# Measuring Pluralism in Diverse Societies: Global Pluralism Index

Project Number: 108962-001

Global Centre for Pluralism

Ottawa, Canada

By: Poorvi Chitalkar, Matthew Burkard and Nathan Bowers-Krishnan Global Centre for Pluralism

Final Technical Report

November 11, 2019

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## **Executive Summary**

Founded in Ottawa by His Highness the Aga Khan in full partnership with the Government of Canada, the Global Centre for Pluralism is an independent research and education centre. Inspired by Canada's experience as a diverse and inclusive country, GCP was created to advance positive responses to the challenge of living together peacefully and productively in diverse societies. GCP's approach to pluralism emphasizes the importance of both institutions ("hardware") and norms and attitudes ("software") in advancing greater inclusion in society.

Since 2013, GCP has commissioned extensive research to identify gaps in the field of measurement of inclusion and exclusion, and to explore different approaches to monitoring and assessment. GCP has also commissioned case-studies and thematic research to understand the sources of inclusion and exclusion in diverse societies around the world, and how hardware and software interact to either advance or erode pluralism. Informed by this body of research, GCP undertook the development of a Global Pluralism Index—an innovative new tool to measure pluralism holistically.

The objective of the project "Measuring Pluralism in Diverse Societies: Global Pluralism Index" (IDRC Project # 108962-001) was to develop a set of indicators of pluralism, test them in a selected number of countries, and apply the findings to develop a prototype of the Global Pluralism Index.

The project successfully accomplished its objectives. First, with the help of an international technical advisory group, GCP developed a Pluralism Index Assessment Framework, comprised of 5 dimensions—legal commitments, practices of actors across society, group-based inequalities (political, economic and social), inter-group relations and levels of belonging. Across these 5 dimensions, 15 indicators of pluralism were defined. A Pluralism Index Expert Assessment Questionnaire outlined these 15 indicators, along with detailed benchmarks for each. Second, GCP developed an expert-assessment based methodology for measurement. 2 independent incountry assessors would complete the assessments based on the benchmarks, relying on a variety of quantitative and qualitative data sources. Assessors would provide a score (between 1 and 10) for each indicator, and a narrative justification for that score based on available data. A reviewer would review for methodological consistency and check for bias, and facilitate a dialogue between the 2 assessors to arrive at a consolidated score and report for each country. Third, the Framework and methodology were tested in 3 countries—Canada, Germany and Kenya. GCP identified 2 (or more) assessors in each country and reviewers to complete the assessments. Fourth, to inform measures of belonging in the case of Canada and Kenya, GCP commissioned original perception survey data in partnership with perception survey organizations. Finally, initial findings from the 3 pilot cases were reviewed by the project's technical advisory group and GCP staff in workshops held in Ottawa, Nairobi and Berlin. A final review workshop held in London, UK in October 2019 brought together country teams, technical advisors and GCP staff to review findings from the pilot phase comparatively, provide feedback regarding the framework and methodology and determine next-steps for the development of the Global Pluralism Index.

The project generated several valuable lessons regarding the potential applications of the Global Pluralism Index for informing policy and practice. In particular, research and consultations during the project confirmed that there is a demand for the Global Pluralism Index amongst incountry policymakers and practitioners to apply the findings. The pilot phase also highlighted possible pathways for GCP to effectively engage stakeholders to facilitate uptake of Pluralism Index findings. Partnerships developed for the project, particularly for data collection in Africa are a valuable foundation which GCP will build on as the Global Pluralism Index scales for wider geographic coverage over time. Overall, the findings from the project will help refine the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework and methodology as well as strengthen its application for the advancement of pluralism in practice.

#### I. The Research Problem

#### 1. Context

Living with diversity is a shared global challenge, faced by developed and developing countries alike. Vulnerable groups, including ethno-cultural minorities and indigenous peoples, are subject to various forms of exclusion in political, economic and social domains. When these exclusions are left unaddressed, they undermine human development and create divisions which can result in fracture and, sometimes, violent conflict.

In contrast, pluralism is a positive response to diversity --through laws, institutions and policies that advance recognition (the "hardware") and positive norms, narratives and attitudes (the "software"). Advancing pluralism requires that structural inequalities and exclusions across different domains of society be identified and addressed. There has been increasing global recognition that inclusion is at the core of sustainable development and human progress. Yet the capacity to measure where in society exclusion is taking place, who is being left behind and how is still limited. One key gap remains the lack of available data regarding inclusion and exclusion, particularly disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, race, religion or indigeneity.

There is also increasing recognition amongst practitioners that effective conflict prevention requires upstream early warning—long before conflict is imminent, and when interventions might serve to change a negative trajectory. But the ability to identify sources of division, exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination at an early stage does not currently exist. A tool to identify these early signs of pluralism deficit is needed, which can inform action to adopt upstream interventions to mitigate tensions and prevent conflict.

#### 2. Prior GCP Research

Given the gaps in research, GCP has sought to develop capacity to assess and track pluralism over time. Since 2013, this has included commissioned research as well as a series of expert consultations and workshops to survey the landscape of existing tools and resources, explore different approaches to monitoring and assessment, and develop and test prototype tools for monitoring pluralism. GCP's work in these areas has consisted of the following initiatives:

### 2.1. Scan of Monitoring Tools

In 2013, the Centre commissioned a mapping study titled *Global Information Survey* (Travers, 2013) to map the available resources that seek to monitor inclusion and exclusion related to diversity. This study assessed 64 information sources produced by 37 organizations, representing a variety of institutions—including 28 non-governmental organizations and foundations, 20 government and multilateral institutions, 8 academic centres, and 8 private sector companies. 41 of these resources had a global scope, while the rest adopted regional approaches, or divided states into groups according to the level of socio-economic development. The research generated a number of key conclusions:

- While there are a number of available resources that cover issues directly related to pluralism, most do so as part of a broader analytical framework dedicated to a substantive purpose that is distinct from pluralism.
- There are tools to monitor the treatment of specific kinds of diversity—like religious freedom or indigenous rights—but none that allow tracking a society's treatment of diversity holistically, encompassing all diversity types and the interconnections between them.
- Some aspects of pluralism (for example, related to governance and livelihoods) were more amenable to quantitative measurement than others (such as history and memory).
- Most existing indices and datasets were geared towards measuring crisis and conflict.
  GCP's emphasis on both positive and negative aspects of managing diversity was not well
  captured by available tools. This general tendency to focus on state failure and political
  instability also meant that most indices were unlikely to capture negative trends related to
  pluralism in developed, stable societies.

### 2.2. Scan of "Early Warning" Resources

GCP also commissioned a survey titled *Monitoring Pluralism Breakdown* (Travers, 2015) to identify the gaps and potential value-added of GCP in identifying and addressing pluralism breakdowns, specifically in the field of "early warning". This study included 33 tools and resources: 5 from within the United Nations, 13 tied to regional organizations, 3 in countries, 10 from civil society actors, and 2 sources of private sector risk analysis. Some of these tools were explicitly designed to provide early warning of impending crisis, while others (such as human rights monitoring and peer review bodies) provide analysis that might be useful for tracking negative trends. The key conclusion from this scan was:

• While many early warning tools focus on the crisis-end of conflict prevention, there has been little investment in more "upstream" methods of monitoring: to track divisions, marginalization and exclusions long before conflict is imminent.

The study concluded that while GCP should be cautious about developing a new monitoring tool for early warning at the conflict end of the spectrum, it could make a significant contribution by focusing on monitoring and engagement in "upstream early warning"—long before latent risks escalate towards crises.

### 2.3. Prototype: 10 Indicator Tool

Given the objective of monitoring and building on early lessons, GCP returned to the question of whether it would be possible to create a monitoring tool for pluralism based on existing indicators and datasets. GCP commissioned research to revisit the *Global Information Survey* (2013) to identify a list of most promising and relevant indicators for the purpose of monitoring pluralism (Travers, 2015b). A small in-house research team developed and tested a prototype "10 Indicator Tool" drawing on published datasets and consisting of proxy indicators for inclusion and exclusion. There were three variations of this prototype tool:

- 1. A "global" tool that spanned 20 countries using data from 2015;
- 2. A region-specific tool which categorized the 20 countries by 5 regions (allowing for use of region-specific data);
- 3. A tool to track changes over time in 2 countries, with data from 2005-2015.

Some of the key findings from this research were as follows:

- Most of the available indicators were biased toward the crisis end of the spectrum and hence "exclusion" was more readily assessed than "inclusion".
- Maintaining a global approach remained problematic due to lack of consistent and reliable data. Most significantly, many potentially useful indicators were not disaggregated along ethno-cultural lines. Taking a regional approach widened the spectrum of available proxy indicators but these were still not sufficiently robust to support a publishable tool.

The research concluded that in order to develop a robust approach to monitoring, GCP would need to generate a set of ideal indicators that were tailor-made for pluralism.

#### 2.4. Benchmark Development

Following a workshop with experts and key advisors in June 2016, GCP concluded that in order to be globally applicable and relevant, the approach to benchmarks for pluralism should be values-based rather than based on specific policy choices or prescriptions, which can vary depending on the context. Research was commissioned to examine existing values-based benchmark methodologies as well as perception-indicator methodology. *An Assessment of Global Values-based Benchmarks and Indicators* (Kartsonaki and Wolff, 2016) identified some key challenges associated with values-based benchmarking, including the difficulty of translating values into measurable indicators. The research also highlighted the importance of transparency and legitimacy, stressing that it was important that GCP be clear and transparent about its theoretical and methodological assumptions and subject them to peer scrutiny. Furthermore, the process of developing benchmarks, and/or monitoring and assessment should be characterized by participation of diverse stakeholders.

#### 2.5. Audit Tool v. Index

GCP commissioned research into possible formats and models for a monitoring and assessment tool. In particular, the possibility of an audit tool was explored—which would involve GCP identifying the benchmarks for pluralism and the indicators for inclusion and exclusion, but endusers, such as in-country civil society actors, would conduct an assessment of the state of pluralism, based on the audit tool. The paper *Audit Tool Survey* (Wolff & Kartsonaki, 2016b) surveyed a variety of audit tool models from different fields (for example, IREX's Media Sustainability Index, Reporters Without Borders Press Freedom Index and International IDEA's Democracy Assessment Tool). It concluded that:

- Quality control was a key challenge with audit tools, and it was important to ensure that
  the assessment is carried out properly and rigorously. Misappropriation of the findings of
  assessments was also a risk.
- Simply putting out benchmarks for pluralism and identifying indicators would not be sufficient. For the tool to be useful, GCP would also have to engage proactively with users to implement the tool, by identifying data sources and facilitating analysis.

Given the challenges and risks, the research concluded that GCP should proceed with developing a Global Pluralism Index, which would entail greater control over the quality of the assessments, and facilitate analysis and uptake.

#### 2.6. Case Studies and Thematic Research

Finally, GCP commissioned a series of 12 case studies that examined how different countries changed their approach to managing diversity—including positive and negative experiences. The case studies highlighted different choices made in specific contexts to either promote inclusion or exclusion, with a view to drawing out broader lessons on the drivers of pluralism.

GCP also commissioned research on key themes, which intersected with the case-studies above. For example, the *Hardware and Software of Pluralism* examined constant interaction between institutional responses to diversity (such as laws and policies) and cultural responses to diversity (such as narratives and mindsets). These two aspects of society continually inform each other, and can have compounding effects that can lead to better or worse responses to diversity. Other thematic papers focussed on the role of institutions and constitutions for pluralism, and the interplay of pluralism with secularism and democratization. Finally, GCP commissioned research on how pluralism intersects with, and can inform practice in fields such as international development, human rights and conflict prevention.

This body of commissioned research helped inform the development of the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework and indicators of pluralism.

#### 3. The Rationale for the Global Pluralism Index

To address the research gap in the area of measurement of inclusion and exclusion in diverse societies, and building on the findings of commissioned research, GCP undertook the development of a Global Pluralism Index (the Index).

Through its global scope and holistic approach, the Index will allow for comparative analysis and generate new insights for policy and practice that are currently not available. The aim of the Index is to help practitioners from various fields apply a pluralism lens in their work, and give them the tools to conduct:

- (a) *Gap analysis*: to assess the state of pluralism in their societies and identify areas in which the gaps and deficits related to pluralism occur;
- (b) *Trends analysis*: to track a society's trajectory of choice over time, either towards greater inclusion or exclusion.

The Index will contribute to ongoing efforts to achieve the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. In particular, the Index will contribute towards realizing SDG 16: "to promote peaceful, just and inclusive societies for sustainable development," and SDG 10 "reduced (social, economic and political) inequalities," as well as contributing to related work across Agenda 2030. The Index will also inform action aimed to mitigate tensions and prevent conflict far upstream from potential crises, thus contributing to early warning conflict prevention initiatives and informing policy and practice for more peaceful and inclusive societies.

## 4. Project Objectives

The objective of "Measuring Pluralism in Diverse Societies: Global Pluralism Index" (IDRC Project #108962-00) was to develop a set of indicators of pluralism and a prototype of the Global Pluralism Index based on data from selected countries.

Towards this objective, the project would undertake the following activities:

- 1. Develop indicators of pluralism and a methodology for measurement
- 2. Identify and develop partnerships for data collection, where necessary
- 3. Pilot—Test the indicators and methodology in select countries

## **II.** Progress Towards Milestones

## 1. Technical Advisory Group

- 1.1. GCP convened a technical advisory group, comprised of leading global academic and practitioner experts to provide input and advice regarding research design and methodology, and to provide technical guidance throughout the project. The list of technical advisors is attached as Annex I.
- 1.2. The technical advisory group included global experts on issues such as group-based inequalities, ethnic conflict, human and minority rights, and multiculturalism, as well as experts who had experience with developing major global indices such as the Human Development Index, the Social Cohesion Radar and the Multiculturalism Policy Index. The advisory group also included experts in the field of perception surveys.
- 1.3. In addition to participating in workshops at key milestones of the project to review indicators, the questionnaire, methodology and findings, members of the technical advisory group provided valuable advice on an ongoing basis to the project team as issues arose, and provided technical advice and guidance.

## 2. Developing Indicators for Pluralism and Methodology for Measurement

- 2.1. <u>Pluralism Index Assessment Framework</u>: GCP developed an assessment framework for the Pluralism Index (Annex IV) translating the core measures of pluralism into 15 indicators, spanning five dimensions:
  - Legal commitments

- Implementation and Practices of actors across society
- Group-based inequalities (political, economic and social)
- Inter-group Relations
- Belonging
- 2.2. <u>Pluralism Index Expert Assessment Questionnaire</u>—The Framework was then translated into a questionnaire to be completed by expert assessors. For each indicator, benchmarks were defined spanning a scale of 1 to 10. Each indicator and corresponding benchmarks were reviewed by subject-matter experts from the technical advisory group to ensure clarity and feasibility of assessment.

In a peer-review process, the questionnaire was further reviewed by members of the technical advisory group as well as by independent experts from various fields of practice including human rights and conflict prevention. Reviewers included experts from the following organizations:

- Center for International Cooperation, NYU
- Bertelsmann Transformation Index (who also use expert assessment methodology for their Index)
- Social Progress Index
- World Bank's Violence, Fragility and Conflict Unit

The reviews were positive, with several reviewers noting that the framework was clear, concise and comprehensive. In particular, colleagues who use similar methodology for their tools and those who have experience conducting such assessments reinforced that the framework was workable and ready for implementation. There were a number of substantive issues raised by reviewers which were helpful and we have incorporated their comments and suggestions into the revised draft of the questionnaire (Annex V).

2.3. Methodology: The project team developed a qualitative expert assessment-based methodology to measure the state of pluralism in countries. The qualitative expert-assessment methodology is particularly suited for the Index. GCP's prior research showed that data related to several key dimensions of pluralism was not always available consistently at regional or global levels. As well, some measures of pluralism, such as whether the practices of particular actors advance or erode pluralism, require a level of contextual analysis that can only be captured through expert-assessment. Finally, the objective of the Index is not only to provide a numerical score or rank for countries, but also provide details about the sources of inclusion and exclusion to help policymakers and practitioners identify gaps and address them. An expert-assessment methodology provides the narrative justification for the score, which is necessary for informing policy and practice. Expert assessors would draw on a range of qualitative and quantitative sources to inform their assessments. For certain indicators, particularly those related to measures of "belonging," it was determined that original primary data in the form of perception surveys would be necessary.

#### 3. Selection of Pilot Countries

- 3.1. Objectives of the Pilot: The primary objective for the pilot phase was to ensure that the framework and methodology of the Index is sound, that the data and analysis generated serves the objectives of the Index (for example, helps point effectively to gaps in inclusion/exclusion) and also to learn more about the mechanics of the implementation of the Index (how long it takes, how much it costs, level of input required etc.). The pilot phase would also test partnerships for implementation, demand for the Index and its findings amongst practitioners and policymakers, and determine precise resource implications, which wold inform the next phase of the project.
- 3.2. <u>Criteria for selection of Pilot Countries</u>: In light of the above objectives, the criteria for selection of pilot countries was as follows:
  - Regional coverage to ensure that the indicators have wide geographic application (ideally, at least one country each in North America, Europe and Africa)
  - Selected countries should offer a range of experience in dealing with different kinds of diversity (for example, immigrant diversity, indigenous diversity, ethno-national diversity)
  - Some prior knowledge of each selected country (for example, through case-studies) to enable analysis of the data and validate the findings.
  - Existing partners or networks to support implementation.
  - Where possible, selected countries should have recent survey data to draw on.
- 3.3. Based on the above criteria, Canada, Germany and Kenya were selected as pilot countries.

### 4. Partnerships for data-collection

- 4.1. A key element of the Index Framework are measures of inter-group trust and "belonging", which can only be captured through perception survey data. In some cases, this data is available through global surveys such as World Values Survey, and regional ones such as European Social Survey, Afrobarometer etc. However, there are gaps and data is not available consistently across all regions. For example, we found that the necessary survey data was not available in Canada.
- 4.2. According to the Framework, one of the indicators for belonging is the extent to which people feel a shared sense of ownership in society. This is a critical component of pluralism and one for which there is no available data. Therefore, GCP needed to generate original perception survey data.
- 4.3. <u>Data collection in Canada</u>: In Canada, GCP leveraged an existing partnership with the Consortium on Electoral Democracy (a SSHRC funded pan-Canadian network of 50+ researchers, federal and local government bodies, electoral bodies and civil society organizations) to generate perception data for the Index pilot. As a civil society partner in the C-Dem project, GCP was able to add a battery of original perception survey

questions to the "Democracy Check-up"—a series of national level surveys being conducted between May-August. The original questions were fielded in the July round of the Survey and the project received the findings from 1250 respondents in August. The results were used to complete the Canada assessments. (For questions added to the Democracy Check-Up survey, see Annex VI)

- 4.4. <u>Data collection in Kenya</u>: In Kenya, GCP established a partnership with Afrobarometer to purchase original perception survey data in Wave 7 of the Afrobarometer survey, conducted in September 2019. For validation purposes, and to test whether the questions were applicable more widely in the African region, the questions were also added to the Afrobarometer survey in Ghana. Data from Afrobarometer was used to conduct the Kenya assessment. (For questions added to Afrobarometer surveys in Kenya and Ghana, see Annex VII)
- 4.5. In Germany, there was sufficient available perception data to support the assessments. Therefore, no original perception survey data was commissioned.

#### 5. Pilot—Canada, Germany and Kenya

- 5.1. For the pilot, GCP selected a minimum of 2 expert assessors per country and one expert reviewer. The assessors would complete the assessments independently, providing scores and narrative justifications and the data sources they relied on to arrive at the assessments. The reviewer would then review the assessments to ensure methodological rigour, consistency and check for bias. Finally, the review would facilitate a dialogue between the two assessors to arrive at a consolidated set of scores for each country, and one country report.
- 5.2. Selection of Assessors: The criteria for selection of the assessors was as follows:
  - Deep knowledge of pluralism issues in the country under assessment
  - Assessors should be nationals of the country under assessment
  - A mix of academic and practitioner experience
  - Fluency in English

In addition to the above criteria, GCP was also deliberate that the choice of assessors represented a variety of expertise regarding different types of diversity types relevant to the country. For example, in Canada, we selected one assessors with expertise on multiculturalism and the treatment of immigrant diversity and another with expertise on indigenous issues.

For a list of expert assessors and reviewers selected for the pilots in Canada, Germany and Kenya, see Annex II.

- 5.3. <u>In-Country Workshops</u>: In each country, assessors completed assessments based on the questionnaire. GCP held in-country workshops in Ottawa (September 11), Nairobi (September 18) and Berlin (September 26) with country teams to review initial findings and troubleshoot issues that had arisen in the course of the assessments. The in-country workshops also launched the review process for each country, whereby the Reviewer facilitated a discussion between assessors to consolidate the findings and report.
- 5.4. Pilot Review Workshop: A workshop held in London, UK on October 24-25 brought together all members of the country teams (expert assessors and reviewers), members of the technical advisory group and GCP staff. At this workshop, findings from the pilot were reviewed, areas were identified where further refinement to the framework was required, and a thorough review of the methodology was conducted. There was also a discussion of the perception survey data commissioned for the purposes of the pilot. The project's implementing partners provided several helpful suggestions regarding strengthening the framework and methodology, as well as feedback regarding the process which will inform the project going forward.

### 6. Summary of Next-Steps

- 6.1. Following the successful completion of the pilot phase of the project in November 2019, GCP is incorporating the feedback from country teams, and discussions at the review workshop to refine the framework and methodology in consultation with the Technical Advisory Group. Outputs from the pilot include a revised version of the framework and methodology and three completed country reports from Canada, Germany and Kenya respectively.
- 6.2. Based on the experience from the pilot, GCP has developed a plan to expand the project starting in 2020. Further application of framework to a wider set of countries will help to generate more data, test application of the assessments in different contexts, and test approaches to in-country engagements to inform the work of policymakers and practitioners.

# III. Synthesis of Research Results and Development Outcomes – Overall Project Outcomes

The project successfully developed a set of indicators for pluralism, a Pluralism Index Assessment Framework, a Pluralism Index Assessment Questionnaire and an expert-assessment methodology. The project also successfully tested the framework, indicators and methodology in 3 countries—Canada, Germany and Kenya, which generated useful lessons and reflections to improve the research design, process and implementation going forward.

In addition to the above, the project also produced several valuable research results and development outcomes, some of which are highlighted below:

#### 1. Validation of the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework

The Pluralism Index assessment framework was validated through its application in 3 countries in the pilot phase. The Framework generates data and analysis related to indicators of pluralism that enables the assessment of inclusion and exclusion in society, in a holistic and contextual way. The pilot generated a number of key findings regarding the Framework which will be incorporated to improve its capacity to measure pluralism:

- 1.1. <u>Intersectionality</u>: The Index seeks to capture a society's treatment of diversity holistically, including the ethno-cultural, religious and indigenous diversity. The 3 pilot country assessments demonstrate that other markers of difference, such as gender, intersect with all of these, often compounding the effects of exclusion and inequalities. The Framework needs to incorporate an intersectional lens to strengthen its capacity to capture the intersectional nature of inequalities and exclusion.
- 1.2. Grounding in regional contexts: The nature of diversity, and societies' institutional and normative responses are deeply contextual and there are many pathways to pluralism. It is important that any measures of pluralism adequately account for the variety of possible approaches and experiences. Canada, Germany and Kenya represented three very different contexts and the pilot highlighted the need to ground the tool in regional contexts so as to strengthen its applicability to a wide range of country experiences, particularly in the Global South.
- 1.3. <u>Capacity for cross-country comparisons</u>: The pilot confirmed that the Pluralism Index assessment framework is a strong and innovative way to measure inclusion and exclusion in countries in a nuanced, holistic and rigorous way. In particular, the qualitative nature of the assessments adds significant value-added for in-country assessments. However, in order for cross-country comparisons to be possible, the framework will need to introduce more standardized and quantitative indicators, backed by more consistently available data sources.
- 1.4. <u>Diversity Typologies</u>: The Framework measures the treatment of diversity in a society holistically. However, there may be significant variation in the treatment of different kinds of diversity types within a given country. Therefore, a single score may obscure both the most positive and the negative trends, undermining the overall diagnostic potential of the tool. One solution would be to have separate assessments and assign different scores to the treatment of different diversity types. During the pilot, this was tested in the Canada case, where the treatment of indigenous peoples, immigrants and French-speaking Quebeckers was assessed separately. While this was successful, it remains to be seen whether such an approach can be applied more widely. For global comparability, the selection of relevant diversity typologies and the availability of disaggregated data are two relevant considerations.
- 1.5. <u>Weighting of Indicators</u>: Based on a review of the pilot cases, whether, and how to weight the indicators is one key question for further consideration.

### 2. Validation of the Pluralism Index assessment methodology

The Pluralism Index assessment methodology was validated through its application in 3 countries in the pilot phase. The methodology—though demanding and resource-intensive—is rigorous and serves the objectives of the Index, which include providing end-users with detailed data and analysis to inform policy and practice. The pilot generated a number of key findings regarding the methodology which will be incorporated to improve its capacity to measure pluralism:

- 2.1 <u>Selection and training of assessors</u>: Given that the methodology relies heavily on expertassessments, selection of assessors is a critical dimension for the project. For the pilot, GCP relied on its networks in the countries under assessment to identify assessors with the required expertise. Going further, as the number of countries expands, GCP will need to put in place a method for selection of assessors, and to check for bias. Further, in the pilot, GCP staff worked closely with country teams to brief them on pluralism, the objectives of the Index and the framework and methodology. GCP staff also met with country teams in country-level workshops to troubleshoot issues they were facing and make necessary adjustments as-needed. As the Index scales, GCP will need to put in place mechanisms to train assessors and reviewers to ensure a consistent level of base-knowledge of key concepts, objectives and methodology.
- 2.2 Perception Survey Data: Collecting original perception data to inform assessment of selected indicators proved to be valuable. However, original data collection has significant resource implications. As well, the nature of the indicators means that more nuanced assessments require over-sampling of minorities or other marginalized groups. This also poses technical and resource challenges that the project will need to consider. As the Index scales, GCP will explore larger partnerships with Afrobarometer and World Values Survey in order to acquire perception data worldwide.

### 3. Partnerships

Parts of the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework, in particular, related to measurement of inter-group trust and levels of 'belonging' require perception survey data. Where possible, GCP relied on available data sources (such as World Values Survey, European Social Survey and relevant national-level surveys etc.). However, there were gaps, which required GCP to commission original perception-survey data. For this, GCP explored a number of possible options, and established partnerships for data-collection in Canada (the Consortium on Electoral Democracy) and Kenya (Afrobarometer). The partnerships were successful and generated high-quality data that was used by country teams to complete the assessments. GCP will build on the successful data-collection partnerships established for this project to collect data on a wider scale as the Index scales its geographic coverage.

## 4. Application to policy and practice

- 4.1. <u>Validation of the Index's application</u>: The project confirmed that there is demand amongst in-country stakeholders to use data and analysis from the Index to inform more inclusive policies and practices. Some examples based on GCP's consultations through the project:
  - Canada—Global Affairs Canada (colleagues working on Peace and Conflict, and Inclusion, Diversity and Human Rights) and Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada confirmed that they see a strong need for data and analysis produced by the Pluralism Index to identify gaps and advance inclusion
  - Germany—the German Foreign Office confirmed that they see potential for the Index to provide input for upstream conflict prevention
  - Portugal—the High Commissioner on Migration expressed an interest to apply the Index framework to assess inclusion and exclusion.
  - Kenya— civil society stakeholders confirmed that the Index would generate useful data and analysis on pluralism in Kenya, which was currently missing and act as a valuable catalyst for dialogue
  - World Bank—during the peer-review of the Framework, the Fragility, Conflict and Violence group at the World Bank confirmed that in their view, the Index would add value to conflict prevention efforts.
- 4.2. Partnerships for in-country engagement: The project confirmed that there is demand for the Index which present opportunities for GCP to influence policy and practice. At the same time, the project also generated useful reflections on approaches to effectively engaging stakeholders, and possible challenges. It is clear that in-country engagements must be in collaboration with local partners such that the engagement is locally owned, contextual and sustained over time. For the practical application of the tool, it is also important that the findings be informed by a consultative and participatory approach. Based on these findings, the Index will seek to develop strong institutional partnerships in different world regions, which would serve to ground in-country engagements, thereby strengthen the tool's validity and improving the Index's capacity to facilitate policy uptake.
- 4.3. <u>Data-visualization</u>: To further facilitate the uptake of findings and inform policy and practice in concrete ways, the Index needs to develop capacity for dissemination and knowledge translation, including a strong data visualization approach.

## IV. Methodology

The Index uses qualitative expert assessment methodology to measure pluralism in countries, based on the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework.

- The Index is guided by a Technical Advisory Group, comprised of leading global academic and practitioner experts to provide input and advice regarding research design and methodology (see Annex I).
- The Pluralism Index Framework is comprised of five dimensions—legal commitments, implementation and practices of actors across society, group-based inequalities, intergroup relations, and belonging. Across these 5 dimensions, 15 indicators of pluralism are used to measure inclusion and exclusion (see Annex IV).
- GCP developed a Pluralism Index Assessment Questionnaire. The Questionnaire is comprised of 15 indicators of pluralism, with detailed benchmarks on a scale of 1 to 10 for each indicator (see Annex V).
- The Questionnaire was peer-reviewed by the Index's Technical Advisory Group, as well as by a number of independent experts representing fields such as human rights and conflict prevention and with experience developing other major global indices.
- The Framework and methodology was tested through application in 3 pilot cases-- Canada, Germany and Kenya. The countries were selected based on the following criteria:
  - Regional coverage and a variety of diversity types;
  - Some prior GCP knowledge of selected countries (through research or programmatic engagements);
  - Partners or networks to support implementation of pilot;
  - Availability of data
- For each country under assessment, at least 2 local experts complete the questionnaire, using a range of qualitative and quantitative data sources to inform their assessments. Assessors provide a score from 1-10 for each indicator, along with a narrative justification for the score, outlining the data sources they relied on to arrive at the score.
- The criteria for selection of assessors is as follows:
  - Deep knowledge of pluralism issues in the country;
  - National of the country under assessment;
  - Mix of academic and practitioner experience;
  - Fluency in English
- To the extent possible, assessors rely on available data sources to inform their assessments. For some indicators where there were data gaps, GCP commissioned original perception survey data (see Annexes VI and VII).
- Country assessments are then reviewed by an independent reviewer to ensure methodological rigour and to check for bias. The reviewer also facilitates a dialogue between the assessors to arrive at a consolidated score and narrative report for the country.

- GCP organized workshops with each country team as a way to initiate the review process, as well as to get feedback on any challenges the assessors had encountered in drafting the assessments, and to provide clarity on the methodology when necessary.
- In a final review workshop, GCP staff, members of the Technical Advisory Group and the country teams (assessors and reviewers) reviewed the findings from the 3 pilot cases, discussed the feedback regarding the methodology and framework, and provided suggestions to strengthen the Index for application moving forward.

## V. Project Outputs

- 1. *Pluralism Index one-page overview*: A high-level overview the Global Pluralism Index. This was produced as a communications tool to support engagement with potential partners, and to convey the objectives if the Index to policymakers and practitioners (see Annex III).
- 2. Pluralism Index Assessment Framework: A framework to measure pluralism, comprised of 5 dimensions—legal commitments, implementation and practices, group-based inequalities, inter-group trust and belonging. 15 indicators across these 5 dimensions present a comprehensive and nuanced assessment of the state of inclusion and exclusion in societies. (see Annex IV).
- 3. *Pluralism Index Assessment Questionnaire:* A translation of the framework into 15 questions, with benchmarks to guide the assessments. In-country assessors completed this questionnaire, providing scores and narrative justifications for the scores. For each question, assessors provided a score between 1 and 10, based on the benchmarks and a 250-500 word narrative justification for the score outlining the data sources relied upon to arrive at the score. (see Annex V).
- 4. *Perception Data*: Original perception data was commissioned in Canada and Kenya to facilitate the assessments:
  - a. Canada: The Consortium on Electoral Democracy ran a survey with 1250 respondents that included GCP-commissioned questions on feelings of belonging, levels of intergroup trust, and attitudes towards diversity. The results from this survey have been synthesized into a report by a research assistant engaged by GCP (see Annex VI for the questions GCP included).
  - b. Kenya and Ghana: Afrobarometer ran country-level surveys with 2400 respondents that included GCP-commissioned questions on feelings of belonging and levels of intergroup trust. A high-level summary of results have been generated and detailed report is forthcoming (see Annex VII for the questions GCP included).

#### 5. Workshops

a. Review workshops: GCP met with the various country teams for the pilot in Ottawa (September 11), Nairobi (September 18), and Berlin (September 26) respectively to

- discuss any emergent issues that assessors had come across in completing the questionnaire and clarify any methodological concerns.
- b. Pilot workshop: GCP convened a meeting in London (October 24-25) with all country teams and the Index Technical Advisory Group to discuss the findings of the pilot, reflect on the process and methodology, and determine next steps for the project.

### 6. Dissemination and Engagement Activities

- a. GCP convened a panel discussion at the International Metropolis Conference (June 2019) on measuring pluralism and migrant integration, featuring a discussion of 3 measurement tools-- the Global Pluralism Index, Bertelsmann Stiftung's *Diversity Monitor* and the *Canadian Index for Measuring Integration*. The panel drew lessons from comparative experience about innovative approaches to measurement. The panel also noted the limitations of basing policy on indices alone, and that such tools are valuable springboards for debate and action.
- b. IDRC Brown-Bag (September 12): At a brown-bag at IDRC on September 12, GCP staff presented the Pluralism Index framework and methodology to IDRC colleagues. A rich discussion included valuable feedback and suggestions to strengthen the framework and methodology, as well as advice on how to approach implementation of the Index to effectively inform policy and navigate challenges such as data-availability, particularly in countries in the developing world.
- 7. Draft Reports: Country reports for Canada, Germany and Kenya based on the Pluralism Index assessment questionnaire and methodology are forthcoming. The reports include a country profile that provides the context, assessments for 15 indicators across 5 dimensions, including a score for each indicator and a narrative justification for those scores, and a set of recommendations regarding policies and practices to advance pluralism. Country teams are revising the reports based on the feedback received at the London workshop (October 24-25) and incorporating the original perception data commissioned by GCP. Final reports will be submitted by December 15, 2019. Reports from the pilot cases will not be published, but have been valuable outputs for the project—validating the framework and methodology, and generating key insights to strengthen the Index moving forward.

## VI. Problems and Challenges

1. <u>Guidance and Training for country-teams</u>: The Index is an innovative new project, and ambitious in scope. For the project, GCP staff engaged intensively with country teams (assessors and reviewers) electronically and through in-country workshops, to introduce the definition of pluralism, introduce the Pluralism Index Assessment Framework and methodology and answer any questions they might have. It is clear that as the Index scales to achieve wider geographic coverage, extensive engagement will not be feasible. GCP therefore needs to consider systems to effectively train and provide ongoing guidance to country teams. GCP will consider developing a codebook, with detailed guidelines on using the framework and methodology, including where possible, concrete examples drawn from

cases to guide assessors. GCP will also consider training at inception so that assessors and reviewers are adequately briefed.

- 2. <u>Data-collection</u>: Generating original perception survey data proved to be a valuable input for the assessments. However, it is resource-intensive—requiring a high-level of input from GCP staff to establish the partnerships, review the terms and methodology used by implementing partners and analyze the data. It also required a high level of financial resources. As the project expands coverage, GCP will consider broader partnerships with established and reputed regional or global perception-survey organizations (such as World Values Survey, Afro barometer) which would be more feasible for large scale data collection.
- 3. <u>Unforeseen implementation challenge</u>: In the course of the project, we encountered unforeseen challenges in working with one assessor in Kenya. Despite targeted follow-ups by the project team, the assessor did not meet key deadlines related to submission of drafts and did not attend the review workshop in London. Given the tight project timelines, we were unable to secure a different assessor. Going forward, the Index will consider contingency measures to address similar scenarios, such as identifying a longer list of experts and briefing them so that they may be engaged on short notice, if necessary.

#### **Administrative Reflections and Recommendations**

Overall, the experience of this project with the generous grant from IDRC has been extremely positive. Beyond the financial contribution, GCP greatly benefited from IDRC's substantive contributions to the project.

- IDRC staff were actively engaged throughout the project cycle, commenting on drafts, providing constructive feedback on the methodology and participating in workshops.
- IDRC Regional office for Eastern and Southern Africa (Nairobi, Kenya) played an important role in helping to recommended assessors in Kenya. The regional office also hosted GCP staff for an informal presentation on the project (September 25), and provided valuable advice on how the findings could be used to inform policy and practice in Kenya.
- In September 2019, IDRC hosted the project team for a brown-bag presentation at the Ottawa office. The presentation was an opportunity to introduce the project to a wider group of IDRC experts who provided valuable insights and suggestions on the framework and methodology and suggestions to strengthen its validity and application in different regional contexts.

Building on the project's successful outcomes and positive experience, the Centre looks forward to further opportunities to collaborate with IDRC.

## Annex I Global Pluralism Index Technical Advisory Group

Gina Cosentino is a Senior Social Development Specialist in the Africa region for the World Bank. She works on social sustainability, safeguards and social risk as well as integrating social development considerations and social inclusion into World Bank operations. Gina is also a focal point for Indigenous issues and safeguards for the Africa region. Gina has over two decades of operational, technical, and policy experience working with Indigenous Peoples, traditional communities, ethnic minorities, vulnerable groups and individuals, including women and youth, at local, national, regional and global scales. Prior to the Bank she has held senior leadership roles including as Director of Indigenous and Communal Conservation at the Nature Conservancy HQ in Washington, DC, was Senior Advisor to former National Chief Phil Fontaine of the Assemply of First Nations (AFN) and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs and senior advisor to the President at the Metis National Council (MNC) in Canada.

Allison Harell holds the Université du Quebec à Montréal Strategic Chair on the Political Psychology of Social Solidarity. She also co-directs the Laboratory of Political Communication and Public Opinion and is Associate Director of the Centre for the Study of Democratic Citizenship. She has published widely on how ethnic, racial and religious diversity influences public opnion in industrialized democracies, drawing primarily on large-scale surveys she has conducted in Canada and comparatively. In 2018, she was elected into the College of New Artists, Scholars and Scientists of the Royal Society of Canada.

Will Kymlicka is the Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's University. His research interestes include democracy and diversity, in particular models of citizenship and social justice within multicultural societies. He is the co-founder of the Multiculturalism Policy Index and the author of Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights (1995), Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural relations in Canada (1998) and Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New Internal Politics of Diversity (2007). He has also edited several volumes, including International Approaches to Governing Ethnic Diversity (2015).

Corinne Lennox is Senior Lecturer in Human Rights at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, and co-Director of the Human Rightks Consortium, School of Advanced Study, University of London. Her research focuses on issues of minority and indigenous peoples' rights proection, civil society mobilization for human rights and on human rights and development. She has worked for many years as a human rights practitioner and trainer with various NGOs, including at Minority Rights Group International. She has been a consultant on minority rights for UN agencies and national governments. She holds a PhD and MSc in International Relations from the LSE, an MA in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights from the University of Essex and a BA in Political Science from McMaster University, Canada.

**Edem Selormey** is Director of Research and Afrobarometer Fieldwork Operations Manager at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development. She has worked with Afrobarometer in various capacities since 1999. Dr. Selormey works closely with Afrobarometer's programme managers to plan and manage all fieldwork activities. She received a PhD in Development Studies from the University of Sussex. Her interests include social accountability, media and development, and public service delivery and performance in sub-Saharan Africa.

Frances Stewart has been an advisor to the Centre's research program since 2014. She is also the author of "Horizontal Inequalities: Barriers to Pluralism" published by the Centre in 2017. She is a Professor Emeritus in Development Economics at the University of Oxford, the Director of the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, and advisor to the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index. Her research interests include development during conflict, group behavior, and horizontal inequalities. Among many publications, she is coauthor of UNICEF's influential study, Adjustment with a Human Face, and leading author and editor of Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies (2008).

Kai Unzicker is a Senior Project Manager at Vertelsmann Stifung in Gutersloh, Germany, where he leads the Social Cohesion Rader project since 2011. In 2017/2018, he was responsible for Bertelsmann's annual Reinhard Mohn Price Project on the topic of "Living Diversity – Shaping Society", which included several studies about cultural diversity and international best practices for living together in cultural diversity. He is one of the authors of *Social Cohesion in the Western World: What Holds Societies Together* (2016). Before joining Bertelsmann, he was research associate at the Insitute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence and a lecturer at the faculty of educational science at the University of Bielefeld. He holds a degree in sociology from Philipps University Marburg and a doctoral degree in educational science from the University of Bielefeld.

**Stefan Wolff** has been an advisor to the Centre's research program since 2014. He is a Professor at the University of Birmingham and an expert on the prevention, management and settlement of ethnic conflicts. He has published over 80 journal articles and book chapters, as well as 17 books, including *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective* (2007). Bridging the gap between academia and policy-making, he frequently advises governments and international organizations and has been involved in various stages of peace negotiations, including in Iraq, Sudan, Moldova, Sri Lanka, Kosovo and others.

## Annex II Country Assessment Teams

#### **CANADA**

**Keith Banting (reviewer)** is the Research Chair in Public Policy and a professor at Queen's University. He has extensive expertise in the field of measurement of diversity responses, having developed the Multiculturalism Policy Index with Dr. Will Kymlicka. He is the author of over 20 books and many articles and book chapters examining social integration and public policy, federalism, and multiculturalism in OECD countries. His publications include the books *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada* and *The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity in Diverse Societies*.

**Daniel Westlake (assessor)** is a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University. He holds a PhD from the University of British Columbia, where his dissertation focused on multiculturalism policies in western democracies. Dr. Westlake has taken the Muticulturalism Policy Index (co-developed by Dr. Will Kymlicka and Dr. Keith Banting) and turned it into an annual index for the period 1980-2012, which has been widely used, including by the OECD. Dr. Westlake not only has keen expertise on the issue of multiculturalism in comparative western contexts and on Canadian politics but also expertise in the field of measurement of diversity-responses and design and construction of indices.

**Caroline Dick (assessor)** is an associate professor at Western University. A lawyer by training, she has written extensively on the political and legal construction of minority and indigenous rights in Canada. Her recent publications include the book *The Perils of Identity: Group Rights and the Politics of Intragroup Difference*.

#### **GERMANY**

**Stefan Wolff (reviewer)** is a member of the Global Pluralism Index Technical Advisory Group, and has been an advisor to the Centre's research program since 2014. He is a Professor at the University of Birmingham and an expert on the prevention, management and settlement of ethnic conflicts. He has published over 80 journal articles and book chapters, as well as 17 books, including *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective* (2007). Bridging the gap between academia and policy-making, he frequently advises governments and international organizations and has been involved in various stages of peace negotiations, including in Iraq, Sudan, Moldova, Sri Lanka, Kosovo and others.

**Jan Dobbernack (assessor)** is a lecturer in Sociology at Newcastle University. He was also the author of the Germany case-study commissioned by the Centre titled "Citizenship, Nationality and Immigration in Germany" (2017). His other publications include the book *The Politics of Social Cohesion in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom*.

**Oliver Decker (assessor)** is the director of the Center for the Study of Right-wing Extremism and Democracy at the University of Leipzig. He has an extensive background in survey research and currently leads the Berlin-Monitor, which uses surveys and group discussions to examine the political attitudes and experiences of discrimination among Berliners, as well as the Leipzig Studies on Authoritarianism, which monitors authoritarian and right-wing extremist attitudes in Germany. Dr. Decker has also published several books on right-wing extremism in Germany, including *Escape in Authoritarianism: Right-Wing Extremist Dynamics of the Center in Germany*.

**Alexander Yendell (assessor)** is an interim professor at the University of Leipzig and a member of the Center for the Study of Right-wing Extremism and Democracy. He has written extensively on European attitudes toward religious diversity, and his publications include the book *Limits of Tolerance: Perception and Acceptance of Religious Diversity in Europe*.

Naika Foroutan (assessor) is a professor at Humboldt University and director of the Berlin Institute on Integration and Migration Research – a research institute that provides empirical analysis for migration and integration debates in Europe. She is also the Founding Director of the German Institute for Integration and Migration Research (deZIM). Originally from Iran, Dr. Foroutan is widely recognized as an expert on post-migrant societies and attitudes toward minorities in Germany. She has led several research projects that use survey data to look at how German national identity is constructed, and what determines attitudes toward cultural diversity. Dr. Foroutan also serves as an advisor and consultant to German political parties and is a board member of the Council on Migration in Germany.

**Frank Kalter (assessor)** is the Director of the German Center for Integration and Migration Research (DeZIM) and a professor at the University of Mannheim. He was also the principal investigator of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey in four European Countries – the first comprehensive survey study to examine intergenerational integration among European teenagers with immigrant backgrounds. His published work includes the book *Growing Up in Diverse Societies: The Integration of the Children of Immigrants in England, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden.* 

#### **KENYA**

**Frances Stewart (reviewer)** is a member of the Pluralism Index Technical Advisory Group, and has been an advisor to the Centre's research program since 2014. She is also the author of "*Horizontal Inequalities: Barriers to Pluralism*" published by the Centre in 2017. She is a Professor Emeritus in Development Economics at the University of Oxford, the Director of the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, and advisor to the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index. Her research interests include development during conflict, group behavior, and horizontal inequalities. Among many publications, she is coauthor of UNICEF's influential study, *Adjustment with a Human Face*, and

leading author and editor of *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies* (2008).

**Mutuma Ruteere (assessor)** is the founding director of the Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies – a security policy think tank based in Nairobi. From 2011 to 2017, he served as UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance—an independent human rights expert appointed by the United Nations Human Rights Council. Dr. Ruteere is a Kenyan national.

**Peter Wanyande (assessor)** is a professor at the University of Nairobi. From 2011 to 2015, Dr. Wanyande served as a Commissioner on the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution, which oversaw the development of legislation and procedures required to implement the 2010 Kenyan Constitution. He has published extensively on decentralization, civil society, and democratization in Kenya, including book chapters such as "Devolution, Politics, and the Judiciary in Kenya" and "Characterizing Kenyan Civil Society." Dr. Wanyande is a Kenyan national.



# GLOBAL PLURALISM INDEX

# Measuring Pluralism in Diverse Societies

Pluralism is defined as an ethic of respect for diversity.

A pluralistic society is one in which the dignity of each person is recognized, and every person in society feels like they belong.

Founded in Ottawa by His
Highness the Aga Khan in
partnership with the Government
of Canada, the Global Centre
for Pluralism is an independent,
charitable organization. Inspired by
Canada's experience as a diverse
and inclusive country, the Centre
was created to advance positive
responses to the challenge of
living peacefully and productively
together in diverse societies.

#### Global Centre for Pluralism

330 Sussex Drive Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 0C7 Canada

#### pluralism.ca

**梦** @GlobalPluralism

f /GlobalPluralism

Living with diversity is a shared global challenge, faced by developed and developing countries alike. Building pluralistic societies requires that systemic inequalities and exclusions in all domains—political, economic and cultural—be addressed. Advancing inclusion also requires a twin focus on institutions ("hardware") as well as norms and attitudes ("software"). Yet a tool to measure inclusion and exclusion in such a holistic way does not exist. The Global Centre for Pluralism is developing the Pluralism Index—a practitioner-focussed tool that will measure societies' treatment of diversity holistically and track pluralism trends over time.

## The Pluralism Index will:

- Raise awareness and catalyze debate about pluralism around the world;
- Include measures of recognition of diversity (laws, policies, practices by state and civil society) and belonging (attitudes and perceptions) across political, economic and cultural domains;
- Enable policymakers, practitioners and change-makers to assess the state of
  pluralism in their societies, identify where pluralism deficits are taking place,
  and highlight the pathways towards greater inclusion;
- Track a society's trajectory of choice over time, either towards greater inclusion or exclusion;
- Identify early signs of division and exclusion, enabling upstream conflict prevention, long before conflict becomes imminent;
- Contribute to ongoing global efforts to measure inclusion for the realization of the Sustainable Development Goals.

## **Timeline**

The Pluralism Index builds on extensive research and consultations undertaken by the Centre between 2015 and 2018. In 2019, indicators and methodologies will be tested in a selected number of countries. Based on the results of this pilot phase, the project will scale up geographic coverage (2020 onwards), achieving global coverage over time.

To learn more about the Global Pluralism Index, visit www.pluralism.ca/global-pluralism-index or contact Poorvi Chitalkar (Manager, Analysis) at poorvi.chitalkar@pluralism.ca



# L'INDICE MONDIAL DU PLURALISME

# Mesurer le pluralisme dans les sociétés diversifiées

Le pluralisme se définit comme une éthique de respect de la diversité.

Une société pluraliste en est une dans laquelle la dignité de chaque personne est reconnue et où tous les individus ont un sentiment d'appartenance à celle-ci.

Fondé à Ottawa par Son Altesse l'Aga Khan en partenariat avec le gouvernement du Canada, le **Centre mondial du pluralisme** est un organisme indépendant à but non lucratif. Inspiré par l'expérience du Canada en tant que pays diversifié et inclusif, le Centre a été créé pour favoriser les réponses positives au défi de vivre ensemble de manière pacifique et productive dans les sociétés diversifiées.

Centre mondial du pluralisme 330, promenade Sussex Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 0C7 Canada

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Vivre avec la diversité est un défi partagé mondialement, tant par les pays développés que par les pays en voie de développement. Pour bâtir des sociétés pluralistes, il est nécessaire d'aborder les inégalités et les exclusions systémiques dans tous les domaines — politique, économique et culturel. De plus, pour faire avancer l'inclusion, il est nécessaire de mettre un double accent sur les institutions (« matériel ») et sur les normes et les attitudes (« logiciel »). Toutefois, il n'existe aucun outil pour mesurer l'inclusion et l'exclusion de façon globale. En réponse à cette lacune, le Centre mondial du pluralisme élabore l'Indice du pluralisme, un outil destiné aux praticiens qui mesurera le traitement de la diversité par les sociétés et qui suivra les tendances du pluralisme dans le temps.

# L'Indice du pluralisme:

- Sensibilisera au pluralisme et catalysera le débat à ce sujet dans le monde entier;
- Comprendra des mesures de la reconnaissance de la diversité (lois, politiques et pratiques par l'État et la société civile) et de l'appartenance (attitudes et perceptions) à l'échelle politique, économique et culturelle;
- Permettra aux décideurs politiques, aux praticiens et aux agents de changement d'évaluer l'état du pluralisme dans leur société, de cibler où sont les déficits en matière de pluralisme et de souligner les voies vers une plus grande inclusion;
- Suivra la trajectoire des choix d'une société au fil du temps, que ceux-ci la dirigent vers une plus grande inclusion ou une plus grande exclusion;
- Identifiera les signes précoces de la division et de l'exclusion, permettant la prévention du conflit en amont, et ce, bien avant que le conflit soit imminent;
- Contribuera aux efforts mondiaux continuels pour mesurer l'inclusion pour la réalisation des Objectifs de développement durable.

## Calendrier

L'Indice du pluralisme repose sur des recherches, des consultations et des publications exhaustives entreprises par le Centre entre 2015 et 2018. En 2019, les indicateurs et les méthodologies seront testés dans divers pays. Selon les résultats de cette phase pilote, nous étendrons la couverture géographique (à partir de 2020) afin d'offrir une couverture mondiale au fil du temps.

Pour en apprendre davantage sur l'Indice mondial du pluralisme, visitez le **www.pluralism.ca/fr/lindice-mondial-du-pluralisme** ou contactez Poorvi Chitalkar (gestionnaire de l'analyse) à **poorvi.chitalkar@pluralism.ca** 

# **Annex IV - GLOBAL PLURALISM INDEX FRAMEWORK**

	LEGAL COMMITMENTS	PRACTICES	GROUP-BASED INEQUALITIES	INTER-GROUP RELATIONS	BELONGING	
	Laws and policies that support positive treatment of diversity	Implementation of laws and practices of actors across society	Group-based inequalities in political, economic and social domains	The health of inter-group relations	People feel that they belong in society, and that society belongs to them	
	International and Regional Legal Commitments	Implementation of Legal Commitments	Political inequalities	Inter-group trust	Attitudes towards diversity	
	Constitutional	Data on group	Economic	Inter-group	Inclusion and	
Country Profile	Commitments	inequalities	inequalities	violence	acceptance	Policy Recommendations
	National Legal Commitments	Efforts and practices of actors across society	Social inequalities		Shared ownership of society	
		Environment for Claims-making				

# Annex V – Global Pluralism Index Expert Assessment Questionnaire

Executive Summary	Overall score and high level general summary of the assessment findings	500 words
Country Profile	Provide context for the assessment, focussing on areas most relevant to pluralism in the country's experience, including:  • Main sources of division in society (for example, ethnocultural, religious and/or indigenous difference) that form the basis for this assessment  • History of intergroup relations  • Disputes with neighbouring countries (when relevant)  • Transnational links/ties including diasporas (when relevant)	500 words
Indicator Texts (and scores)	I. Legal Commitments  1. International and regional legal commitments 2. Constitutional commitments 3. National legal commitments	250-500 words each
	<ul> <li>II. Efforts and Practices</li> <li>4. Implementation of legal commitments</li> <li>5. Data collection on group inequalities</li> <li>6. Efforts and practices of actors across society</li> <li>7. Claims-making and contestation</li> </ul>	
	<ul><li>III. Group-based inequalities</li><li>8. Political inequalities</li><li>9. Economic inequalities</li><li>10. Social inequalities</li></ul>	
	IV. Inter-group relations 11. Inter-group trust 12. Inter-group violence	
	V. Belonging 13. Attitude toward diversity 14. Inclusion and acceptance 15. Shared ownership of society	
Recommendations	<ul> <li>Identify policy recommendations for advocates of pluralism, including Government, civil society and relevant external actors</li> <li>How much progress was made in key areas of recommendations since the last assessment?</li> </ul>	250-500 words
Appendix	<ul> <li>Identify sources that informed assessments</li> <li>Indicate gaps in data</li> </ul>	

### **PART I: LEGAL COMMITMENTS**

# 1. To what extent does the country engage with international legal commitments that support pluralism?

International law, particularly international and regional standards on human rights, minority rights and non-discrimination are important starting points for pluralism. These standards require states to not only tolerate diversity, but also to respect and protect it, including through positive measures. International law standards require states to prohibit practices that undermine pluralism, such as hate speech, racial discrimination, and coercive assimilation policies. Monitoring mechanisms that review state compliance with these standards can be further safeguards for pluralism. These standards also have symbolic value as universal norms that underpin pluralism.

For this question, assessors are asked to consider the extent to which countries have ratified the following treaties, and are engaging with monitoring mechanisms for those commitments (if applicable):

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
- International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- Convention on the Rights of the Child
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
- International Labour Organization Convention concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries
- UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
- UNESCO Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

Assessors should also consider the ratification status of applicable regional treaties and the record of reporting where monitoring bodies exist. Below are several examples of regional commitments:

#### Europe:

- European Convention on Human Rights
- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
- European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
- European Social Charter

#### Africa:

- *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*
- Charter for African Cultural Renaissance
- African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child

#### Americas:

- American Convention on Human Rights
- Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the area of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
- Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance
- Inter-American Convention against all forms of Discrimination and Intolerance

<sup>\*</sup>For suggested data sources to assess the level of compliance with relevant international and regional legal commitments, see Annex I.

10	All of the relevant treaties are ratified, there is active engagement in the treaty monitoring mechanisms and a strong compliance record with treaty provisions is reported across all groups.
7	Most of the relevant treaties are ratified, there is active engagement in the treaty monitoring mechanisms but moderate violations of treaty provisions continue to be reported for some groups.
4	Some of the relevant treaties are ratified but there is no active engagement in the treaty monitoring mechanisms and serious violations of treaty provisions are reported for many groups.
1	None of the relevant treaties are ratified.

## 2. To what extent does the country's constitution reflect pluralistic values?

In most societies, constitutions provide the blueprint for the legal and institutional framework for management of diversity (the 'hardware') as well as outlining the values and principles that the state is founded on (the 'software'). In diverse societies, constitutions play an important role in defining membership and governance in either inclusive or exclusionary ways.

*In answering this question, assessors should consider the following:* 

- Does the constitution include commitments to respecting diversity?
- Does the constitution recognize cultural rights or group-specific rights on the basis of ethnic, linguistic, religious or indigenous identity?
- Does the constitution guarantee equal rights regardless of difference?

10	There are strong provisions to protect the rights of diverse groups and positive measures to promote their rights.
7	There are strong commitments in place to protect the rights of diverse groups and some positive measures to promote their rights.

4	There are some commitments to protect the rights of diverse groups but no positive measures to promote their rights.
1	There are no commitments to protect or promote the rights of diverse groups.

# 3. To what extent are there legal and policy frameworks to recognize and protect the rights of diverse groups?

Legal commitments matter for pluralism because they serve as the basis for how states manage diversity. While recognition and protection of individual civil and political rights are important, pluralism also requires laws and policies that go beyond those basic individual rights. Laws that recognize, support and/or accommodate diverse groups, enabling them to preserve their culture, express their identities and participate fully in political, economic and socio-cultural spheres are important. This includes collective rights, such as those providing for territorial or cultural autonomy.

In answering this question, assessors should consider whether there are laws or policies regarding:

- Hate speech
- Anti-discrimination
- Language and cultural rights for minorities
- Freedom of religion in the public and private sector
- Minority rights in education, such as rights to learn about one's own culture and identity and mother-tongue rights
- Affirmative action or other targeted policies for marginalized groups
- Rights of indigenous peoples (for example, land rights, self-government rights, recognition of customary law)
- Inclusive citizenship laws

10	There are strong laws and policies to protect the rights of diverse groups and positive measures to promote their rights.
7	There are strong laws and policies in place to protect the rights of diverse groups and some positive measures to promote their rights.
4	There are some laws and policies to protect the rights of diverse groups but no positive measures to promote their rights.
1	There are no laws and policies to protect or promote the rights of diverse groups.

#### PART II: EFFORTS AND PRACTICES

## 4. Are policy commitments to pluralism implemented?

While political and legal commitments to pluralism are necessary, they are not sufficient. In order for pluralistic societies to thrive, policies also need to be fully implemented so that formal commitments can be realized in practice. This requires willingness amongst those tasked with implementation of laws and policies, as well as adequate resources and an enabling institutional environment to make implementation possible. Further, it is important that the laws and policies be implemented fairly and equitably across diverse groups.

In answering this question, assessors should consider:

- Is there willingness amongst those tasked with implementation of laws and policies to realize the commitments in practice?
- Is there a strong and independent judiciary?
- Do people have access to justice, including institutional mechanisms to address grievances? Are these mechanisms effective?
- *Is there funding for implementing policy commitments?*
- Are policies implemented and laws enforced equally and fairly across groups?

10	Policy commitments to pluralism are fully implemented and realized in practice.
7	Policy commitments to pluralism are implemented but there are some gaps between policy and practice.
4	Policy commitments to pluralism are effectively undermined by weak implementation.
1	Policy commitments to pluralism are not implemented and exist in name only or not at all.

## 5. To what extent is data related to group-based inequality collected?

The absence of data related to group inequalities (such as per capita incomes or consumption, educational attainments, and other relevant dimensions of wellbeing), disaggregated by ethnicity, religion, or other cultural markers, allows systemic inequalities and exclusion to persist. Effective interventions in the form of laws or policies are only possible if there is recognition of inequalities, and an understanding of the factors driving it. Because of this, data collected by government bodies is often the most valuable, as it may already by an indication of the state's willingness to address group-based inequalities.

In answering this question, assessors should consider the following:

- To what extent is data, categorised by group, collected systematically and regularly throughout the country?
- Is such data made publicly available?
- *Are there state-imposed restrictions on the collection of data?*
- What other barriers may exist to prevent the collection of data?
- *Is data collected on some groups but not others?*
- Is there data on intersectional discrimination or inequality (for example, gender and ethnicity)?

In some cases, regional inequalities may serve as a strong proxy where groups are concentrated regionally. If relevant, consider the extent to which this data is also collected.

10	Data related to group inequalities is collected regularly and comprehensively (i.e. by relevant group classifications and on several issues) by government bodies.
	Televant group elassifications and on several issues) by government obtains.
7	Data related to group inequalities is collected unsystematically or uncomprehensively by government bodies.
4	Data related to group inequalities is not collected by government bodies, but is collected by others, such as international organisations.
1	Data related to group inequalities is not collected.

## 6. To what extent do various actors treat diversity as a benefit or hindrance to society?

Pluralism requires sustained efforts and practices from all parts of society. Leadership for pluralism, or opposition to it, can come from a wide range of actors including the media, educational institutions, civil society, religious organizations, businesses, social enterprises or individuals. Inclusive policies and practices of the government — be they in the political, economic or social domain — are unlikely to succeed when not supported by other societal actors. For example, inclusive legislation ensuring equality and non-discrimination can be compromised if political parties, driven by majoritarianism or electoral competition, seek to divide and rule. Affirmative action policies in the field of education, designed to address group-based inequalities, cannot succeed if structural discrimination is still widespread in the private sector. Thus, all actors must do their part to create inclusive societies through promoting positive narratives and practices around diversity.

This question seeks to assess what role relevant actors in society are playing in either advancing or eroding respect for diversity in society. In answering this question, assessors should consider the role of each the following:

A. Political parties (unless they are extensions of the state such as in authoritarian or one-party states);

- B. Civil society (including religious and faith-based organizations, NGOs, educational institutions, think-tanks, professional associations, social movements, labour unions etc.)
- C. Media
- D. Private Sector
- E. Other relevant actors—please specify

10	This actor is actively and systematically promoting pluralism through inclusionary practices and narratives that emphasize diversity as a public good.
7	This actor has made some notable attempts to advance inclusive treatment of diverse groups and/or to advocate for more inclusive policies, practices and/or narratives.
4	This actor has made some attempts to advance more exclusionary treatment of diverse groups and/or to advocate for more exclusionary policies, practices and/or narratives.
1	This actor is actively and systematically undermining pluralism through toxic narratives, high levels of discrimination and systematical exclusion or demonization of particular groups.

# 7. To what extent are individuals and groups able to make claims and engage in peaceful contestation vis-a-vis the State?

The ability of individuals and groups to make claims on the state is a vital component of a healthy pluralistic society. Groups need to be able to peacefully mobilize for change, without the fear of repression by the state. Calls for greater representation of a group in the government, demands for more rights or protests against discriminatory treatment are examples of this. There will always be new challenges for pluralism, and a society's ability to have ongoing dialogue and action to accommodate diversity is indicative of its long-term sustainability.

10	Civil and political rights for all are well-protected; public debate is widely accepted as a normal and legitimate part of political life; and there are effective political mechanisms and social spaces for claims-making.
	and seem spaces for elamis making.
7	Civil and political rights are formally protected, but some groups' claims are delegitimized leading to self-censorship and/or social stigmatization.
4	Significant legal restrictions are imposed on civil and political rights such that many groups are subject to restrictive controls. Challenges to state narratives of national unity are discouraged.
1	There are severe restrictions on civil and political rights, providing no space for political claims-making. Certain groups are defined as enemies or pariahs, or their existence is denied.

## PART III. GROUP-BASED INEQUALITIES

Group-based inequalities are relevant for pluralism because they are unjust, and contribute to social instability and erosion of trust between groups. They produce grievances that can serve as rallying points for leaders to mobilize populations, which can sometimes escalate into violence. Large, persistent inequalities reveal a fundamental lack of recognition for certain groups in society, and directly contribute to feeling alienated and discriminated against in one's own country. Building pluralistic societies requires addressing group-based inequalities at all levels.

In answering the following questions, assessors should consider the breadth of inequalities, their durability (i.e. extent to which they are intergenerational), and the overall difference in treatment between groups (as in, whether there is inequality but relatively small differences between groups, or whether some groups are considerably more excluded than others).

### 8. To what extent are there group-based inequalities in the political domain?

Political inclusion is arguably the most pivotal mechanism for the democratic accommodation of diversity. Political inclusion is important at all levels—central government, sub-national and local government. Inequalities of political power, particularly along lines of group difference, are markers of a pluralism deficit.

10	Many diverse groups are able to attain political power at all levels of government.
7	Political power is shared between dominant groups. Systemic obstacles prevent some groups from attaining political power at the national level but they can find success at sub-national levels.
4	Political power is largely held by and between dominant groups with little representation from others, including at sub-national levels.
1	Political power is held exclusively by one group at all levels of government, and there is no formal mechanism for change.

## 9. To what extent are there group-based inequalities in the economic domain?

Economic inequalities in society are particularly damaging for pluralism when they overlap with lines of difference. These inequalities intersect and have knock-on effects in other areas (for example, economic inequality affects access to quality education, and in turn, a lack of education is a barrier for economic opportunity).

In answering this question, please use available data on economic inequalities by group, including the following areas:

- *Income and wealth*
- Access to public and private-sector employment
- Access to land and natural resources, including benefits of natural resources.

10	Economic inequalities between groups are very small.
7	Economic inequalities between groups are fairly small.
4	Economic inequalities between groups are fairly large.
1	Economic inequalities between groups are very large.

## 10. To what extent are there group-based inequalities in the social domain?

Pluralism rests on the idea that society belongs to all its members, so public goods and services (such as education and healthcare) must be shared by all. Access to public goods and services is important not only for ensuring equality but also for establishing inclusive narratives around who belongs in society.

In answering this question, assessors should consider the following:

- Access to education and educational outcomes
- Access to healthcare and health outcomes
- Access to welfare and social protections

10	Social inequalities between groups are very small.
7	Social inequalities between groups are fairly small.
4	Social inequalities between groups are fairly large.
1	Social inequalities between groups are very large.

## PART IV: INTERGROUP RELATIONS

## 11. To what extent is there intergroup trust in society?

The level of intergroup trust among members of different groups is an indicator of the state of inter-group relations in a diverse society. Inter-group trust is necessary for pluralism as it contributes to peaceful coexistence and to a shared, vested interest in creating an inclusive society.

In answering this question, please refer to relevant perception survey data regarding levels of inter-group trust. Where available data allows, please also consider levels of trust towards particular groups in relation to generalized levels of inter-group trust.

10	There is a very high level of trust amongst members of different groups.
7	There is a fairly high level of trust amongst members of different groups.
4	There is a fairly low level of trust amongst members of different groups.
1	There is a very low level of trust amongst members of different groups.

# 12. To what extent is there violence in response to ethnic, religious, or cultural grievances between groups?

Ethnic or sectarian violence generally occurs as a result of pervasive group-based inequalities, and the failure of peaceful claims-making. In answering this question, assessors should consider the nature of grievances between different groups in the country, and the level of violence that has occurred as a result. Not all protracted violence in a country can necessarily be traced back to diversity issues, and so the links between violence and political/economic/cultural exclusion by group must be made clear in the assessment.

10	While inter-group relations can be contentious, conflicts are resolved peacefully and do not escalate into violence.
7	Fractious and contentious inter-group relations at times lead to acts of violence in the
	form of hate crimes.
4	Inter-group violence such as hate crimes, riots and pogroms is common, but localized.
1	There is organized, systematic inter-group violence. Violence has become an acceptable and widespread way to respond to inter-group difference.

### **PART V: BELONGING**

In a pluralistic society, everyone should feel like they belong regardless of their ethnicity, religion, language or gender. Belonging in society is more than merely the right to be there. It also means feeling a sense of shared ownership over society. Inclusion is a two-way street—in order for people to feel that they are included and accepted, attitudes towards diversity must be positive and inclusive. Prevailing attitudes and narratives about who is a legitimate member of society and who isn't are important.

## 13. To what extent is there acceptance of diversity?

Is diversity accepted as a normal and desirable social condition? Are social attitudes towards diversity positive? Do people view those of different religions, ethnicities, languages or nationalities in a positive way?

In answering this question, please refer to relevant and available perception survey data related to:

- The desirability of neighbours from different groups
- Level of comfort with interethnic marriage
- Level of comfort with having a boss who is an immigrant or minority

10	Very high levels of acceptance of diversity.
7	Fairly high levels of acceptance of diversity.
4	Fairly low levels of acceptance of diversity.
1	Very low levels of acceptance of diversity.

## 14. To what extent do diverse groups feel that they are included and accepted in society?

In pluralistic societies, people should feel that they are included and accepted in society for who they are i.e. without denying their cultural, religious or other identities. People should also be able to participate—for example speak their own language, practice their religion, or celebrate their culture-- without fear of discrimination.

In answering this question, please refer to relevant and available data related to:

- Feelings of inclusion
- Feelings of acceptance
- Personal experiences of discrimination based on identity markers

10	All groups feel included and accepted.
7	Many groups feel included and accepted.
4	Some groups feel included and accepted.
1	Most groups do not feel included or accepted.

## 15. To what extent do all groups feel a shared sense of ownership in society?

The goal of pluralism is for everyone to feel that they belong. In addition to inclusion and acceptance, a full sense of belonging also means a shared stake in responsibility and ownership of society. For example, some members of society may be accepted by others but only as "guests". Some groups may feel they are accepted but do not assert or claim specific rights or accommodations for fear of backlash. Belonging means feeling a sense of shared ownership and the right to participate as a legitimate and full member of society.

In answering this question, please refer to relevant and available data related to feelings of shared ownership in society.

10	Feelings of shared ownership over society are very high.
7	Feelings of shared ownership over society are fairly high.
4	Feelings of shared ownership over society are fairly low.
1	Feelings of shared ownership over society are very low.

## Annex VI GCP Survey Questions in the Democracy Check-Up Survey

- 1. Would you be comfortable, uncomfortable or not care if a close relative married someone from a different ethnic, religious or cultural group than your own?
  - a) Comfortable
  - b) Uncomfortable
  - c) Not care
  - d) Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 2. Would you be comfortable, uncomfortable or not care if someone from a different ethnic, religious or cultural group was appointed as your boss?
  - a) Comfortable
  - b) Uncomfortable
  - c) Not care
  - d) Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: People like me are accepted in Canada for who we are.
  - a) Strongly agree
  - b) Somewhat agree
  - c) Somewhat disagree
  - d) Strongly disagree
  - e) Don't know/Prefer not to answer
- 4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Thinking about people who share my ethnic, religious or indigenous background, people like me have a say in the direction of the country.
  - a) Strongly agree
  - b) Somewhat agree
  - c) Somewhat disagree
  - d) Strongly disagree
  - e) Don't know/Prefer not to answer

- 5. Would you like, dislike or not care about have people from each group as neighbours (like, dislike, not care, don't know/prefer not to answer)?
  - a) People from another religion
  - b) People from another ethnicity
  - c) People of indigenous background
  - d) Immigrants
- 6. How much do you trust people from each group (completely, somewhat, not very much, not at all, don't know/prefer not to answer)?
  - a) People from another religion
  - b) People from another ethnicity
  - c) People of indigenous background
  - d) Immigrants
  - e) People like you
- 7. In the past year, how often, if at all, have you personally been discriminated against based on each of the following (never, once or twice, several times, many times, not applicable, don't know/prefer not to answer):
  - a) Religion
  - b) Ethnicity
  - c) Indigenous background
  - d) Immigration status

## Annex VII GCP Survey Questions in Afrobarometer Surveys

- 1. How much do you trust people from each group (completely, somewhat, not very much, not at all, don't know/prefer not to answer)?
  - a) People from another religion
  - b) People from another ethnicity
- 2. To what extent do you agree with the following statements (strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, strongly agree, don't know/prefer not to answer):
  - a) People like you are accepted in [country] for who you are/
  - b) People who share your ethnic, racial, or religious background have a say in the direction of the country.

# **Annex VIII References**

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