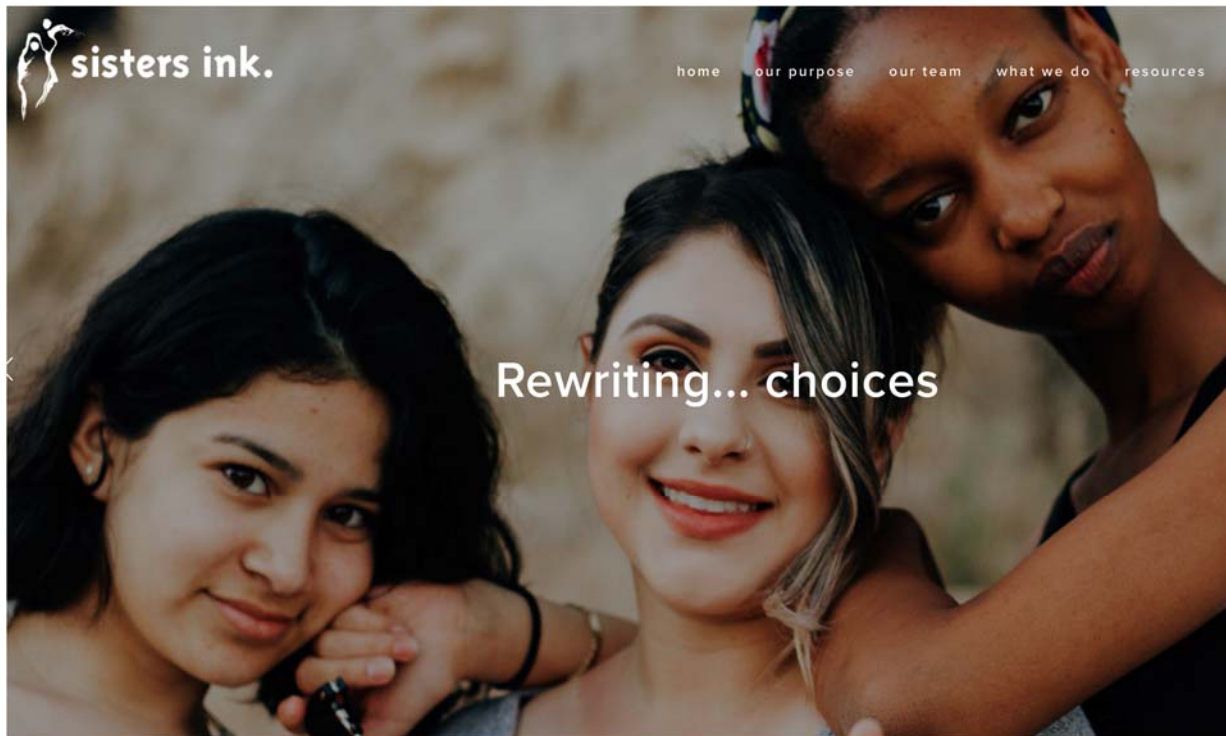


The Gendered Intersectional Nature of Pluralism and Social Inclusion



Submitted to

The Global Centre for Pluralism

Submitted by

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GLOSSARY

Gender. The term refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviours, expressions and identities of girls, women, boys, men and gender-diverse persons. It is distinct from sex assigned at birth and is located outside the gender binary. Gender relations are constituted, like all other social relations, through the social rules, norms and practices that, though informal, shape what is sanctioned or allowed for different groups. In this way, gender is experienced differently across cultures. Gendered social norms also influence how resources are allocated and responsibilities are assigned, and how value is given to different issues and decision-making power is mobilized. Gender is not a synonym for women but, rather, refers to the relations between girls, women, boys, men and gender-diverse persons.

Gender equality. The term represents the goal of equal access, resources, opportunities, benefits and rights between women, men and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, intersex and two-spirit (LGBTQIA2S+) persons.

Gender equity. The term equity acknowledges that the playing field is not even, so systemically or historically marginalized genders, groups and social identities need intentional, preferential or affirmative treatment to redress systemic barriers and exclusion.

Indigenous. The word Indigenous has become more commonly used in light of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It describes the original inhabitants and recognizes the inherent rights of First Peoples.

Intersectionality. This concept, first developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw,¹ explains how gender intersects with other aspects of identity, such as race, age, ability, education, class, religion, sexual orientation, geographic location and any other social identities that impact experiences, agency, access to and control of resources, power, knowledge and opportunities based on situated gendered norms. Understanding gender as always intersecting with various aspects of other social identities also shows how barriers and inequalities can be compounded. Understanding intersectionality is important to address the root causes of inequalities.

LGBTQIA2S+. The acronym stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, asexual and two-spirit peoples. The plus symbol indicates a number of other communities that self-identify differently and that there is not a single definition or community identifier in general.

Marginalized. Marginalized groups are those who have been systemically or historically excluded from participation or influence in society and/or who frequently experience exclusion from exercising rights and freedoms. bell hooks, an African American scholar and activist, was one of the first to use the term “margins.”²

Racialized. This refers to persons who identify as racialized, non-Caucasian or persons of colour.

Refugee. The term refers to a person who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution or natural disaster.

Executive Summary

Asking questions about social inclusion is timely when the global community has been shaken and transformed by the economic and social implications of recent events. Amidst the COVID-19 pandemic, the most vulnerable among us, including migrant workers, seniors and people with disabilities in long-term care homes, and those experiencing domestic violence, have suffered and died. More recently, the Black Lives Matter movement has reignited intense scrutiny of the societal failure of lives lost due to systemic racism and violence. During this time, discrimination, vulnerabilities, precarities and inequalities have been laid painstakingly bare.

This paper outlines both a conceptual and methodological framework for the Global Centre for Pluralism's (GCP) Global Pluralism Index (GPI). This framework was developed to better track the intersectional nature of diversity and better account for the compounding effects of inequalities and exclusion. The paper was created by independent consultant Nanci Lee (Canadian national, she/her, self-identified bi-racial, Syrian Chinese), whose work has focused, for over 20 years, on gender equity and the economic empowerment of diverse and marginalized groups using an intersectional and feminist lens.

The GPI is an assessment framework and tool that measures the state of inclusion and exclusion in societies around the world. The Index seeks to capture a society's treatment of diversity holistically, including ethno-cultural, religious and indigenous diversity to inform policy-makers, practitioners and civil society actors of the state of practice as well as drivers and conditions for improving pluralism and inclusion. The GPI is comprised of 15 indicators and benchmarks across five dimensions: legal commitments, the implementation of legal commitments, levels of group-based inequalities, the state of inter-group relations and levels of belonging.

The methodology employed uses a range of independent academic and practitioner experts who use qualitative and quantitative data sources to conduct country-level assessments. The assessments are reviewed by experts and by an international technical advisory group. These are leading specialists and scholars in pluralism, diversity, human rights and inclusion.

Conceptual Clarity for a Gendered Intersectional Treatment Pluralism

Which gendered intersectional concepts are important to understand and emphasize when framing pluralism and social inclusion? Pluralism demonstrates an ethic of fairness and respect and is also a site of the dynamic contestation, deliberation and negotiation of different worldviews. Pluralism is also a public policy choice. State and regional policy levers have an important role to play in advancing pluralism. As the GCP notes, good governance is wider than state and formal levers in a globalized world.

Sometimes overlooked or assumed, pluralism is gendered and intersectional. Policies supporting pluralism often address the relationship of the state to groups as well as the dynamics among groups and between groups. These dynamics are critical but are not enough to understand

intersectionality. Some of the most marginalized groups and communities include migrant workers, low-income persons, daily wage and domestic labourers, persons with disabilities, homeless persons, Indigenous and tribal peoples, ethnic minorities or people of colour, persons living with HIV/AIDs, sex workers, widows, orphans, persons identifying as LGBTQIA2S+, women, seniors, youth, children, refugees and survivors of violence and other forms of trauma. Intersectionality considers how gender intersects with other aspects of identity, as some of these examples show, to compound exclusion and inequities. However, it is not merely a matter of compounding aspects of identity to understand marginalization. It is true that a low-income woman who is the single head of household belonging to an ethnic minority is more vulnerable to marginalization in most societies. However, a wealthy widowed woman may find herself suddenly marginalized in some contexts. In Uganda, a transgender man's life may be at risk. How these aspects of identity combine and play out societally in terms of inequities and exclusion is highly situated. Human rights defenders and movement organizations tend to be attuned to these nuances. It is important that any assessment of pluralism and social inclusion is able to situate the issues in local drivers, barriers and vernacular language.

Capturing and Measuring Gendered+ Pluralism and Social Inclusion

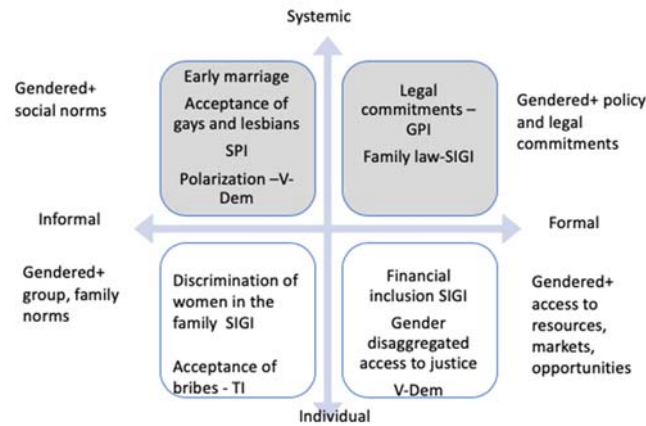
How can pluralism and social inclusion be measured and captured with a gendered intersectional lens? What gendered indices serve as a useful comparative or reference point for the GPI?

Global indices, such as the Social Progress Imperative's Social Progress Index, Varieties of Democracy, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI), Transparency International, the United Nations' State of the World's Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, and the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index, capture some of the nuances of gendered intersectional pluralism. These indices are quite different in their foci and approach but are helpful reference points in what they share methodologically. All of these indices are focused on a particular issue and set of drivers, are highly rigorous in their methodological process, are widely sanctioned and used, and are dynamic and adapt to changing circumstances and evidence.

These indices serve as useful comparators as they capture areas often overlooked in national-level data including family law, gender-disaggregated access to justice, discrimination of women in the family, early marriage, acceptance of certain groups and communities, and polarization between groups. Like the GPI, issues of acceptance, polarization and belonging are much more difficult to capture but are central to understanding and capturing social inclusion or a pluralism that a society embraces itself, outside of formal mechanisms. Some indices focus on outcomes and aspects of commitments, opportunities or access. Some gather data from larger databases. Some gather data themselves (e.g., Transparency International's on-the-ground surveys).

The following diagram is helpful because it illustrates how these indices also capture both formal and informal influences on inclusion and exclusion.

Example Indicators of Gendered+ Social Inclusion



Rao & Kelleher (2010)

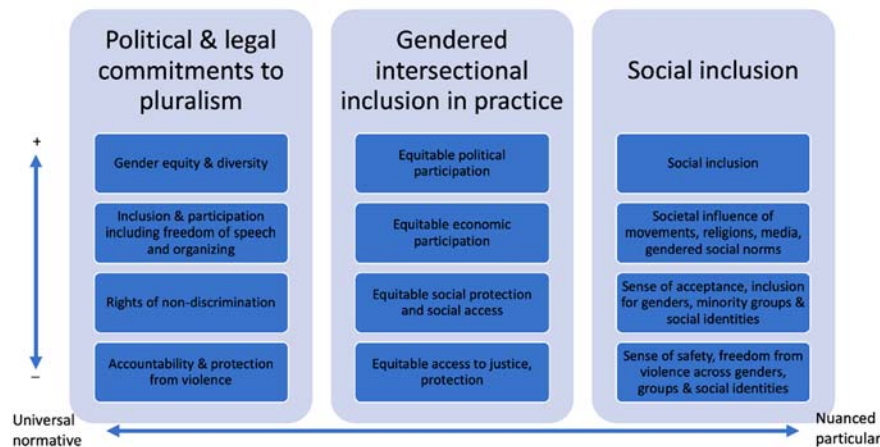
Formal aspects, such as political and legal commitments, access to resources, markets and opportunities, tend to be more available in data, policy and program reporting. To get effectively at social inclusion, it is necessary to understand the profound impact of gendered social norms held more widely by a society (e.g., acceptance of LGBTQIA2S+ identities) as well as those that manifest more at the family or community level. The diagram also highlights how the formal and informal interrelate.

The Global Pluralism Index and Gendered Intersectionality

The respondents interviewed confirmed that the value added of the GPI is also its challenge. That is, the GPI is one of the few indices to try to capture the nuance at the country level and examines social inclusion beyond the formal legal instruments or government and beyond protection (i.e., absence of the negative). While there is certainly a strong basis for understanding and capturing the legal commitments and treatment of groups and inequality between groups, the gendered and intersectional nature of inequalities and how they can compound is less evident in the framework. In reviewing the pilot country assessments, there was a variability in the nature of interpretation and form of reporting particularly related to the more nuanced aspects of belonging, acceptance and social inclusion.

The pluralism and social inclusion indicators in the GPI are the yardsticks or measures that tell a society that it is doing well or has fallen behind its own expectations. The recommendations that follow here tweak and provide more nuance and/or detail to existing indicators.

Recommended Changes to the GPI With an Intersectional Lens



The recommended framework builds directly from the existing GPI with some condensing and nuance. It encourages tightening in both the logic of the framework and the number of pluralism drivers examined so that these drivers can be more easily studied and compared over time. As with the GPI, the pillars move from formal, universal commitments and policies on the left to informal, more nuanced and situated forms of societal inclusion on the right.

Each pillar asks one of the following basic questions:

- What political and legal commitments represent this society's commitment to itself related to pluralism and social inclusion? This pillar draws directly from Corinne Lennox's human rights framework.³
- How equitably do inclusion and participation play out in practice across diverse genders, groups and social identities?
- What is the state of social inclusion by the society for itself according to its own gendered social norms, particularly as understood by some of the vulnerable or excluded groups and identities?

The first and second pillars represent formal actors in society and will tend to have more available data. The last pillar is the more difficult through which to capture aspects of belonging, trust and acceptance in different groups. Similarly to Transparency International's methodology, it will be important for the GPI to understand inclusion and exclusion from the most vulnerable and excluded groups themselves either through the selection of assessors, on-the-ground surveys or partnerships with other indices who are collecting this type of raw data.

With three more focused pillars, it is possible have a better collective understanding of how state commitments, actual practices across actors and social inclusion in terms of norms interact. Over time with different assessments, research and awards, drivers will be refined both within and across pillars. Greater clarity on contextual and cultural differences in drivers is important beyond what is being analyzed. There are important epistemic areas of study that provide a global understanding of how underlying assumptions and worldviews shape our interpretations

of inclusion. As one respondent offered, this work is about “how to have a conversation about the terms of the conversation.”

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Founded by His Highness the Aga Khan in partnership with the Government of Canada, the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) is an independent research and education centre created to advance positive responses to the challenge of living peacefully and productively in diverse societies. Amidst an often-fragmenting world, GCP aims for the creation of successful diverse societies where the dignity of every person is recognized and every person in society feels that they belong. Specifically, GCP supports a global community of experts, practitioners, policy-makers and thought leaders in their research and practice through funding, learning and dialogue events, support to educators and curriculum, achievement awards and a Global Pluralism Index.

This project is focused on the Global Pluralism Index (GPI). The GPI is an assessment framework and tool that measures the state of inclusion and exclusion in societies around the world. The Index seeks to capture a society’s treatment of diversity holistically, including ethno-cultural, religious and indigenous diversity. It is composed of 15 indicators and benchmarks across five dimensions:

1. Legal commitments in support of pluralism
2. Implementation of legal commitments and practices of actors across society
3. Levels of group-based inequalities
4. State of inter-group relations
5. Levels of belonging

The methodology employs a range of independent academic and practitioner experts who use qualitative and quantitative data sources to conduct the assessment. In 2019, the GPI approach and methodology was tested in three countries: Canada, Germany and Kenya. The assessments were reviewed by expert reviewers and by the project’s technical advisory group.

The Index is guided by an international technical advisory group composed of leading experts on indices and diversity issues, including Will Kymlicka (Queen’s University), Frances Stewart (Oxford University), Stefan Wolff (University of Birmingham), Edem Selormey (Ghana Centre for Democratic Development), Kai Unzicker (Bertelsmann Stiftung), Allison Harrell (Université du Québec à Montréal), Gina Cosentino (World Bank) and Corrine Lennox (University of London).

The following are the GPI’s key audiences:

1. Policy-makers at the national, regional and multilateral levels –To assess the levels of inclusion and exclusion in society, identify gaps and track trends over time. The Index will also

generate useful comparative data and analysis about positive trends, i.e., successful approaches to advancing inclusion in different domains.

2. Practitioners –To inform the work in fields such as peace-building and conflict prevention, international development, migration and education with a view to integrating the principles of pluralism for more inclusive outcomes.

3. Civil society actors –To provide useful data and analysis to support their efforts for more inclusive policies and practices,

4. Researchers, academics, media and others – To enable analysis of inclusion and exclusion based on difference with global coverage and a holistic scope.

The three pilot country assessments demonstrate that gender as a marker of difference intersects with the other aspects of diversity mentioned (ethno-cultural, religious, Indigenous), often compounding the effects of exclusion and inequalities. Similarly, sexual orientation, age and class continue to be markers for discrimination and exclusion in many parts of the world, with particularly significant effects when combined with race, religion and other lines of difference. Applying a systematic intersectional lens would strengthen the tool's capacity to capture the intersectional nature of inequalities and exclusion.

1.2 This paper and its use

This paper outlines both a conceptual and methodological framework for the GCP to better track the intersectional nature of diversity and better account for the compounding effects of inequalities and exclusion through the GPI. It was conducted by independent consultant Nanci Lee (Canadian national, she/her, self-identified bi-racial, Syrian Chinese) whose work has focused for over 20 years on gender equity and the economic empowerment of diverse and marginalized groups using an intersectional and feminist lens.

The following questions are answered in this paper:

1. What gendered intersectional concepts are important to understand and emphasize when framing pluralism and social inclusion?

2. How can pluralism and social inclusion be measured and captured with a gendered intersectional lens? What gendered indices serve as a useful comparative or reference point for the GPI?

3. How could the GPI better measure and track the intersectional nature of pluralism, inequalities and exclusion (considering both what is measured as well as the overall process)?

It is acknowledged that the paper presents a much wider scope than may be practical or feasible for the GCP to implement. In some places, reference to gender or gendered intersectionality is recommended specifically, and in some places, it is recommended to be embedded throughout the analysis. The intention behind the recommendations was to provide wide scope and choice with a view to feasibility without being limited by it. Recommendations are based on the

reviewer's own experience, research, document review and interviews with several key stakeholders with extensive experience in pluralism, social inclusion and the use of global indices for affecting real social change on the ground. Stakeholders include members of the GCP staff, management, the advisory board, country-level assessors and scholars in these areas. See Annex A for a list of respondents.

The aim, as requested, is to provide a broad scope of analysis around these issues to present both conceptual and methodological considerations for the GPI as well as several options. The review and final recommendations were informed by some key principles. The GPI should remain highly rigorous, positioned for wide use and influence, be clear and easy to interpret, and well-situated to capture messy contextually distinct nuances.

2. Understanding Gendered+ Pluralism and Social Inclusion

It is a particularly timely exercise to ask questions about social inclusion when the global community has been shaken and transformed by the economic and social implications of the COVID-19 pandemic. The social isolation that has been necessary to “flatten the curve” on the virus, like other social transformations during this time, has the potential to exacerbate various kinds of vulnerabilities, precarities and inequalities. Concerns related to those most vulnerable to being hardest hit by this global pandemic abound. The vulnerable include migrant workers, the poor and marginalized, those recently hit by other disasters, those suffering from domestic abuse, etc. However, there has also been heartening shows of support and solidarity for neighbours, and care-giving for the elderly and the vulnerable in communities around the world.

What does social inclusion and pluralism mean in the widest sense? How are we able to capture social inclusion in order to improve it nationally and globally?

The GCP has articulated a framework for pluralism based on an ethic of respect that values human diversity. Regardless of cultural differences, peoples around the world share a common humanity. Pluralism rejects division as a necessary outcome of diversity, seeking instead to identify the qualities and experiences that unite rather than divide us as people and to forge a shared stake in the public good.⁴

Wide academic debates and discourses continue to shape our understanding of pluralism, multiculturalism, social inclusion, equality and equity. Issues of inclusion and equity can be tricky and even controversial to capture. This paper also discusses pluralism with social inclusion, a more widely understood and accepted term. The World Bank definition of social inclusion is helpful here for its clear plain language: The process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society, the process of improving the ability, opportunity and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society.⁵

For the purposes of this paper, it is important to understand not only the extent to which there is an absence of violence or exclusion but also the level of civic or societal inclusion and belonging

that transcends both the role of government and mere tolerance between people. A few aspects are important to highlight related to the framework with an intersectional lens:

1. Pluralism demonstrates an ethic of fairness and respect. These are not only cornerstone values but also acknowledge the need to reconcile sometimes competing claims of group rights and human rights and the obligations and/or choices implied. Respecting difference depends on a capacity and willingness to acknowledge, negotiate and accommodate alternative points of view.⁶

Pluralism is a site of dynamic contestation and deliberation, dependent on negotiating and accommodating, also excluding or harming people based on different identities and worldviews. Rendering the “negative” realities and contestations explicit is important for pluralism to resonate with some audiences such as rights activists and movement organizations.

2. Pluralism is a public policy choice, and states and policy levers have an important role to play in advancing pluralism.

As the GCP notes, good governance is wider than state and formal levers in a globalized world. Regional and international levers are often critical and many complex factors affect the effectiveness of the state. Even at the national level, informal influences and institutions are sometimes less visible but important drivers. In particular, women, LGBTQIA2S+, labour, minority rights, refugee, environmental, Indigenous, faith-based movements, traditional courts and governance structures have been important societal influences on both gendered social norms and formal laws and instruments.

3. Pluralism is gendered and intersectional. Policies supporting pluralism often address the relationship of the state to groups as well as the dynamics among groups and between groups which is critical.

However, to really tackle inequalities and inequities, genders and social identities need to be considered as well as groups. Groups can mask inequalities within groups along gender or other social identity lines. Genders is not only a binary of women-men but, building on decades of LGBTQIA2S+ and queer activism, exist along a socially constructed spectrum and include third genders and non-binary identities.

Drawing on Kimberlé Crenshaw’s concept of intersectionality,⁷ gender is a social construction intersecting with other social identities including race, ability, intimacy preferences, educational status, age and socio-economic status, to name only a few. Intersecting social identities can compound inequalities and exclusions as well as privilege. It is a matter of understanding what differences are important to consider in each context. In this paper, the term gendered+ will always mean gendered and intersectional, with further elaboration below.

Catherine Harnois builds on Crenshaw to identify social identities as embedded in social institutions rather than stable properties of individual people.⁸ Dynamic and highly contextual

gendered social norms, power dynamics and sanctions affect people's ability to participate, gain opportunities, voice, choose and even to have the confidence to claim space, opportunities and rights. These issues are as much about belonging as they are about access to opportunities and participating in society.

Harnois describes gender as embedded in social institutions rather than stable properties of individual people. She draws from Judith Lorber's distinction between gender status and gender identity.⁹ Gender status "recognizes genders in a society and the norms and expectations for their enactment behaviorally, gesturally, linguistically, emotionally and physically."¹⁰ Status is conferred both formally such as legal status and informally in terms of gendered social norms that sanction what we are allowed and not allowed to do in our societies.

Lorber treats gender statuses as part of the social institution of gender and identities as part of gender at the level of the individual. Of course, our social identity is the interaction between ourselves and our social circles, our society. These levels, individual and social are highly interconnected and hard to pull apart. Some gender theorists, such as Judith Butler, argue that there is only social. There is no subject outside of social norms. "There is no making of oneself outside of a mode of subjectivation and, hence, no self-making outside of the norms that orchestrate the possible forms that a subject may take."¹¹ So, what does this nuance and complexity mean in practice?

Recommendation: Present a sharper definition of pluralism (that can be expanded but) that connects to and reinforces global discourse and framing around this issue. Continue to treat pluralism and social inclusion as a frame of frames that is historically, culturally and contextually situated and dynamic. Refer to genders, groups and social identities for a more nuanced treatment of diversity. In other words, be explicit about the continual "deconstructing and reconstructing" required to widen the diversity of assessors and make locally relevant in the analysis. The research funded through the GCP and the Global Pluralism awards are excellent supports to continually test and build our global understanding of pluralism and its drivers, helping to elucidate which are contextually situated and which are broader in nature.

The next section outlines the considerations in capturing pluralism and social inclusion. It is in the measurement of concepts that clarity becomes critical.

3. Capturing and Measuring Gendered+ Pluralism and Social Inclusion

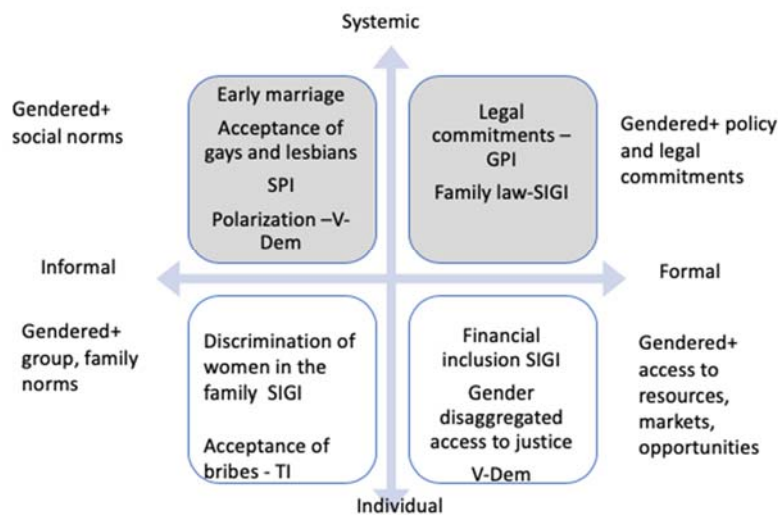
Capturing pluralism and social inclusion in terms of indicators is, in many ways, as one respondent described, an exercise in understanding a country's blind spots. That is, a country-level study of inclusion and equality requires asking who falls through the net in a country's commitment to its own pluralism and inclusion.

A number of indices track these types of questions with different scopes, entry points and agendas. Most, like the Social Progress Index, Global Gender Gap and Varieties of Democracy

(V-Dem), focus on outcomes and some aspects of commitments or opportunities and access. Some gather data from larger databases. Some indices gather data themselves, such as Transparency International, through on-the-ground surveys. It is, of course, easier to access data and to monitor formal policies, programs and access measures. It is more challenging to capture the informal side of influence and representation. For this reason, few get at the gendered intersectional nature of representation. Fewer still get at indicators that help to understand the more nuanced nature of trust, belonging, social cohesion, self-organizing, civic participation, violence and acceptance against or between groups based on gendered social norms.

To clarify these concepts, the following diagram (created by the international learning collaborative Gender at Work) is helpful because it illustrates not only different areas of gendered+ changes, but also how these areas inter-relate with specific examples of indicators from different global indices.¹²

Figure 1. Example indicators of gendered+ social inclusion



Lee (2020) adapted from Rao & Kelleher (2010)

On the formal side (right), it is possible to distinguish policy and legal commitments (top right) from gendered+ access to resources, markets and opportunities (bottom right). Gendered+ access to resources, markets and opportunities is more and more readily available, though not in all countries. This data includes elements of financial inclusion or economic participation, health, education as well as access to justice. Several indices cross these domains or focus on a particular sector or social identity group, so it is relatively easy to get quantitative data on gender-disaggregated access to resources, markets and opportunities.

Too often analysis omits the informal side (left). Gendered social norms influence not only how easily people can access opportunities and legal commitments, but also what is accepted and sanctioned socially. The informal side of influence also includes aspects such as media and

social media, critical drivers that can foment hate speech and discrimination targeting particular groups or social identities.

The challenge, both in accessing data and in capturing nuance, is the ability to get at agency, or Amartya Sen’s concept of capability,¹³ the ability, as earlier illustrated, of individuals and social identity groups to exercise control over these resources, markets and opportunities. That is, it is difficult to capture people’s real ability to participate because it is more than access to opportunities. It includes everything from the way services or opportunities are designed or structured that exclude some people and groups to the gendered social norms that shape the ability to take advantage of opportunities.

As one of the interview respondents reminded, gender construction is unique to each ethnic, religious and cultural space. Gendered social norms will influence agency, equitable access, control, participation, etc. Again, gendered+ analysis and measurement are not only about a binary treatment of men and women. A man in Uganda is at similar risk of harm and violence as a woman in menopause in Northern Ghana. One interview respondent raised the important issue of LGBTQIA2S+ inclusion and equity, and whether or not sexual preferences have been criminalized. Some countries have granted gender status to third or non-binary genders, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. The United Nations (UN) Development Programme has begun to work on a new LGBTQIA2S+ index.

For each of these four areas, it is important to ask who is involved in decision-making with a focus on disaggregated data by gender, race, socio-economic status or other social identities. Even being able to identify what data is available for each area is helpful.

The following chart outlines some of the global indices most relevant for intersectional aspects of pluralism and social inclusion. These indices demonstrate what is already being collected and thus, might provide a basis for partnership going forward.

Table 1. Review of global indices

| Indices/ Information | Relevant Measurable Indicators | Relevance | Rigour | Use |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Social Progress Index (SPI) | Freedom of expression Freedom of religion Access to justice Property rights for women Vulnerable employment Early marriage Sat. demand for contraception Corruption Inclusiveness Acceptance of gays and lesbians Discrimination and violence against minorities Equality of political power by gender Equality of political power by socioeconomic position Equality of political power by social group | Many relevant indicators related to practices and equality/inequality of groups and social identities. The SPI section “opportunity” is most relevant to GPI. It includes personal rights, personal freedom and choice, and inclusiveness. SPI includes some indices targeted to women that are, indeed, good barometers for gender equity. | Rigorous process focused on actual achievements and outcomes drawing on existing databases from UN, V-Dem, World Bank and others. | Broadly links basic human needs with foundations of well-being and opportunity. The SPI uses peer country groups and performance dots for each indicator to show how a country performs relative to peers. |
| Global Gender Gap, World | Gender Gap Index with sub-indices: health and survival, | Most relevant to practices and equality | Based on a methodology integrating the latest | Private-public partnerships. |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| Economic Forum | educational attainment, economic participation and opportunity and political empowerment. | or inequality gender-disaggregated. Also able to do “frontier” analysis, emerging trends in occupational gender segregation-cloud computing, for example. | statistics (data converted to male-female ratios and benchmarks) from international organizations and a survey of executives. | Global ranking gets widespread coverage and use. Country improvements are also highlighted. |
| Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) | Five high-level principles of democracy: electoral, liberal, participatory, deliberative and egalitarian. Collects data to measure these principles. Developed a Core Civil Society Index measuring the structure of civil society and level of citizen activism as against level of state repression and permission of entry and exit. Examples: Access to justice that is gender disaggregated Average people’s use of social media to organize offline action | Over 350 indicators to measures to conceptualize and measure democracy. Global and historical coverage. The most comprehensive databases and set of indices. Value of this index is its wide potential use and explanatory power for our assumptions around democracy that is tested through research. Civil society indicators relevant to right side of pillar. | 2,500 experts. Six principal investigators, 17 project managers (issues), 30 regional managers, 170 country coordinators, 3,000 country experts. Half are based on factual info. Half subjective assessments. 5 experts do subjective. They use bridge coders for global comparability. | Testing theories and resilience of different forms of democracy. Produce policy briefs, thematic reports, country reports and theoretical papers. Anyone can download and use datasets. Examples: accountability, legislative strengthening, and executive corruption. |
| Minority Rights Global International State of the World’s Minorities & Indigenous Peoples | Voice and accountability Political stability Rule of law OECD risk classification | Helpful for both quantitative and qualitative understanding of safety of minority groups and identifies communities at risk through Peoples Under Threat. | Draw from other databases UNHCR, OECD, WB, US political instability taskforce, Conflict Barometer, etc. | Used by human rights and other rights activists and organizations. Tailored tools for advocacy campaigns. |
| Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) | Discrimination in the family Restricted physical integrity Restricted access to productive and financial resources Restricted civil liberties | Measures discrimination against women in social institutions across 180 countries. Includes laws, social norms and practices. One of few that focuses on gender norms. | 27 variables: 14 related to legal, 3 attitudinal and social norms, and 10 describing discrimination. 2-stage internal draft and review process. 144 questions. Building the database, subindices, aggregate subindices to build dimensions. Compute the SIGI. | Produce country profiles and policy stimulator allowing policy makers to scope out reform options and assess their likely effects on gender equality in social institutions |
| Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index | Levels of national or state corruption | The power of this index is its focus. Ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption, according to experts and business people. | Uses up to 13 surveys and expert assessments on the ground to understand the real situation of bribes. Gives each country a score from 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). | The highlights show improvers, decliners and countries to watch. Leading global indicator of public-sector corruptions |

Recommendations: Consider which indicators might serve as “barometers” for certain areas or drivers in the GPI framework. Partner with one of these global indices to “drill down” and provide a more granular and nuanced understanding of social inclusion. By partnering with one or two of these global indices, the GPI would be able to contribute to, through iteration and funded research, identify a few globally comparative indicators of social inclusion. At the moment, there is an over-reliance on qualitative data for these areas and drivers.

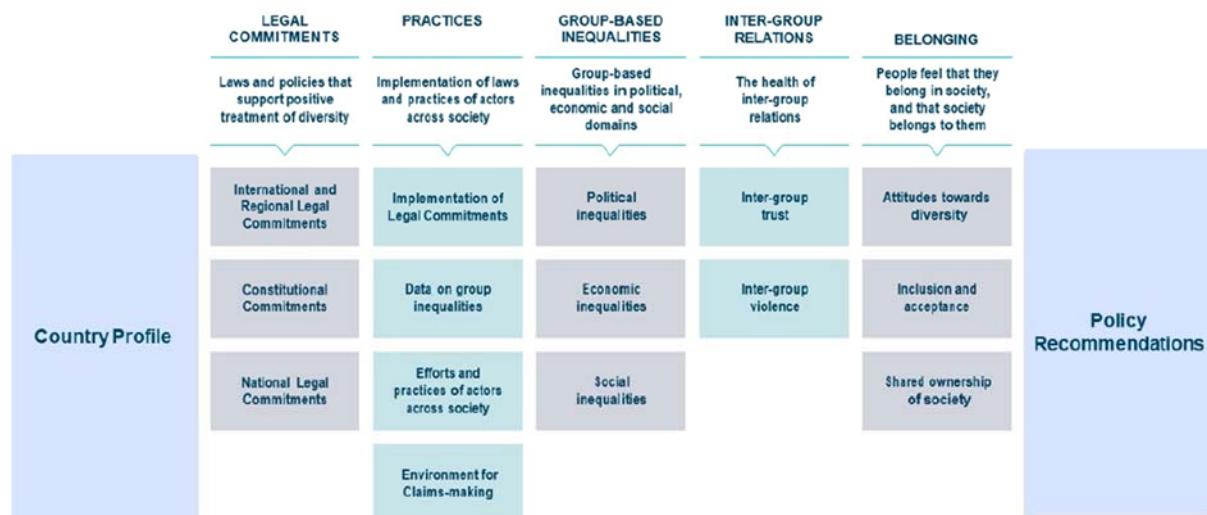
4. The Global Pluralism Index and Intersectionality

Respondents interviewed confirmed that the value added of the GPI is that it is one of the few indices that captures nuance at the country level and examines social inclusion beyond the formal legal instruments or government and beyond protection (i.e., absence of the negative). One respondent captured the value-added well:

the value-added [of the GPI] is the qualitative assessment of inclusion, not just based on what the state has collected but getting at the reality along identity lines. This data is really valuable because it allows us to compare institutional and cultural forms of inclusion beyond violent conflict. A lot of indices are interested in inter-cultural violence.

The GPI tries to get at what a society does for itself beyond state instruments: beyond a focus on violence, beyond a focus on formal mechanisms.

Figure 2. Global Pluralism Index framework



The GPI was created as a basis for ensuring inclusion and equality between people and groups. Therefore, a gendered intersectional lens is critical. While there is certainly a strong basis for

understanding and capturing the legal commitments and treatment of groups, the gendered and intersectional nature of inequalities and how they can compound is less evident in the framework. One respondent observed that the Index is based on a hetero-normative or hegemonic treatment of diversity, and another noted that there are normative assumptions that seem to underlie the framework related to an electoral democracy and a political science approach based in the Global North. Another respondent pointed out that there is a normative moral framework. While the value-added of the GPI is its qualitative assessment of inclusion, the gendered intersectional treatment of inclusion could capture more nuance. Peter Travers identified a need for more detail and distinction between the pluralism drivers underpinning the framework.¹⁴ While the GPI has certainly become more precise and nuanced since 2013, it would still benefit from more clarity on some of the underlying conceptual pathways and assumptions. Rendering them specific also helps to address concerns over normativity.

The GPI indicators focus mainly on commitments and group realities, group accommodation and relations. While some focus on minority and identity groups is certainly important, as one respondent observed, a focus on “groupness” can hide a great deal of intersectional nuance within and across groups, and can be gender-blind. Disaggregated data and analysis help to see differences within groups such as youth, widows, Indigenous or transgender people each distinguished by different social identities.

Reviewing the pilot country assessments, there was a variability in the nature of interpretation and form of reporting. For example, Germany provided detail about how each assessor scored, showing variability most related to national commitments, attitudes towards diversity, inclusion and acceptance. The Kenya assessment did not report any data for efforts and practices of actors across society and attitudes toward diversity. These examples show a varied ability to get at implementation, group inequalities, relations and belonging. In fact, as analysis moves from the legal commitments on the left side to belonging on the right, the data become more interpretative. One of the respondents warned that too much subjective opinion and interpretation would jeopardize the rigour and comparability of the assessments.

The value-added of the GPI is also its challenge. Respondents echoed Travers in identifying the country-level qualitative assessments as the real value-added.¹⁵ As we move along to the right-side pillars in the GPI, the situation becomes more nuanced, context-specific and granular. It becomes much more challenging to capture and measure inter-group relations and feelings of belonging, shared ownership across society, even acceptance. How can the GPI ensure that all of the various genders, groups and social identities are represented in this question of belonging, acceptance and shared ownership? Most respondents commented on the importance of rigour and the challenges of getting quality data particularly in Table 1’s last column or pillar. Two respondents called for more focus. One explained “it is better to focus well and have confidence in that data.”

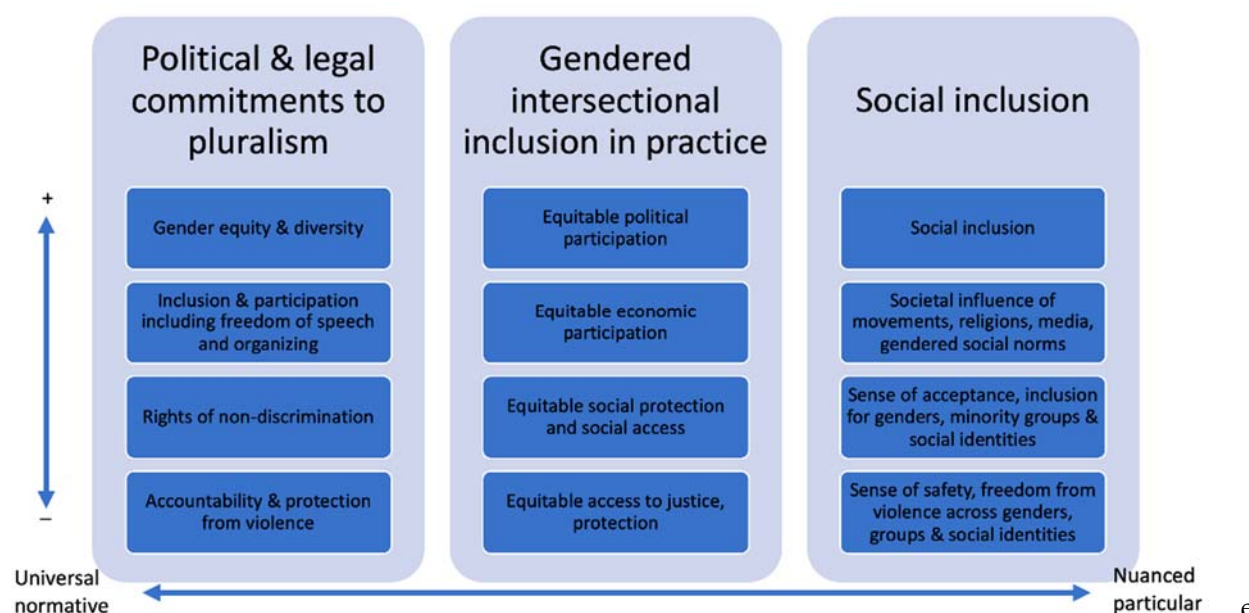
4.1 Recommendations on what to revise and include with an intersectional lens

The pluralism and social inclusion indicators in the GPI are the yardsticks or measures that tells a society that it is doing well or has fallen behind its own expectations. The recommendations in

this section tweak and provide more nuance or detail to existing indicators. The aim is to ensure that the indicators account for the intersectional dimensions of pluralism and inclusion related to genders, groups and social identities. Gendered+ analysis asks what is being measured as well as what differences matter and who might be left out. This section focuses on what is measured; the next section focuses on how it is measured.

The following figure represents some recommended tweaks to the GPI from a gendered+ lens. The logic of the framework moves from positive (what is sought) to protection from negative expressions of pluralism generally speaking, top to bottom. Left to right, the framework moves from universal normative frameworks or commitments across genders, groups and social identities to more nuanced and particular understandings and measures that seek to understand where differences might lie between them.

Figure 3. Recommended changes to the Global Pluralism Index with an intersectional lens



The framework builds directly from the existing GPI with some condensing and nuance. Each pillar asks one of the following basic questions:

- What political and legal commitments represent this society’s commitment to itself related to pluralism and social inclusion?
- How equitably do inclusion and participation play out in practice across diverse genders, groups and social identities?
- What is the state of social inclusion by society for itself, particularly as understood by some of the vulnerable or excluded groups and identities?

It may be helpful to simplify the framework to facilitate a more focused testing of assumptions and relationships between the variables and drivers of social inclusion. Structured with these

three pillars, the analysis can compare state (and regional) instruments, actual achievement in practice, and the more informal norms and behaviours as reported by genders, minority groups and social identity groups themselves. What ensures that a law regulating land and property, for example, is realized in practice? Does it include or exclude women or certain ethnic groups? In order to understand the relationship between mechanisms used in the second pillar, each of the areas must include not only progress in that area but also the mechanisms used, data available and an interpretation of existing data. So, as one respondent asked, are there reserve seats, affirmative action and a separate ombudsman? Is national data disaggregated along gender or other lines?

Examples from Kenya will ground the understanding of each pillar.

Pillar 1: Political and legal commitments

The first pillar focuses on formal state, regional and international instruments. It is helpful to first understand general commitments to pluralism, diversity and inclusion, including gender equity which may cut across various areas or sectors. The next three areas of Pillar 1 are drawn directly from Corinne Lennox and the three key areas of human rights work: participation, non-discrimination and accountability.¹⁶ Utilizing this framework helps to embed the framework in rights-based discourse and practice. Doing so also allows more specificity between legal and political mechanisms and drivers. It is helpful to be mindful of gender inclusive laws and policies that are sometimes omitted, such as social protection, family law, freedom from gender-based violence and the de-criminalization of sexuality.

The Kenyan example would be Article 10 of the nation's constitution that guarantees "human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized."¹⁷ The constitution includes an expanded notion of citizenship. Women are no longer partially excluded (previously, they could not pass citizenship to their children). Efforts have also been made to include both abandoned children and, through the new *Immigration and Citizenship Act*, various groups that have lived in Kenya for a long time but have found it hard to become citizens (Chap. 3). Provisions designed to deal with past injustices, whether through affirmative action (which the state is required to adopt under Articles 27 and 56) or through the protection of ancestral lands or land occupied by hunter-gatherer communities (Art. 63), are similarly intended to rectify exclusion. So are provisions about the rights of all Kenyans to practice their religion (Art. 32), their culture and to use their languages (Art. 44). The true thrust of the rights of persons with disabilities (Art. 54), of youth (Art. 55) and of the elderly (Art. 57) is towards full inclusion. Finally, the detailed provisions for more inclusive electoral laws and practices, such as no one-sex domination of elected or appointed bodies and for more inclusive political parties, are also relevant to the promotion of pluralism.¹⁸

Pillar 2: Gendered intersectional inclusion in practice

The second pillar looks at what the state's commitment to its diversity and inclusion looks like in practice. This pillar looks at equitable access, distribution, control over resources and opportunities, including markets, justice, information across genders, groups and social identities. This pillar includes political, economic, social and justice access and participation in terms of achievement of outcomes. It would be helpful to also prompt related to conditions or

mechanisms in place that have been proven to improve outcomes. Some examples might include mechanisms such as savings groups, affirmative action policies, parental leaves, or participatory or gender budgeting.

It is helpful to use a gendered+ lens with these issues. In terms of access to disaggregated data, this usually means a binary treatment of women and men, sometimes girls and boys. The World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index report doesn't identify levels of development or empowerment, but does identify gaps between women and men on outcomes related to political leadership, educational attainment, health and survival, and economic participation and opportunity.¹⁹ Notably these indicators are quite high level such as labour force participation, enrolment in primary and secondary education, professional and technical workers, women in parliament and as ministers, and life expectancy rates.

Notably absent are important gendered+ areas of access and freedom such as access to justice, sexual and reproductive health, and financial inclusion in semi-formal finance, such as savings and credit cooperatives or savings groups where women disproportionately sit. Also, economic issues such as participation in the informal sector, inheritance of property and land, and assets particularly businesses, land and property in women's own names and their ability to pass them on to their children regardless of marital status, age, death of husband, etc.

For example, Juliana Nnoko-Mewanu outlines the challenges of women securing property rights in Kenya as more than a legal and constitutional challenge.²⁰ The Kenyan constitution provides that married couples have equal rights to land and property at the time, during and upon dissolution of their marriage under the *Matrimonial Property Act*. The *Land Act* provides spouses some protections from having their home or land leased or sold without their knowledge. The *Law of Succession Act* gives both male and female children the same inheritance rights.

However, in practice, laws aren't always enforced, and justice can be hard to come by, especially in rural areas. Women who take these cases to court may pay expensive legal fees or have no legal representation. In many cases, poor and rural women struggle to get favourable court decisions. Note that gendered intersectionality is at play when being a woman and poor, and from a rural area, compounds barriers to equitable economic participation.

While the second pillar has largely followed the GPI categories for "group-based inequalities," they have been stated in positive terms and untethered from groups but with a view to equitable distribution across different genders, groups and social identities. An important additional analysis to prompt assessors would be to reflect on, as one respondent described it, "the ways that inequalities are compounded. This is not a tick-box. It is important to situate this stuff. What do we know about who is left out?" Similarly, how are social identities compounding inequalities, and how are vulnerabilities sometimes crossing sectors such as economic, environmental, health, etc. For example, the Minority Rights Group International (MRG) report on climate justice identified that dramatic climate changes are exasperating incidence of child marriage in the Maasai communities.²¹ This level of intersectional analysis will not be captured in globally comparative indicators. It requires the kind of nuanced detail that groups like MRG carry out and assessors can review.

Finally, the question of availability of data is an important one and not one that can likely be adequately captured with one question. Rather, data availability is a question behind each of

these areas in the pillars. Access to data disaggregated by gender, race, socioeconomic status, age is important though not widely available. There is also the broader issue of how knowledge is used to distribute resources and opportunities. Yash Pal Ghai and Jill C. Ghai ask the critical question: How have statistics been used over time to distribute state resources?²² This question also cuts across the various political, economic, social and justice spheres.

Pillar 3: Social Inclusion

This pillar attempts to capture and measure society's own inclusion of and solidarity with its diverse genders, groups and social identities. Moving from left to right across the pillars also moves from formal instruments on the far left and middle to informal mechanisms and attitudes on the right. From the bottom up, there are questions of protection and safety, then inclusion and acceptance to the top where the area asks what a society does for itself without formal mechanisms. This is the rich, hard-to-capture territory of solidarity that is showing itself worldwide during the COVID-19 pandemic. How does a society take care of itself? All of itself? Who is left out? And how do we know? While all of the pillars are influenced by gendered social norms (see Figure 3), this pillar is the one that most directly accounts for gendered norms and their effects on inclusiveness or divisiveness in the society itself. Essentially, this pillar examines how peacefully we get on together and shows solidarity across our differences.

One respondent asked, "How do existing mobilizations in the context respond to the framework?" This is a helpful question in many ways. First, it asks how societal mobilizations respond to the framework cascading us back to the left through the framework to examine practices and formal commitments. It begs the most important question: "What do people think?" The question is also helpful in its framing "society" in terms of its mobilizations. Mobilizations denote something larger in scale, more visible. Mobilizations, then, may be more specific, feasible and relevant than trying to understand or speak to "civil society." There are many frameworks and discourses related to civil society, its structure, influence and the blurry edges around formal spheres of political representation and influence. The pilot assessment in Germany, for example, notes "in Germany, civil society, in particular many community-based, migrant, and other legally incorporated organizations are partly funded by federal programs." The same would certainly be true for Canada. The sheer range of expressions and structures of civil society make it a fraught unit of analysis. It may be worth focusing on movements (women's, labour, environmental/climate, Indigenous, even faith-based movements as well as coalitions) that demonstrate influence on social inclusion, successful advocacy campaigns or policy changes.

A 2015 study by UN Women reinforces Naila Kabeer (2012) and FEMNET (2016) in identifying the links between collective action and movement organizing as important for employment, childcare services, and other gender equality laws and policies.²³

Women's organizing and the strength of their autonomous movements are the strongest predictors of gender equality laws and policies across a range of areas from family law to violence against women and from non-discrimination in employment to childcare services.²⁴

Movements that are large enough in scope and scale have been able to influence both gendered+ social norms as well as laws and policies making access and rights-claiming conditions easier at local levels.

Movements are not the only societal influencer outside of formal instruments and mechanisms. Media, social media, religions, artists, celebrities, social courts and traditional governance structures like hereditary chiefs may fall into more informal realms and thus not be captured as well in spite of powerful influence on equitable access and opportunities. Hate speech and bullying online are important emerging trends, but since they are often informal and outside of regulation or formal instruments, they are often under the radar in terms of tracking.

Returning to the example of Kenya, the informal gendered+ social norms, rules and sanctions, and gaps in formal instruments and mechanisms become even more apparent. Widows are still disinherited, including being evicted from family homes and land, with serious consequences for them and their children. This is true not only in Kenya, but also in Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Even though it is illegal to evict a widow, gendered+ social norms in rural areas make it difficult for these women to exercise their rights and get justice. Moreover, those who do succeed may be stigmatized, ostracized and disowned by their communities. Social sanctions are high at the familial and societal level.

So, in spite of the *Law of Succession Act*, widowers are more protected by this law than widows because widows lose their “lifetime interest” in the property if they remarry. And pastoral, and agricultural land, crops and livestock in certain districts, are exempt, as are Muslims, with women only inheriting a fraction of what men can under Muslim inheritance norms. Again, gender norms are reinforced by norms related to other social identities.²⁵ MGR’s Minority and Indigenous Trends Report 2019 identified the following communities at risk in Kenya: Borana, Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luyha, Luo, Muslims, Turkana, Endorois, Maasai and Ogiek, among other Indigenous groups.²⁶

The SIGI is a helpful review for Pillar 3 and perhaps, for assessors. It is not globally comparative, but it is one of the few indices to take a sound look at the gendered nature of social institutions. To draw on another country example, Rwanda is quite fascinating when we examine it through the intersectional lens of these three pillars. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2020, Rwanda is not only one of the top countries in reducing the gender gap in Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁷ It is one of the top 10 countries in the world by these measures. Rwanda is among the top four in the world for political empowerment (above 50% among both parliamentarians and ministers). It has closed its health and survival gap and is 4.3% shy of gender parity in education. Rwanda does less well in economic participation and opportunity (67.2%) and income and wages are significantly lower (23.7% and 38.9% respectively). Nevertheless, according to SIGI, Rwanda scored in the low category with an overall score of 28%, receiving 38% for discrimination in the family (child marriage, divorce, inheritance), 26% for restricted access to productive and financial resources, 24% for restricted civil liberties and 21% for restricted physical integrity and exposure to violence and a lack of reproductive rights.²⁸

4.2 Recommendations on how to improve the process from an intersectional lens

Drawing from the principles described earlier, the GPI should remain highly rigorous, positioned for wide use and influence, be clear and easy to interpret and well-situated to capture messy contextually distinct nuances. Since the previous section discussed what could be assessed, these questions focus on how to improve the process with an intersectional lens.

1. How is assessment and analysis done to account for the compounding effects of inclusion or exclusion for different genders, groups and social identities?
2. How are those representing the societally vulnerable or excluded engaged in and affecting analysis? Who is involved in the process?
3. How are underlying assumptions and worldviews, both in the original framework and in its interpretations, authenticated to address different conceptions?
4. How is the information being used and by whom? How is the data positioned for use and influence?

The recommended framework in the previous section lends itself to how things could be measured. Legal and political commitments are narrative but objectively verifiable. For practices, it is quite possible to select a couple of indicators for each area as barometers rather than trying to present a comprehensive picture. Narrative interpretation can fill out what quantitative data lacks. Partnering with an aligned global index or two would maintain rigour and allow the GPI to collect actual outcome measures. One respondent cautioned that “the GPI should not put numbers to things that are not numerable as it is too open to interpretation.” Indeed, the variability of what was selected for interpretation across the three countries confirms this issue and GCP team’s own reflections about refinements that came from the pilot exercise in these countries. Such use of numbers makes global comparisons tricky in terms of external validity and reliability. There is consensus that rigour is important. One respondent captured well what several respondents said, “it makes sense to piggy back. Focus on their strength. These processes are very expensive.”

Two respondents talked about the importance of having comparable data and potentially organizing countries into peer groups. One possibility is to align with V-Dem’s approach of exploring the different types of regimes that exist: closed autocracy, electoral autocracy, electoral democracy and liberal democracy.²⁹ Using these would permit further analysis about how drivers of social inclusion might differ along regime lines. Travers also found that it “may be necessary to develop a differentiated approach capable of capturing pluralism trends in a variety of distinct institutional, political and social contexts.”³⁰

The final pillar is the most challenging to capture and measure. The most relevant data would be from the more excluded or vulnerable genders, groups and social identities. A process such as this carried out by Transparency International conducting surveys on the ground by excluded and vulnerable groups would be a fitting approach to compliment the surveys already done by GCP

on trust and belonging. However, these can be expensive and time-consuming. Again, it may be possible to piggyback existing indicators such as some within the Social Progress Index. Alternatively, or as well, it would be helpful to ensure that at least one assessor for each country comes from a marginal or excluded background with the experience and expertise to speak to other forms of exclusion. Generally, rights activists are at least aware of exclusions beyond the ones they are championing.

Who the assessors are form an important aspect of the analysis since inclusion and exclusion are so dependent on our identities. GPI might use a feminist praxis called “reflexivity.” This process renders the biographies and identities of the assessors transparent as part of the analysis. Sometimes there is an explicit rendering of where there were contestations or debates. In this way, there are attempts to show how different backgrounds and worldviews and underlying biases affect analysis. It was interesting, for example, to observe, in the Germany assessment the differing scores for each assessor. This allows readers to also see where there is wider interpretation.

Finally, it is helpful to consider how to position the GPI for widest influence. Again, focusing the indicators, the underlying framework and drivers and the indicators may help with influence and audience.

State and policy levers have been demonstrated as an important vehicle for pluralism but can also exacerbate inequality and divisiveness or have curtailed power to influence. For this reason, a focus on what government and policy levers can do is a critical niche, particularly where it includes ways that the state interacts with and enhances civic social inclusion. The social contract outlines what a society is committing to do for its citizens and what responsibilities are expected of citizens as well. There are multiple actors advancing pluralism such as rights activists, researchers, media and civil society members. All of them benefit from an enabling state to support their roles in advancing pluralism. In fact, well-designed and positioned evidence for government and policy requires a multi-stakeholder approach and savvy without losing the efficacy of focus.

Another process recommendation is related to the selection of pilot countries. It would be insightful to prioritize pilot assessments in a range of regimes as well as in countries that are outliers such as Rwanda, Liberia, New Zealand and Estonia. These countries demonstrate positive deviance in terms of closing their gender gaps. It would be interesting to understand why. Equally, it will be interesting to understand the role that many of the drivers identified play. For example, what is the role of strong women or social movements in advancing pluralism in social inclusion? What societal and civic drivers reinforce formal instruments?

Supporting researchers to be policy-focused and evidence-based for policy and influence is part of it. Supporting a diversity of genders, groups and social identities in this kind of research is equally critical. Ultimately, from an intersectional perspective, it is important to ensure that influence, discourse and funded research is truly global in nature and to find effective ways of tracking those intersectionalities in end users. Also, as it seems currently oriented the research agenda and global pluralism awards can further enhance a global understanding of the drivers of pluralism and social inclusion. It would be particularly helpful to have greater clarity on contextual and cultural differences in drivers, not only in terms of what is being analyzed. There are important epistemic areas of study that provide a global understanding of how underlying

assumptions and worldviews shape our interpretations of inclusion. As one respondent offered, this is about “how to have a conversation about the terms of the conversation.”

Notes

¹ Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989 (1): 139–67.

² bell hooks (1984), *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (Boston, United States: South End Press).

³ Corinne Lennox (2018), “Human Rights, Minority Rights, Non-Discrimination and Pluralism: A Mapping Study of Intersections for Practitioners.” *Intersections: Practicing Pluralism* series. Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism.

⁴ Global Centre for Pluralism [GCP] (2012), “Defining Pluralism.” *Pluralism Papers* No. 1 (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism).

⁵ World Bank (2013), *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation of Shared Prosperity*. New Frontiers of Social Policy. Washington, DC: World Bank.

⁶ GCP (2012).

⁷ Crenshaw (1989).

⁸ Catherine Harnois (2013), *Feminist Measures in Survey Research* (London: Sage Publications).

⁹ Judith Lorber (1994), *Paradoxes of Gender* (London: Yale University Press), 13–15, 32–36.

¹⁰ Harnois (2013), 30.

¹¹ See Judith Butler (2005). *Giving an Account of Oneself*. New York, United States: Fordham University Press. Kindle Edition, 17.

¹² Gender at Work (2010), Title, accessed date month year, web address; Aruna Rao and David Kelleher (2005), “Is There Life After Gender Mainstreaming?,” *Gender and Development* 13 (2): pg. #. DOI 10.1080/13552070512331332287

- ¹³ Amartya Sen (1984), “Rights and Capabilities,” in *Resources, Values and Development*, (Cambridge, MA, United States: Harvard University Press), 307–324.

- ¹⁴ Peter Travers (2013), “Global Situation Analysis: Environmental Scan of Available Information Resources” (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism).
- ¹⁵ Travers (2013).
- ¹⁶ Lennox (2018).
- ¹⁷ Kenya Constitution (2010), Article 10, accessed 28 July 2020, <http://www.kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/kenyalex/actview.xql?actid=Const2010>.
- ¹⁸ Yash Pal Ghai and Jill C. Ghai (2013), *Ethnicity, Nationhood and Pluralism: Kenyan Perspectives* (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism; Nairobi, Kenya: The Katiba Institute).
- ¹⁹ World Economic Forum (2019), Global Gender Gap Report 2020, accessed 29 July 2020, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2020.pdf.
- ²⁰ Juliana Nnoko-Mewanu (2020), “Securing Women’s Property Rights in Kenya,” *Daily Nation*, 6 March, accessed 28 July 2020, <https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/Securing-women-s-property-rights-in-Kenya/440808-5481558-1377ff1z/index.html>.
- ²¹ Minority Rights Group International [MGR] (2019), *Minority and Indigenous Trends 2019: Focus on Climate Justice*, accessed 29 July 2020, <https://minorityrights.org/trends2019/>.
- ²² Ghai and Ghai (2013), 17.
- ²³ UN [United Nations] Women (2015), *Transforming Economies, Realizing Rights: Progress of the World’s Women, 2015–16*, accessed 29 July 2020, <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2015/poww-2015-2016-en.pdf?la=en&vs=0>; Naila Kabeer (2012), *Empowerment, Citizenship and Gender Justice: A Contribution to Locally Grounded Theories of Change in Women's Lives* (Ethics and Social Welfare); FEMNET (2016), *First report of the High-Level Panel on Women’s Economic Empowerment: Response by the Gender & Development Network* accessed April 19, 2020, <https://gadnetwork.org/gadn-resources/2016/10/11/first-report-of-the-high-level-panel-on-womens-economic-empowerment-response-by-the-gender-development-network>.
- ²⁴ UN Women (2015), 17.
- ²⁵ Nnoko-Mewanu (2020).
- ²⁶ MGR (2019).
- ²⁷ World Economic Forum (2019).
- ²⁸ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2019), *Social Institutions and Gender Index*, accessed 29 July 2020, <https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=SIGI2019>.

²⁹ Anna Lührmann, Staffan Lindberg, and Marcus Tanneberg (2017), “Regimes in the World: A Robust Regime Type Measure Based on V-Dem.” Working Paper Series No. 47. Varieties of Democracy Institute, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden, accessed 10 March 2020, https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/8b/c9/8bc9f1c8-0df2-4ea4-b46d-81539c791aad/v-dem_working_paper_2017_47.pdf.

³⁰ Travers (2013).

Annex A: Interviews Conducted

| Date | Respondents | Title |
|----------------|--|---|
| March 6, 2020 | Poorvi Chitalkar Matthew Burkard Kundan Mishra | Manager, Program Officers – Global Analysis Team, GCP |
| March 8, 2020 | Dr. Jab Dobbernack | Tolerance and diversity scholar and Professor. Country assessor for Germany. |
| March 9, 2020 | Meredith Preston McGhie | Secretary General, GCP |
| March 12, 2020 | Huguette Labelle | Retired civil servant. Chair, Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments. Former chair of the Board of Directors, Transparency International. |
| March 16, 2020 | Dr. Joram Tarusarira | Director, Centre for Religion, Conflict and Globalization. Department of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding, University of Groningen. |
| March 20, 2020 | Dr. Corrine Lennox | Associate Director of the Human Rights Consortium; Senior Lecturer in Human Rights at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London. |
| April 19, 2020 | Tavinder Nijhawan Note: Not a formal interview, but feedback on a draft | International Development Research Centre (GCP donor) |