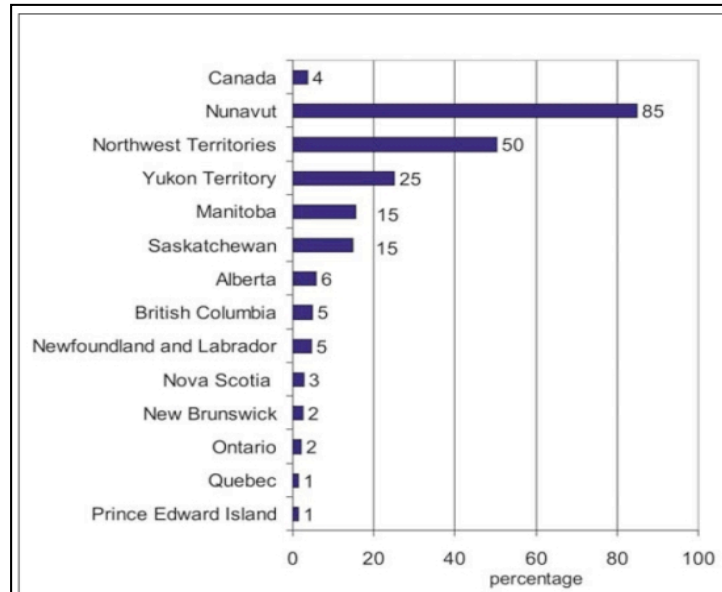
In comparing the provinces’ overall performances on the nine well-being indicators, two main observations can be made. Firstly, Manitoba and Saskatchewan perform poorly compared with the other provinces. Secondly, there is generally modest variation in the overall performances of the remaining eight provinces. That is, there is fairly modest disparity in social and health outcomes among most of the provinces in Canada.

1. Main Outliers: Manitoba and Saskatchewan

Manitoba and Saskatchewan are significant outliers in terms of their overall performances on the well-being indicators. Their poor performances put them at the very bottom in the overall provincial ranking of social well-being.

These two provinces perform particularly poorly on rates of homicide, incarceration, and teenage pregnancy. Their homicide and incarceration rates are around double the national average, and their teen birth rates are over 1.5 times the national average.

Figure 20 *Percentage of Aboriginal people in the population, by province and territory, 2006*



Source: Statistics Canada 2006. Census of Population, 2006. <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-558/figures/c1-eng.cfm>

2. Most of the provinces share relatively similar well-being outcomes

With the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the range of average well-being outcomes among the provinces is quite modest.

There is very little variation among all ten provinces in terms of life expectancy, student achievement, and mental health. All of the provinces enjoy relatively equal, high levels of life expectancy and student achievement on standardized tests compared to most OECD countries.

For every indicator there is less variation (i.e. more equality in outcomes) among the Canadian provinces than among the OECD countries.

The narrower range of outcomes among the Canadian provinces compared with the OECD countries is likely due in part to the smaller number of jurisdictions in this study; while there are only 10 provinces, Wilkinson and Pickett's studies compares 23 jurisdictions.

The relatively modest variation of outcomes among most of the Canadian provinces on most indicators is indicative of the relatively similar levels of well-being experienced across the country. Where there is a large range of outcomes on an indicator, this range is usually

explainable by the presence of one or two outliers (typically Manitoba and Saskatchewan), while the remaining provinces tend to have more similar outcomes.

VARIANCES AND SIMILARITIES IN PROVINCIAL WELL-BEING OUTCOMES: EXPLANATIONS

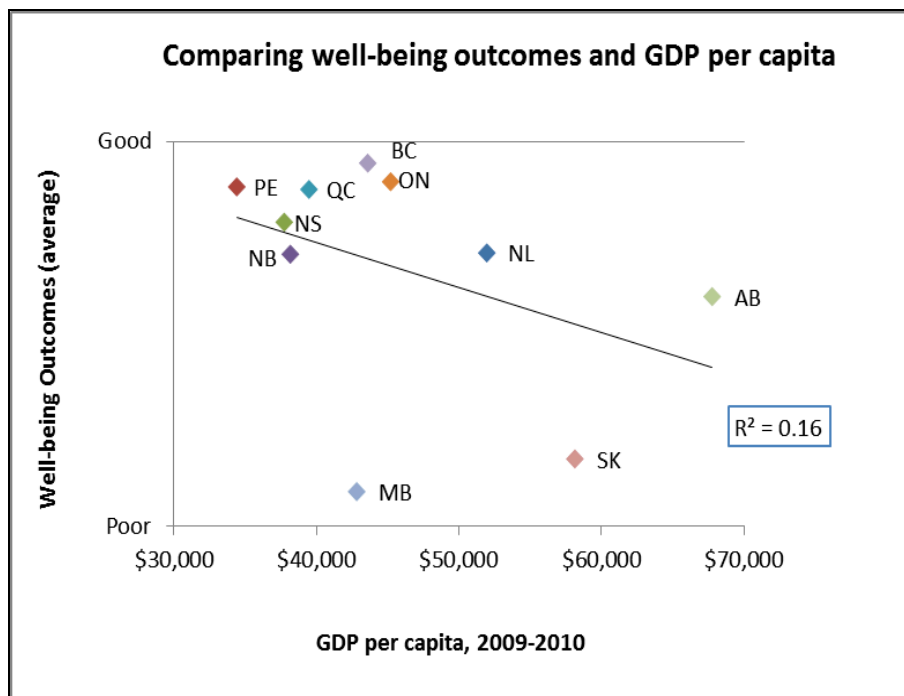
As was discussed, with the exceptions of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, there are generally modest differences in well-being outcomes between the provinces.

There are many social, economic, environmental, cultural, and other factors that may explain the variances and similarities in well-being outcomes between the provinces. Here, four potentially explanatory factors are explored: 1) Provincial GDP per capita, 2) Level of income inequality, 3) Outlier provinces, and 4) Provincial social spending and federal support.

1. GDP per capita

Do the richer provinces generally have better well-being outcomes than the poorer provinces? There is not a strong relationship between social well-being and provincial GDP per capita (income per person). This finding accords with Wilkinson and Pickett's findings. Some lower income provinces, notably PEI and Quebec, score high in terms of social well-being, while some higher income provinces, such as Saskatchewan and Alberta, rank near the bottom (Statistics Canada 2011a).

Figure 21 *There is not a strong relationship between provincial well-being outcomes and GDP per capita*



Source: Statistics Canada. 2011. Table A.34. Gross domestic product per capita, Canada, provinces and territories, 2005/2006 to 2009/2010 (in current dollars). <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-595-m/2011095/tbl/tbla.34-eng.htm>

2. Income inequality

Income inequality can generate harmful effects at both the individual and societal level. Extreme inequality gives rise to disparity in control over economic and social resources, which leads to power imbalances within societies.

The measure of inequality used in this study is defined as the difference between the average incomes of the top 20% and the bottom 20% income groups in each province (HRSDC 2010; Statistics Canada 2012).

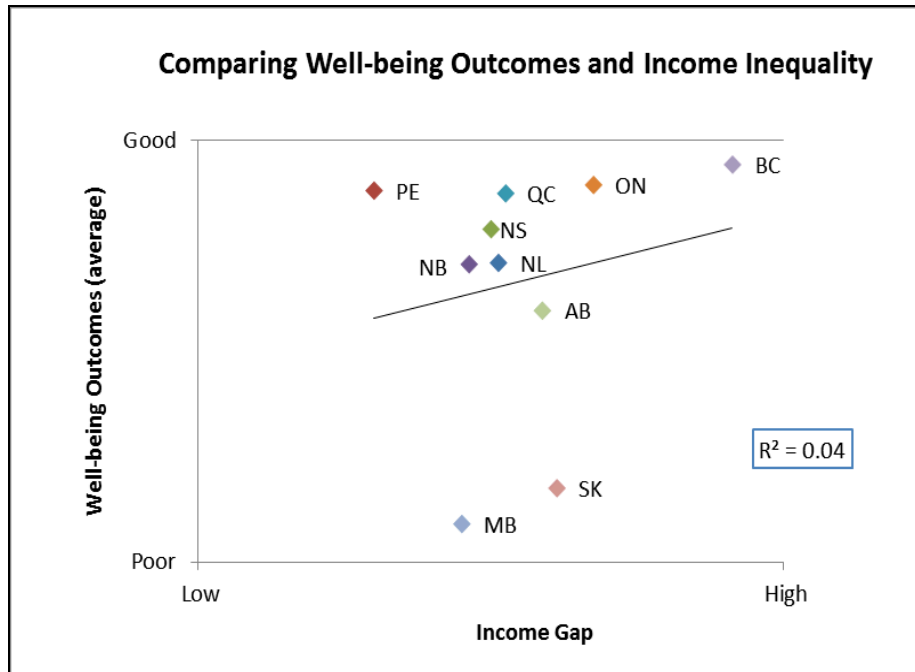
In Wilkinson and Pickett's study, they examined the relationships between the level of income inequality within 23 OECD countries (including Canada) and the countries' performance on the well-being indicators. They found that health and social problems are consistently more prevalent in highly unequal societies, such as the US and the UK, than in more equal societies, like Japan and Norway (see Appendix II).

How does Canada fare in Wilkinson and Pickett's study? Canada's level of income inequality is about average among the OECD countries and, correspondingly, its overall performance on the well-being indicators ranks it as a middle-performing country.

Here, the well-being indicators used by Wilkinson and Pickett are measured against the level of income inequality in each province to find out if provinces that are more equal, such as Prince Edward Island and Manitoba, do better than provinces that are more unequal, like British Columbia and Ontario.

Surprisingly, income inequality levels within the Canadian provinces are not a significant predictor of well-being outcomes. That is, health and social problems are generally not more common among provinces with a bigger gap between the rich and poor.

Figure 22 *There is not a strong relationship between provincial well-being outcomes and income inequality in Canada*



Source: HRSDC (no date). “Financial Security - Income Distribution.” Indicators of Well-being in Canada. <http://www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=22>; Statistics Canada. 2012. “Market, total and after-tax income, by economic family type and after-tax income quintiles, 2010 constant dollars, annual.” (CANSIM Table 202-0703).

There may be a myriad of reasons for the weak relationship between income inequality and well-being in Canada, but two key reasons for this finding will now be discussed.

- (i) *The variation in income inequality levels between the provinces is generally modest*

One reason for the weak linkage between income inequality and well-being is that provincial levels of income inequality do not differ a great deal if one ignores the two outliers, PEI and BC, which are, respectively, the most equal and the most unequal province. Inequality varies much more among the advanced industrial countries than it does among the remaining provinces, where the level of inequality varies in a narrow range of 90% to 112% of the national average.

- (ii) *The variation in well-being outcomes between most of the provinces is generally modest*

Another reason for the weak linkage is that the differences in social outcomes between most of the provinces vary little on most indicators. For example, for life expectancy there is very modest variation between the provinces (98% - 102% of the national average).

Again, there is consistently much less variation between provinces on the social outcomes than there is between the advanced industrial countries.

3. Outlier Provinces

There is a large range of outcomes among the provinces on some indicators, particularly homicide, incarceration, and teen pregnancy. As was discussed, this wide range can largely be explained by Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which perform very poorly on these indicators compared to the other provinces.

What might explain Saskatchewan and Manitoba's overall poor performances on the well-being indicators? Their poor performances are almost certainly due to the fact that these two provinces have much higher than average Aboriginal populations; Aboriginal people comprise only 4% of the Canadian population, but 15% of Manitoba and Saskatchewan's populations (Statistics Canada 2006).

The incarceration rate for Aboriginal persons is about ten times higher than the rate for non-Aboriginals, the homicide rate is seven times higher, and the teen pregnancy rate is up to six times higher (Statistics Canada 2013; Brzozowski et al 2006; O'Donnell and Wallace 2011). The infant mortality rate among Aboriginal groups ranges from about 1.7 to 4 times the rate for non-Aboriginals (Smylie 2010).

Clearly, policy is needed that will increase the opportunity for more equal social and health outcomes between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals. This would have the supplementary effect of further equalizing the Canadian provinces' performances on the well-being outcomes.

4. Provincial social spending and federal support

Social spending is defined here as the amount that the provincial government spends on the following: Health, Social services, Housing, General government services, Protection of persons and property, Recreation and culture, Education, and Labour, employment and immigration (Statistics Canada 2009).

The relatively small variation in well-being outcomes between most of the provinces can largely be attributed to the fact that levels of provincial social spending per person do not differ a great deal. Social spending only varies between 90% (Ontario) and 118% of the national average (Newfoundland and Labrador).

GDP per capita varies a lot between the provinces, from 75% to 148% of the national average, and income inequality varies moderately from 76% to 134%. However, provincial social spending varies much less. This is because the federal government provides equalization payments to the poorer provinces, as well as equal per person transfers to support health and social services.

Though quite modest, differences in social spending are largely explained by demographics - mainly, the Atlantic provinces have older populations than the rest of Canada, which requires increased spending on social services such as healthcare (Statistics Canada 2011b). These

modest differences in social spending can also partly be explained by federal government funding of provincial social spending, which generally favors the less wealthy provinces.

Provincial social spending and federal support probably help to equalize provincial well-being outcomes. They likely help to temper the effects that the substantial differences in GDP per capita and income inequality levels between provinces may have on provincial well-being outcomes.

CONCLUSION

There is generally modest variation in well-being outcomes between most of the provinces on most of the indicators. Notable outliers are Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which perform poorly overall on the well-being outcomes compared to the other provinces.

While income inequality within Canada is an important problem, differences in well-being outcomes between the provinces cannot be explained by differing levels of income inequality among the provinces. Nor can differences in well-being outcomes be explained by differing levels of provincial GDP per capita. Rather, there are more dramatic differences between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations in terms of well-being outcomes - which influence the overall provincial rankings - than between the provinces.

Provincial social spending as well as federal equalization payments and per person transfers likely play an important role in helping to equalize well-being outcomes between the provinces, which otherwise may be negatively affected by large differences in provincial GDP per capita and income inequality levels.

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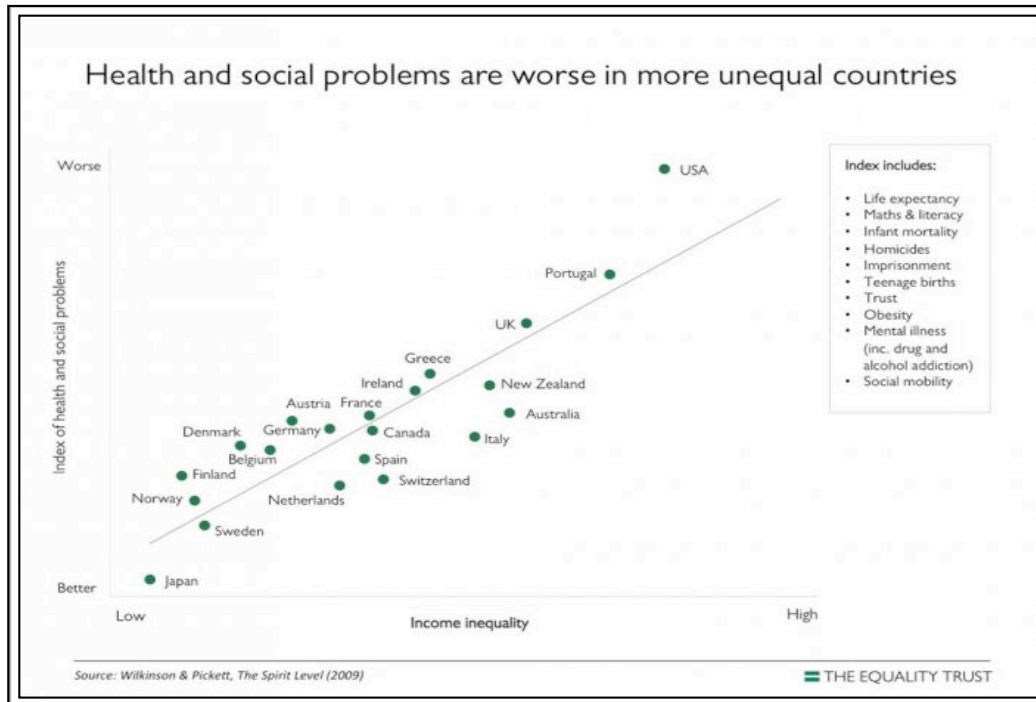
APPENDICES

Appendix 1 *The Relationship Between Well-being Outcomes and Income Inequality (Canadian provinces)*

Well-being Indicators		R ² Value
1	Life expectancy	0.37
2	Education- Student Achievement	0.45
3	Infant mortality	0.01
4	Homicides	0.01

5	Incarceration	0.02
6	Teenage pregnancy	0.13
7	Trust	0.00
8	Obesity	0.38
9	Mental health	0.00

Appendix 2 *The Relationship Between Well-being Outcomes and Income Inequality (OECD-23)*



Source: The Equality Trust. "Research." <http://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/research>