



# ADVANCING PLURALISM TOGETHER

A CSM-STAND STRATEGY FOR  
INTEGRATING PLURALISM INTO PROJECTS





The Civil Society and Media - Strengthened Together and Advancing in New Directions (CSM-STAND) program strategy for advancing pluralism offers a framework to support the integration of a pluralism lens into the design, implementation, and monitoring, evaluation and learning of projects. Support for pluralism is foundational to the goal of the CSM-STAND awards and the pursuit of democratic, just, and inclusive societies.

Institutional measures alone are insufficient in addressing power differentials, inequalities, and marginalization that drive social and political polarization and conflict. A new set of approaches and tools are needed to help build trust, protect civic space, and promote healthy and accurate information system. Therefore, CSM-STAND is investing in the advancement of pluralism through this living strategy, the integration of pluralism into existing and new tools and approaches, the design of projects to achieve pluralistic outcomes, and ongoing meaningful monitoring, evaluation and learning related to our and others' experiences in advancing pluralism.

### This strategy achieves the following:

- Promotes a [framework](#) for understanding the interconnections between laws, policies, and governance and perceptions, attitude and behaviors that promote or impede pluralism.
- Connects theoretical conceptions of pluralism to practical guidance on how to integrate a [pluralism lens](#) and [related outcomes](#) to strengthen development projects.
- Defines [key components of assessments](#) to determine the current state of pluralism in communities, countries, and societies.
- Outlines examples of project [objectives, activities, and tools](#) that can support the promotion of pluralism.

This pluralism strategy is for the use of the CSM-STAND consortium and the country and regionally based programs administered through the awards. CSM-STAND will use the strategy to navigate the process of purposefully designing and implementing activities applying a pluralism lens. CSM-STAND hopes that others designing and implementing projects, and especially to those seeking to strengthen democracy, human rights, governance, will find this strategy applicable.

The strategy is informed by the [Global Centre for Pluralism's](#) research and CSM-STAND partners' experiences. This strategy will be deliberately built upon throughout the CSM-STAND awards.

---

Civil Society and Media - Strengthened Together and Advancing in New Directions ([CSM-STAND](#)) consists of two regional USAID-funded five-year Leader with Associate (LWA) Awards to foster independent civic forces; enhance civic engagement; and build vibrant, resilient, and self-reliant civil society and media sectors that cultivate more pluralistic, democratic societies. CSM-STAND is comprised of leading global, regional, and technical organizations specializing in different sectors who bring extensive practical experience and knowledge of fundamental principles, key issues, current practices, and emerging trends in the democracy, human rights, and governance (DRG) community.

## ADVANCING PLURALISM TOGETHER: A CSM-STAND STRATEGY FOR INTEGRATING PLURALISM INTO PROJECTS

### SECTION I: Why Pluralism?

As levels of inequality, marginalization and division rise, the task of building peaceful and inclusive societies is ever more urgent.<sup>1</sup> Marginalized groups are subject to various forms of overlapping inequalities and exclusions. Inequalities and exclusions based on difference are unjust; they impede the development of peaceful, democratic societies, and, if left unaddressed, they may drive conflict and the resurgence of conflict.<sup>2</sup> The recent contractions of civic space and media freedoms around the world are both a manifestation and a consequence of this.<sup>3</sup>

Whether diverse groups co-exist in harmony or in conflict is not pre-ordained: These outcomes result from social and institutional responses specific to the makeup and history of a society. Political and social polarization, genocide and civil war, forcible displacement and refugee migrations, competition for natural resources and violent extremism are just some of the most pressing emergencies facing the world today. Rather than disparate episodes, each stem, at least in part, from an inability or unwillingness to manage societal differences.<sup>4</sup>

Pluralism offers an approach predicated on *valuing diversity* as a foundation for more prosperous, stable and just societies. Pluralism goes beyond measures to “include” previously excluded groups in existing systems and power structures. Instead, pluralism demands engagement with difference in a more transformative way, giving actors agency to collectively design and redesign systems over time to challenge intolerance, counter power imbalances and advance democratic values and behaviors. Democracies are inherently more pluralistic, yet we should not dismiss the possibilities of pluralism entry points within non-democratic states.

A pluralism lens uncovers the dynamics of systemic exclusion, the issues leading to exclusion, the ways in which policies and practices impact different groups, and power disparities and their present and potential future impacts. ***Pluralism creates space for positive social change and the advancement of development priorities based on self-determination. It builds social trust, supports protected civic space and promotes healthy and accurate information ecosystems.***

Civil society and the media can shape and transform a society’s treatment of diversity, and, in turn, pluralistic, democratic societies rely on vibrant, well-equipped civil society and media sectors to thrive. Pluralism can strengthen the efforts and impact of a wide range of actors engaged in both sectors.

#### What is Pluralism?

Pluralism is an ethic of respect for diversity, where the dignity of every person is recognized and everyone feels that they belong as equal and legitimate members of society. It refers to the decisions and actions taken to respond positively to differences, to see diversity as the basis for more just, peaceful and equitable societies. ***When diverse voices are represented accurately and when prejudice and ignorance are challenged, intergroup trust is strengthened and, over time, more stable and resilient societies are advanced.*** For further discussion of terminology and the relationship of pluralism to various concepts, see [ANNEX I](#).

<sup>1</sup> World Inequality Lab, World Inequality Report. (2022) [https://wir2022.wid.world/www-site/uploads/2022/03/0098-21\\_WIL\\_RIM\\_RAPPORT\\_A4.pdf](https://wir2022.wid.world/www-site/uploads/2022/03/0098-21_WIL_RIM_RAPPORT_A4.pdf); Inga T. Winkler & Margaret L. Satterthwaite (2017) Leaving no one behind? Persistent inequalities in the SDGs, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 21:8

<sup>2</sup> Frances Stewart, *Horizontal Inequalities: Barriers to Pluralism* (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism, 2017) <https://www.pluralism.ca/press-release/horizontal-inequalities-barriers-pluralism/>; United Nations and World Bank, *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2018), <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28337>.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see Edith M. Lederer, “UN Told Failure to Deal With Diversity Is Root Cause of Wars,” *AP News*, October 21, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/thabo-mbeki-sierra-leone-burundi-sudan-united-nations-8b700142cb570b2ef5b56775a71ed03e>; Rotimi T. Suberu, *Democracy and the Accommodation of Diversity: Advancing Pluralism Through Shared Rule, Self-Rule and Limited Rule*, Accounting for Change in Diverse Societies Series (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> For example, see International Organization for Migrants, “Migration and Migrants: A Global Overview,” *World Migration Report 2018* (Geneva: IOM, 2018) [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2018\\_en\\_chapter2.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en_chapter2.pdf); UNHCR, *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2018*, <https://www.unhcr.org/5d08d7ee7.pdf>; Facundo Alvaredo et al., *World Inequality Report 2018*, World Inequality Lab, <https://wir2018.wid.world/files/download/wir2018-full-report-english.pdf>.

## SECTION II: Applying a Pluralism Lens: A Framework<sup>5</sup>

In many contexts, differences are often emphasized for political, economic and social gain. Pluralism illuminates and addresses some of the core dilemmas inherent in nation-building where power, identity formation and notions of citizenship are shaped and challenged. Ideas about who belongs change over time in response to evolving historical conditions. How a society defines the terms of membership will determine how its various groups view and treat each other; how the state treats different forms of diversity in law, policy and rhetoric; and whether, in a general sense, human differences are valued or feared.

The nature of the power systems that lead to exclusion in societies will differ based on a wide range of factors related to context, regional and transnational events, and the history of state formation. Pluralism seeks to demonstrate that a society can be more successful, peaceful and prosperous when diversity is embraced. However, the deep imbalances that enable some groups to benefit more than others will be threatened by pluralistic approaches, which support more expansive democratic developments. ***Approaches to advancing pluralism must identify and contend with issues related to politics, restrictions on freedoms of thought and behavior and the normalizing of autocracy.*** For a further discussion of pluralism, anti-pluralism, democracy and the accommodation of diversity, see [ANNEX II](#).

### Pluralism Hardware and Software

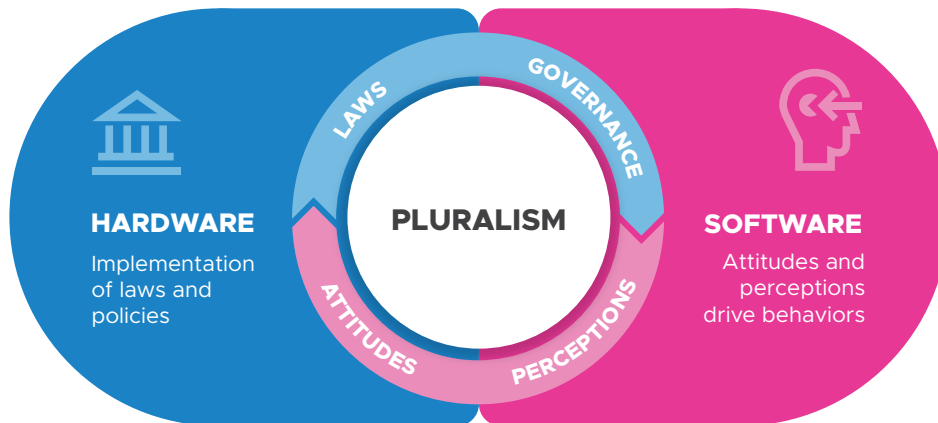
Pluralism provides a framework to help societies think about how they approach difference through both normative and institutional responses. Advancing pluralistic societies requires a dual focus on institutions (hardware) and societal mindsets and behaviors (software), and the complex interactions between them.<sup>6</sup> Pluralism results when norms of inclusion inform institutional choices about how to treat diversity and disrupt power disparities so that political, economic and social powers are inclusive and equitable across diverse groups. Conversely, legislation or institutional frameworks that advance pluralism's hardware can support the conditions for advancing pluralism's software.

This hardware and software framing helps to explain why having inclusive laws and policies does not automatically result in more equitable, inclusive societies without the widespread social mindset to implement and sustain them. The relationship between hardware and software goes to the heart of how mainstream societal narratives about “who belongs” can inform policies—and the extent to which rules and policies are implemented—and, inversely, how those policies and laws further shape and reinforce societal norms, perceptions and behaviors. These interactions can lead to more pluralistic developments — or toward more discriminatory outcomes. This framing also helps to illuminate the dynamics in many societies where issues of diversity are utilized to gain or hold power, whether economically or politically, through the manipulation of both the institutions and social narratives in society. If we are not sensitive to how policies are implemented, and if we do not consider their impact on different groups in society, inequalities of opportunity based on difference become calcified and codified over time.

<sup>5</sup> Adapted with permission from *A Pluralism Lens Primer* [working title], Global Centre for Pluralism (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> Will Kymlicka, “The Hardware and Software of Pluralism”, Accounting for Change in Diverse Societies Occasional Papers, March 2017. <https://www.pluralism.ca/press-release/hardware-software-pluralism/>.

Building pluralist societies requires institutional and normative measures to address group-based inequalities and exclusions. These are interlinked because the rules and policies created to promote pluralism can only have lasting meaning when the social mind-set sustains them. This works in both directions – efforts focused on changing social mindsets and behaviors can lay the foundation for changes to policy.



### SECTION III: Integrating Pluralism into Civil Society and Media Projects

Designing pro-pluralism civil society and media projects requires that both “hardware” and “software” factors be incorporated in design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation and learning (MEL) processes. ***Integrating a pluralism lens into new or existing approaches will enable civil society and media practitioners to identify a broader range of initiatives needed to address sources of exclusion in their society for more sustained, systemic impact.*** This section suggests some initial guidance on the integration of a pluralism lens into [assessing the state of pluralism](#) and [designing](#) and [implementing](#) pro-pluralism projects for civil society and media projects.

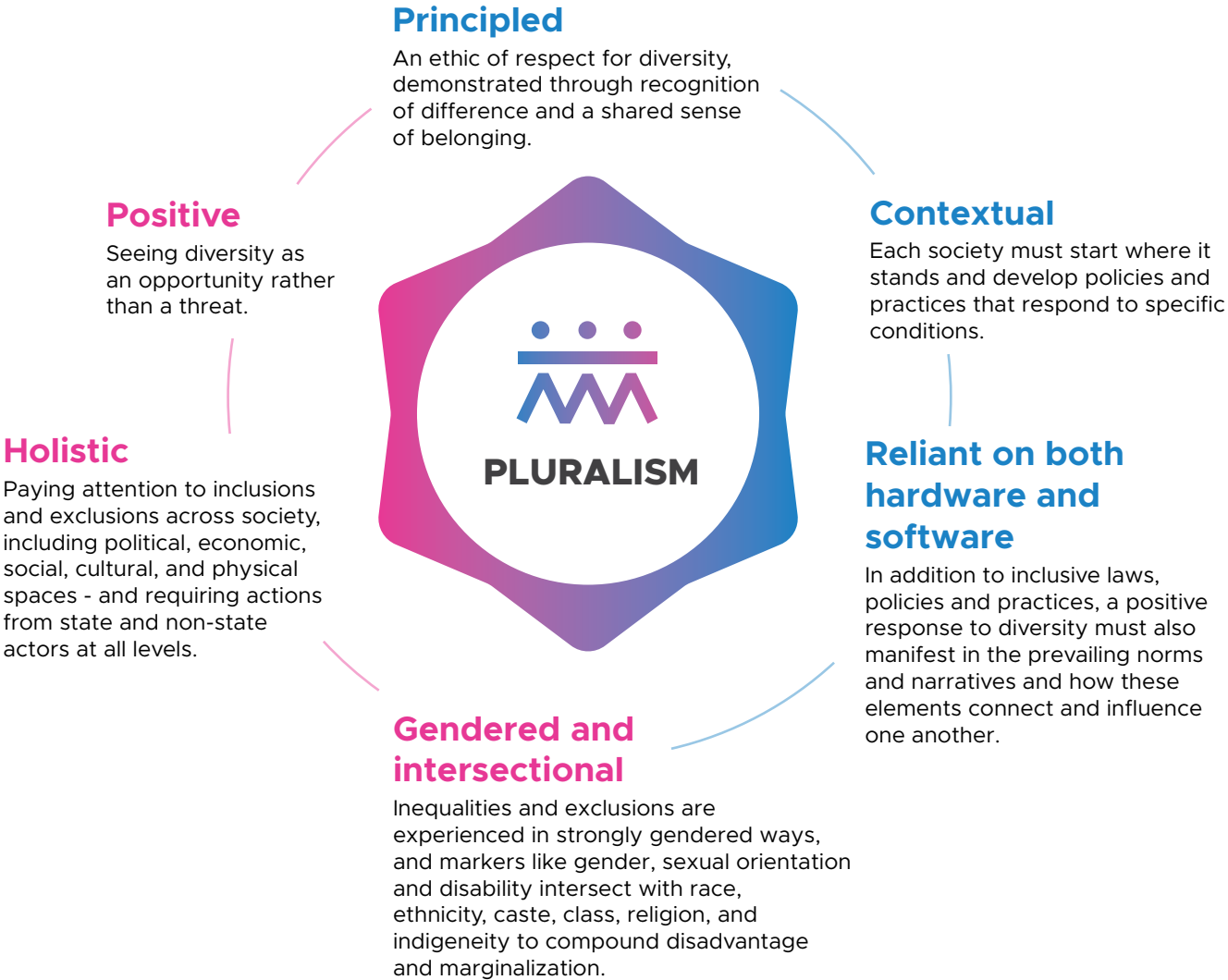
#### Pro-Pluralist Education With Community and Public Partnerships

**Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education** in Israel is a network of integrated, bilingual and multicultural schools equipping a new generation of Jewish and Arab youth to live together in co-operation and respect. In these schools, Hebrew and Arabic languages have equal status, as do both cultures and national narratives. Recognized by the Israeli Ministry of Education, Hand in Hand’s award-winning public schools serve over 2,000 Jewish and Arab students in locations across Israel. Teams of Jewish and Arab co-teachers use innovative methods to enrich students’ sense of identity while fostering respect for their peers. Equality, empathy, responsibility and respect are the pillars of a Hand in Hand education. Students learn to think critically, disagree respectfully and consider history from multiple perspectives. Hand in Hand encompasses a three-part model of shared living and learning that includes integrated schools, inclusive communities and public partnerships. Hand in Hand staff, parents, students and alumni are part of a countrywide movement that extends beyond school walls. By collaborating with municipalities and the Ministry of Education, Hand in Hand’s work is increasingly influencing the national education system from within.

### What is a Pluralism Lens?

A pluralism lens considers the treatment of various diversities and their intersections, how inclusions and exclusions take place and are compounded across social, political, economic and geographic domains. Through a plutralism lens, the role of state and non-state actors in advancing or eroding pluralism is assessed. A pluralism lens recognizes that changing the way a society treats diversity involves changing entrenched laws and policies as well behaviors.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF A PLURALISM LENS



## IDENTIFYING DRIVERS & BARRIERS OF PLURALISM

A robust, objective assessment of the state of pluralism is essential to identifying interventions that may strengthen pluralism outcomes. The assessment should identify key manifestations of pluralism/ anti-pluralism in society as well as the drivers of and barriers to pluralism. The assessment results should be analyzed and utilized in project design, implementation and MEL to prevent unintended negative outcomes that could deepen or reinforce existing divisions and power disparities while leveraging spaces for inclusion.

The capacity to understand, analyze and track a society's progress in supporting the hardware and software pathways to empower marginalized groups is critical when advocating for positive change and the advancement of pluralism. Assessments of the state of pluralism integrate institutional and social factors, context-specific identities, identity-group perceptions and experiences, group-based inequalities and relations, conflict prevention and a commitment to monitoring and learning.

## KEY COMPONENTS OF PLURALISM ASSESSMENT



### INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

Hardware and software considerations, such as laws, policies, and institutions as well as social mindsets and perceptions.



### CONTEXT-SPECIFIC IDENTITIES

Including gender, race and ethnicity, religion and religious denomination, geography, class and caste, age, and other identity markers.



### IDENTITY-GROUP PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES

Including those in the area of work as well as of the project staff and organization leadership.



### GROUP-BASED INEQUALITIES AND RELATIONS

Evaluate inter-group relations and inequalities and existing power dynamics in a society.



### CONFLICT PREVENTION

Do no (more) harm. Investigate how exclusions and inequalities are both a potential consequence and cause of conflict.



### MONITORING AND LEARNING

Gains are often fragile and easily reversed. Success requires sustained attention and effort over time as new challenges arise.



### Adapting Assessment Tools

Existing assessment tools can be adapted to include pluralism-related questions, indicators and analysis. Examples of such assessments include Applied Political Economy Analysis, Gender Equity and Social Inclusion Analysis, Conflict Analysis, Network Analysis and Organizational Capacity Assessment (OCA). CSM-STAND is in the process of evaluating these and other assessments in its Resource Toolkit, and it is developing guidance on how to integrate pluralism characteristics into the assessment tools and processes. Further, pluralism complements and strengthens approaches and strategies to advance social inclusion, including some utilized by USAID and its implementing partners, several of which are highlighted in [ANNEX III](#).

### Pro-Pluralist Assessment Tools

Approaches to assessing the state of pluralism are driven by the availability and reliability of existing data—or the capacity, resources and opportunity for collecting new data. Few tools currently comprehensively capture *all* relevant pluralism indicators. However, existing contextual assessments can be adapted to integrate a pluralism lens and indicators that capture the hardware and software elements that promote or inhibit pluralism; the specific ways in which gender, race and ethnicity, religion and religious denomination, geography, class and caste, age and other identity markers define how groups conceive of themselves and others; group perceptions; and analysis of group-based inequalities and intergroup relations.

**The Global Pluralism Monitor**, developed by the Global Centre for Pluralism, identifies gaps in a society’s treatment of diversity to inform the development of more inclusive policies and practices sensitive to each country’s context. The Monitor measures inclusions and exclusions across political, economic and social dimensions with attention to the role of state and non-state actors as well as perceptions related to intergroup trust and belonging. The Monitor uses qualitative indicators to measure a country’s legal commitments in support of pluralism; practices by state institutions to realize commitments; the role of societal actors, including media, civil society, the private sector and political parties; the state of group-based inequalities; and intergroup relations and belonging.

The questions in the table below are adapted from the Monitor and are illustrative of the types of questions an assessment focused on pluralism should attempt to answer. The Global Pluralism Monitor is further detailed in [ANNEX IV](#) and examples of 2021 Monitor findings are highlighted in [ANNEX V](#).



## ILLUSTRATIVE ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

<b>Legal Protections and Commitments</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To what extent are there legal frameworks to recognize and protect the rights of diverse groups?</li> <li>• To what extent are the country's citizenship laws and practices inclusive?</li> </ul>
<b>Implementation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are policies implemented and laws enforced equally and fairly across groups?</li> <li>• To what extent is data on group-based inequality collected?</li> <li>• To what extent are groups able to make claims and engage in peaceful contestation?</li> </ul>
<b>Role of Societal Actors</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To what extent do major political parties espouse pluralistic values?</li> <li>• To what extent do diverse groups participate in news media as contributors and creators?</li> <li>• Are group stereotypes reinforced in media?</li> <li>• How prominent are civil society actors that champion inclusion and respect for diversity?</li> <li>• To what extent do the workforce/leadership in large private companies represent diverse groups?</li> </ul>
<b>Group-based Inequalities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the level and extent of group-based inequalities across political, economic, social and cultural dimensions, as well as access to justice?</li> </ul>
<b>Intergroup Relations and Belonging</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To what extent is there violence in response to ethnic, religious or cultural grievances?</li> <li>• To what extent do civic actors bridge diverse groups to repair and build social capital?</li> <li>• To what extent do diverse groups trust public institutions and is there intergroup trust?</li> <li>• To what extent do diverse groups feel included and accepted in society?</li> </ul>

## DESIGNING FOR PLURALISM

The integration of a pluralism lens into project design processes supports civil society and media actors to think about how they internally and programmatically engage with diversity and difference, advance democratic reforms and respond to closing spaces to identify and create opportunities to build pluralism in their contexts. For project design this means (i) considering how all activities can improve pluralistic outcomes, if designed well, and (ii) how to incorporate explicit pluralistic outcomes into project design.

A pluralist approach to project design addresses both hardware and software elements. A pluralist design is based on *opportunities and issues identified through the assessment*. Pluralist planning processes place an emphasis on increasing the agency of and opportunity for all constituencies to contribute meaningfully and to foster mutual learning, decolonizing and deconstructing established power dynamics. Pro-pluralist designs achieve the following:

- **Address identified barriers to pluralism:** A pro-pluralist approach builds on findings of the assessment to address specific barriers to and opportunities for pluralism.
- **Employ co-design:** Pluralist planning processes place an emphasis on increasing the agency of and opportunity for all constituencies to contribute meaningfully and to foster mutual learning, decolonizing and deconstructing established power dynamics. Co-design processes engage stakeholders from underrepresented groups and traditional and non-traditional community, civil society and media leaders and reflect stakeholder feedback. Design processes ensure that all stakeholders can engage equally and safely through appropriate accommodations. Designs reflect inclusion and incorporate an intersectional approach.
- **Set realistic objectives:** Pro-pluralism project designs are co-led by and for civil society and media actors. They know best what is and is not possible in their context from direct experience and assessment analysis. Designs are assessed to determine stakeholder buy-in and are supported with the required human and financial resources.

### Pluralism Outcomes

**Example 1:** Increased representation of diverse groups by media framed by notions of inclusion and respect

**Example 2:** Increased prominence of pro-pluralism voices in the country's media landscape

**Example 3:** Increased prominence of civil society organizations (CSOs) advocating changes to exclusionary practices and policies

**Example 4:** Increased effectiveness of CSOs advocating changes to exclusionary practices and policies

For additional examples of pluralism outcomes, see [ANNEX VI](#).

### Advancing Pluralism's Hardware and Software in Kenya

Through its Citizenship Justice program, **Namati Kenya** trains and deploys community paralegals to support and empower marginalized citizens to understand, use and eventually- shape the law. Since 2013, Namati Kenya's paralegals have assisted over 12,000 Kenyans apply for legal identity documents. With data collected from these cases, the organization tracks patterns of discrimination across the country and pushes for systemic change. Namati Kenya also spreads legal awareness through grassroots mobilization, door-to-door outreach, community forums and a rights-based community radio show. Namati Kenya is leading advocacy efforts on amendments to *Huduma Namba*, a new national biometric ID system, to ensure no Kenyans are excluded. Working with and through a coalition of partners, Namati Kenya brings diverse communities together to recognize their common challenges and to engage in a national dialogue about "who is Kenyan" and what it means to belong. Creating these connections across diverse communities is a fundamental step in the establishment of an inclusive, pluralistic society.

## Designing Civil Society Projects

Incorporating pluralism into theories of change for civil society strengthening projects focuses on increasing the prominence, capacity and environment for civil society actors to advance inclusion and respect for diversity in and through their work. Civil society programming based on pluralist analysis exposes new points of entry for civil society actors to seek to influence attitudes and policy. They will be able to see new areas where they can work; they will better understand the underlying issues in a way that guards against unintended consequences and enables more deliberate action in addressing systemic inequalities.

### ILLUSTRATIVE PROJECT OBJECTIVES

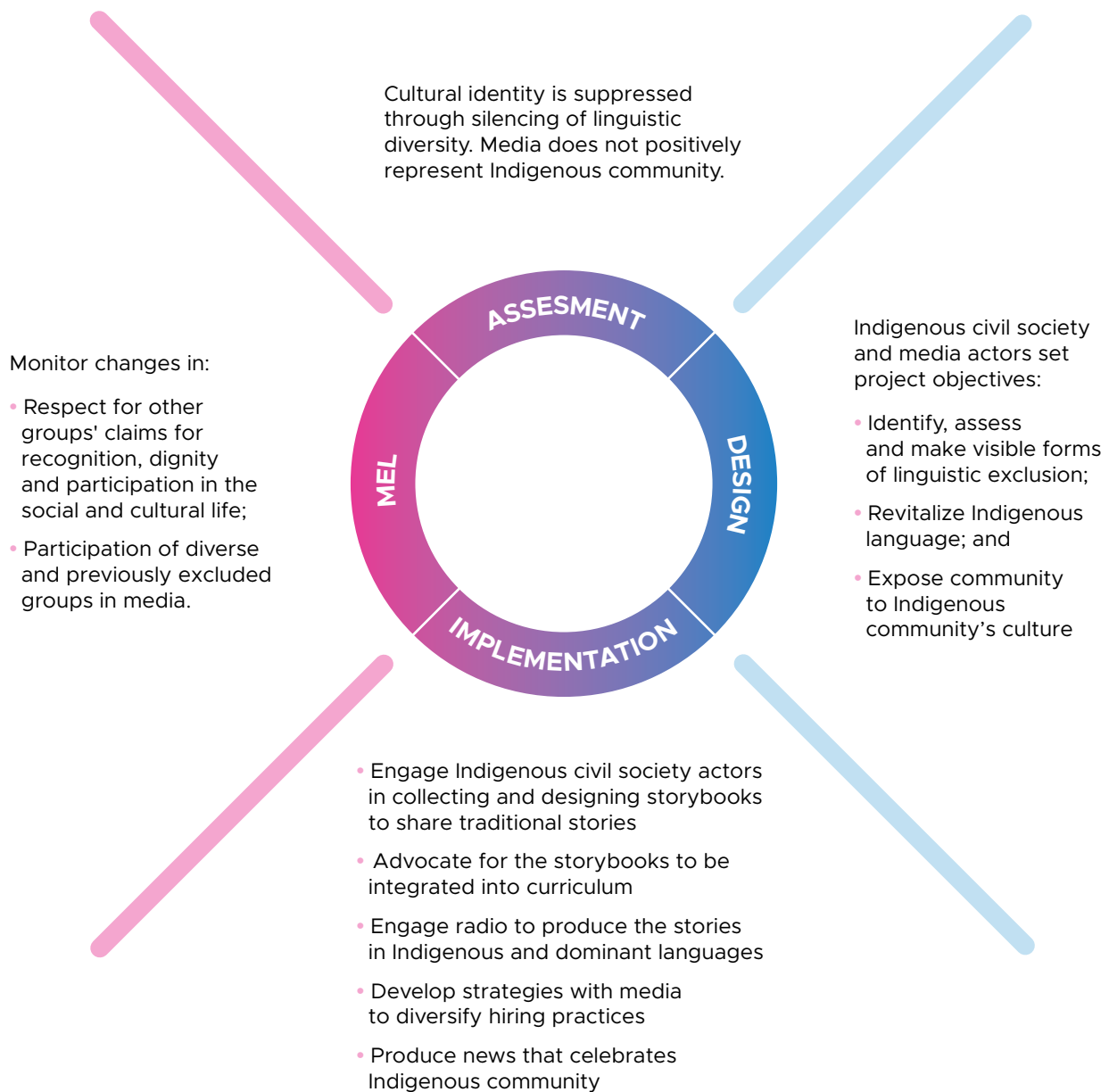
A project's objectives could include supporting civil society and media actors to:

- recognize how **identity and belonging is shaped** and reinforced in the local context
- identify, assess, and **make visible** community exclusions based on physical and cognitive abilities
- develop **strategies** and make visible processes to integrate respect for diversity and inclusion in the local justice, policing, and social services systems and planning
- address **underlying sources** of caste-based inequities, at all levels of society and make visible progress towards achieving inequalities
- approach differences based in sex, gender identity, and sexual orientation in the community **positively** and **constructively**



While participatory planning and consultation tools are used widely, a pluralism lens, based on analysis and reflection, may inform differences in the design of the consultations. The lens helps avoid assumptions about who should be consulted (and who is potentially left out). The lens will help steer towards types of consultation that ensure different groups are able to participate equally (safely and securely, for example). The findings that emerge are understood in the wider hardware and software context. To do so effectively, methodologies should include **both** dialogue **and** action, using connector activities for the latter to reinforce new intergroup attitudes, behaviors and practices. Other initiatives might be designed to specifically target changes to exclusionary policies or perceptions more directly. To achieve this scale of change, projects need to be aware of the actors in the local system and identify those with whom the project can partner to advance pluralism, recognizing that it is unlikely to make significant impact through one or a few grants in a short period of time.

## PRO-PLURALIST CIVIL SOCIETY AND MEDIA PROJECT EXAMPLE



### Designing Media Projects

Pro-pluralism media strengthening projects seek to diversify media actors and facilitate accessibility across diverse groups. However, even in countries where the legislative environment has promoted significant opportunity for the creation of media outlets catering to minorities, this alone is insufficient to building pluralist societies or addressing prevalent cultural stereotypes. In many contexts, the perspectives and interests of more diverse groups remain invisible, and, at worst, media outlets perpetuate negative stereotypes and perceptions of specific racialized communities.<sup>7</sup> Such portrayals in the media are the result of multi-layered biases in the media system—and connected to views and narratives of the wider society. A pluralism lens can help the media to hear, reflect on and unpack these narratives and be more sensitive to unconscious biases and responsive to addressing them.

<sup>7</sup> 2021 Global Pluralism Monitor assessment reports for Canada, Colombia, Kenya, Australia (among others), publication forthcoming.

The online environment provides opportunities for - but also serious challenges to - encountering and engaging with those holding different perspectives. In recent years, social media has become an increasingly favorite tool of those aiming to spread fear and hatred. For example, according to several digital analysts, the 2017 attacks on Rohingya in Myanmar were, in part, fuelled by a spike in hate speech against them on Facebook.<sup>8</sup> Pro-pluralism media projects build an understanding of how algorithms can limit access to the perspectives that users see on a regular basis, without their consent, effectively reinforcing existing beliefs. Digital and media literacy also means learning about and being alert to the manipulation and argumentation techniques used to justify hate- or fear-based narratives about difference and the ways that imagery may be used and manipulated to reinforce divisive messaging.



## EXAMPLES OF PRO-PLURALIST MEDIA STRENGTHENING ACTIVITIES

- Training in **reporting techniques** that support more inclusive, peaceful, and empathetic societies.
- Support **community journalism** from marginalized communities.
- Coaching on content, focus, and **tone** for editorial staff to increase **unbiased reporting** about crime, policing, and justice.
- Resources for journalists to cover **local and national policies** that have an impact on inclusion, such as immigration, access to social services, and religious freedoms.
- Build **social media** influencers and consumers understanding of how human **emotions and cognitive processes** work in today's informational environment.
- Expose partisan media consumers to **media literacy messaging** on social media.
- Use **machine learning** to identify bias in media reporting.

<sup>8</sup> Libby Hogan and Michael Safi, "Revealed: Facebook Hate Speech Exploded in Myanmar During Rohingya Crisis," *The Guardian*, April 3, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/03/revealed-facebook-hate-speech-exploded-in-myanmar-during-rohingya-crisis>.

## Advancing Pluralism and Empowering Indigenous Youth Through Film

Making media accessible to marginalized groups can be a powerful means of challenging stereotypes and exclusions, providing a way for them to tell their own stories. **Wapikoni Mobile**, a Canadian non-profit organization, works with Indigenous youth to help them find their voice through filmmaking. It travels to remote Indigenous communities, teaching youth filmmaking techniques and providing access to state-of-the-art technology, which they use to create their own short films and musical works. Wapikoni Mobile then promotes their work, organizing 200 screenings per year at locations ranging from remote high schools to prestigious film screenings such as the Sundance Film Festival, where young directors are encouraged to speak about their work. The initiative forges new relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people with a view toward reconciliation. Beyond documenting the racism, prejudice and isolation that Indigenous peoples in Canada have suffered for generations, these creative works allow youth to express their own positive vision of their possibilities.

## Adapting Tools for a Pluralist Design

Different participatory approaches should be considered to ensure that stakeholders from under-represented groups are empowered to take part in and contribute to discussions and, ultimately, to designs. Many good tools and approaches, for example, have been developed for working with children and youth to assist organizations to move beyond “tokenism” and support meaningful inclusion in planning and participatory project design.<sup>9</sup> Projects, where time and situationally possible, can apply **Human-Centered Design**, particularly in activity-specific design processes rather than timebound proposal development. Such processes rely heavily on inclusion in design and on participants (who are often the end users/implementers, beneficiaries and constituents) to test designs for realism in terms of both acceptance, feasibility and sustainability. During design, other tools, such as **Gender Equality Markers**, can be adapted to incorporate a pluralism lens and used before designs are finalized to review and iterate to ensure that ongoing plans for contextual analysis, activities, participation, communication, and monitoring and evaluation include pluralism approaches and required resources.

<sup>9</sup> UNESCO, *A Guide for Ensuring Inclusion and Equity in Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 2017), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000248254>; YouthPower2: Learning and Evaluation, “Three Models to Consider When Integrating Youth Participation into Programs,” n.d.<https://www.youthpower.org/youth-drg-toolkit-3-models-pathways>.

## CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT: A VEHICLE FOR PLURALISM

Pro-pluralist projects are most effective when organizations responsible for projects internally reflect on, plan for and act to strengthen pluralism. ***Internal assessment is important to build the capacity of organizations to identify and implement initiatives that are more deliberative and active in addressing discrimination, marginalization and exclusion-including within their organization and society more broadly.***

Applying a pluralism lens to internal capacity development should do the following:

1

### Address hardware and software elements

Assessments should look at policy and institutional hardware within the organization and its operating environment, as well as more subtle software forms of exclusion. Organizations should reflect on the degree to which they mimic societal patterns of exclusion or are diverse and representative of its target base.

2

### Integrate pluralism into all aspects of operations

This should include vision/mission, strategic planning, workplace culture, hiring and retention, communications and equity in decision-making, resource allocation, administrative process and pluralism-specific skills and capacities.

3

### Require a commitment to equity

This should include equitable standards for participation in the design and sharing of program communications, equal standards of program quality and equality in program outcomes.

4

### Recognize that not every context can and will talk about difference and exclusion in the same way

Societies have different challenges and limitations regarding what can be addressed openly. For example, overt discussions about *LGBTQI* issues may not be possible or permitted in certain contexts, while issues such as Indigenous reconciliation may not be pertinent in other locations. Reflection processes need to be sensitive to local/national contexts and opportunities, and approaches to initiate these conversations in safety should be explored.



## IMPLEMENTING PRO-PLURALIST PROJECTS

A pluralist approach to project implementation seeks to ensure more deliberately that outcomes enshrine pluralist principles. This may include specific provisions to protect or secure the representation of all communities in governance structures, promote inclusive economic models and establish legal protections. Projects can achieve representation through different mechanisms such as:

- Prioritizing diversity in recruitment
- Widening networks to welcome new and diverse members
- Putting into place or strengthening existing collaboration platforms
- Improving access to information on the broad social and economic benefits of diversity

All projects should establish real-time feedback loops that solicit information from and share information with marginalized groups through accessible platforms. During implementation, projects must monitor the recognized barriers (identified during the assessment) to sharing and receiving information, including cognition, cost, legal, physical, social and technological, and adapt projects accordingly. Seeking information and adapting projects based on feedback is crucial to achieving pluralism in practice. It is insufficient to have consulted all sectors of society if the outcome of these consultations only serves to entrench, or perhaps create new patterns of exclusion.

**Project management should identify mechanisms that help them to ensure attention to pluralism-focused interventions during implementation.** Project management mechanisms could include:

- Steering committees that provide strategic oversight and guidance to ensure the consistent application of a pluralism lens
- Coordination units that provide the communication link between implementers and funders and enable a shared awareness at both levels of the status of project implementation
- Learning reviews to assess the implementation of pluralism-focused components

Maintaining open communication channels will help see that implementation is carried out in line with pluralist guidance and enable implementers to recognize challenges and think through solutions as they arise.

Where project grantees do not work in both the hardware and software spaces, project management should align project activities through a matching process so that hardware and software levers are aligned, thus supporting **system-wide change**. For example, if the project's aim is to create a more inclusive community through education, grantees may be selected to develop curriculum

### Pluralism in Implementation Tools

Existing tools can be adapted to support the implementation of pro-pluralism projects by incorporating pluralism lens, indicators and outcomes. Examples of such tools include:

- **Network and systems mapping** enables ongoing reviews of how actors in a local system are/are not interconnected in achieving collective outcomes.
- **Systems strengthening processes** encourage diverse actors and project leadership to listen and engage with the system, discover barriers and opportunities for greater inclusion, representation and collaboration through a dialogue process, and uses a co-design approach to adapt implementation activities.
- **5Rs Framework** (Roles, Relationships, Rules, Resources and Results) to a co-design and adapt implementation activities with partners.
- **Organizational Capacity Assessments, performance measurements, management reviews and strategic plans** help organizations to develop a common language, shared framework for advancing inclusion, and plans to operationalization and pluralism.

and train teachers in values-based education and inclusive teaching techniques, to collaborate with the Ministry of Education and teachers unions and associations to review and adapt national curriculum to ensure representation in materials, and to support investigative journalism to assess and report on education budget allocations across communities that supports or prevents equitable access to education services. Project management then monitors the degree of collaboration and collective actions taken across the network of grantees and their constituents to achieve changes in hardware and software and adapts its partnership model based on evidence of change.

### MONITORING, EVALUATING & LEARNING FOR PLURALISM

Drawing on the pluralism lens and Global Pluralism Monitor assessment, **MEL frameworks should be context-sensitive, holistic, gendered and intersectional.** MEL activities should track progress on changes in hardware and software and understanding their effect on advancing or eroding inclusion and equality within and among groups. Information gathering can be organized along the six components of pluralism assessment presented in the [Identifying Drivers & Barriers of Pluralism section](#).

Monitoring could include tracking changes in the effectiveness and ability of civil society actors to advance changes to policies and practices affecting political, economic, social, cultural or other exclusions and public perceptions and attitudes toward specific groups. Projects may measure degree to which the media reinforces attitudes of respect and inclusion for diverse groups or the degree to which they embrace divisive rhetoric undermining efforts to broaden pluralist norms. Projects should be assessed based on their accessibility by rights, policies and conventions that govern access, regularly measuring changes in who typically has access and analyzing the relationship between markers including location, class, religion, gender, race, ethnicity, language, and status.

Evaluation of longer-term outcomes should **assess changes in policies affecting marginalized groups targeted by the project, the degree to which these policies are implemented, changes in economic, social, and legal/political outcomes for these groups, as well as changes in societal perceptions and inter-group dynamics.** [The Global Pluralism Monitor](#) can be utilized as a long-term monitoring tool to track these changes at the national level over time through regular re-assessments. As part of the learning agenda, information and analysis emerging from regular monitoring and periodic evaluation should be jointly reviewed and reflected upon using the pluralism lens to develop more holistic and multi-dimensional understanding of issues.

## GLOBAL PLURALISM MONITOR FRAMEWORK

COMMITMENTS	PRACTICES	LEADERSHIP	GROUP-BASED INEQUALITIES	INTERGROUP RELATIONS AND BELONGING
International Commitments	Policy Implementation	Political Parties	Political	Intergroup Violence
National Commitments	Data Collection	News Media	Economic	Intergroup Trust
Inclusive Citizenship	Claims-Making and Contestation	Civil Society	Social	Trust in Institutions
		Private Sector	Cultural	Inclusions and Acceptance
			Access to Justice	Shared Ownership of Society

## ANNEX I: TERMINOLOGY

Many terms and concepts related to pluralism, such as multiculturalism, inclusion and diversity, are debated in academic circles and mainstream media. This glossary attempts to convey the way in which the following terms are used by the Global Centre for Pluralism in developing this strategy.

---

### Accommodation

Advocates of the more pro-pluralist approach to accommodation argue that the distinct identities of various peoples need to be acknowledged and respected both in the public and private sphere. Some have argued that it is often dominant communities that advocate integrationist approaches to civic participation in the first place, which in turn conceal the interests of those groups under the veneer of neutrality.<sup>10</sup> Methods of accommodation of historic national minorities and indigenous peoples vary, ranging from consociationalism (where executive power is shared by groups) to territorial pluralism (where, through a form of federalism and devolution, national minorities can become a majority in their own area). Accommodation of immigrants and many religious minorities often takes the form of reasonable exemptions within shared institutions (such as being allowed to publicly display religious symbols or clothing in school).

---

### Assimilation

Pluralism contrasts strongly with assimilation—which aims to see all groups in society adopt the traits and values of the dominant culture. Assimilation seeks to eliminate differences in public and private life through a variety of methods such as banning certain religions or religious practices and standardizing and monopolizing a language or specific culture. While some proponents of assimilation would only endorse non-coercive means to achieve it, the perception of difference as a threat that needs to be eliminated has also led, at times, to genocide, expulsion or territorial downsizing in an effort to eliminate rather than manage difference.<sup>11</sup>

---

### Diversity

For the purposes of understanding pluralism, diversity can be defined as a social, demographic fact of life: In any society, there are many religions, ethnicities, cultures and beliefs. The question is not whether diversity exists but what the response to it should be. The normative response to the fact of diversity is what the Centre is primarily concerned with.

---

### Gender

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

---

<sup>10</sup> Margaret Moore, *The Ethics of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 102–3.

<sup>11</sup> John McGarry et al., "Integration or Accommodation? The Enduring Debate in Conflict Regulation," in *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* ed. by Sujit Choudhry (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 42.

---

**Inclusion**

Inclusion can mean many things—integration, accommodation, assimilation—not all of which are pluralistic. The Technical Strategy understands inclusion to mean a genuine respect for and acceptance of different forms of identity in both public and private life. This means making space for different forms of diversity within the public realm. Inclusion is not always accompanied by an effort to transform the systems that exist. In contrast, pluralism seeks to engage with difference in a more transformative way, giving participants agency to collectively design and redesign systems over time.

---

**Indigenous**

While the situation of Indigenous peoples differs contextually, the United Nations defines Indigenous peoples as “inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live.” They are the original inhabitants and first peoples.

---

**Integration**

Unlike assimilation, integration is built on the principle that difference need not be eliminated. Instead, advocates of integration argue for minimizing or proscribing the state’s engagement with people’s cultural and religious identities and for the creation of a unified civic identity that crosscuts religious or ethnic differences. They argue that identities are too changing and malleable to be given official legal recognition and that group-based politics are often at the root of protracted instability.<sup>12</sup>

---

**Intersectionality**

This concept, first developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw,<sup>13</sup> explains how gender intersects with other aspects of identity, such as race, age, ability, education, class, religion, sexual orientation, geographic location and any other social identities that impact experiences, agency, access to and control of resources, power, knowledge and opportunities based on situated gendered norms. Understanding gender as always intersecting with various aspects of other social identities also shows how barriers and inequalities can be compounded. Understanding intersectionality is important to address the root causes of inequalities.

---

**LGBTQIA2S+**

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

---

**Marginalized**

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

---

<sup>12</sup> Brian Berry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 25.

<sup>13</sup> Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-Discrimination Doctrine in Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* vol. 1989, no. 1 (1989): 139–67.

**Multiculturalism**

Pluralism sets a high standard for any society to live up to. Its application is demanding and is rarely, if ever, fully realized. Pluralism contrasts with several policy responses to diversity that countries have adopted at different moments in time. Multiculturalism, for example—first adopted by Canada as official policy in 1971 and seen in various forms today in Australia and parts of North and South America and Europe—has been criticized by some for encouraging cultural minorities to retain their distinct identities and by others for not going far enough to empower them. It nonetheless institutionalizes the recognition of multiple cultures within a society. Pluralism, in contrast, is broader in scope, considering the inclusion of all human differences throughout political, economic and social structures. Pluralism demands not only policy responses but also the cultivation of a social mindset that actively values diversity as a strength so as to deepen a shared sense of belonging.

**Pluralism**

All societies are diverse—ethnically, linguistically and in a wide range of other ways. While diversity is, therefore, a demographic fact, pluralism refers to the actions and decisions taken to build on diversity as the basis for a successful society. Grounded in an ethic of respect for diversity, pluralism is a positive response to diversity that recognizes the dignity of every person and ensures that everyone feels that they belong as equal and legitimate members of society.

**Pluralism hardware and software**

Building pluralistic societies requires equal attention to both the *hardware* and *software* of society. Hardware refers to the institutional arrangements—such as constitutions, legislatures, courts, systems of government, schools and the media—that “define the legal and political space within which members of society act.” Software represents the cultural habits or public mindsets that shape our perceptions of who belongs and who contributes and that influence how we interact with each other on an everyday basis. Hardware and software in a society continuously interact with each other to strengthen or weaken a culture of respect for diversity.

**Racialized**

This refers to the act of being “raced” or seen as someone belonging to a particular race with the intent of instrumentalizing the basis on which they are “raced,” particularly to enable differential and often unequal treatment.<sup>14</sup>

**Recognition and belonging**

*Recognition and belonging* as a shared public experience are of defining value to a pluralistic society. *Recognition* of diversity shapes perceptions of “who is a legitimate and contributing member of a society.” With recognition as an essential starting point, beyond the legal right to be in a country, *belonging* reinforces that people feel they belong in a society and that the society itself belongs to every person.

<sup>14</sup> Calgary Anti-Racism Education (CARED), “Racialization,” Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre, n.d., <https://www.aclrc.com/racialization>.

---

**Refugee**

The term refers to a person who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution or natural disaster. While legally distinct from a displaced person who has been forced to leave their home area for the same reasons who has not crossed an internationally recognized border.

---

**Secularism**

Secularism—understood as the separation of state and religion—ostensibly does not privilege any one religion. As such, it can be understood as one attribute of a pluralist society. A number of secular states, however, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, France and, until recently, Turkey, have restricted various forms of religious symbols or expression to maintain religious neutrality in the public sphere. Yet, such policies can result in restrictions as a form of persecution of faith groups. In a pluralist society, religious neutrality at the state level must go hand in hand with protections for religious freedom and with social acceptance of all forms of religious expression.

---

**Systemic racism**

Systemic racism consists of organizational culture, policies, directives, practices or procedures that exclude, displace or marginalize some racialized groups or create unfair barriers for them to access valuable benefits and opportunities. This is often the result of institutional biases in organizational culture, policies, directives, practices and procedures that may appear neutral but have the effect of privileging some groups and disadvantaging others.<sup>15</sup>

---

**Tolerance**

The Centre makes a distinction between tolerance as a pragmatic response and pluralism as a normative one. For the Centre, tolerance is a negative value, in which minority groups are free from harassment but are not actively made welcome as equal contributors to society. On the route to pluralism, tolerance is a first step, but it requires a normative shift in perception where diversity is seen as a benefit not just an obstacle that needs to be worked around.

---

<sup>15</sup> Ontario Government, Glossary, n.d., <https://www.ontario.ca/document/data-standards-identification-and-monitoring-systemic-racism/glossary>.

## ANNEX II: FURTHER DISCUSSION OF POWER AND ANTI-PLURALISM AND ACCOMMODATION OF DIVERSITY

### *Transitioning and Backsliding Democracies*

Particularly in new and transitioning democracies, forms of diversity that could translate into political mobilization/identity politics, such as ethnic or religious identities, are often discouraged in the civic domain—frequently manifested by increasing restrictions on civic engagement and media.<sup>16</sup>

Interesting research authored by the University of Gothenburg’s V-Dem Institute looks at early signs among politicians lacking commitment to democratic norms, who then gradually erode democratic processes and institutions once in power. Signs include the use of demonizing rhetoric, the encouragement of political violence and disrespect for minority rights.<sup>17</sup>

### *Democracy, Pluralism and the Accommodation of Diversity*<sup>18</sup>

In deeply divided societies, fostering real democracy demands creative constitutional crafting and flexible institutional engineering to mediate and mitigate conflict. Different contexts demand different approaches to balance the interests of competing groups. Peace, prosperity and democratic stability in deeply divided societies are better served by pluralistic conceptions of the state that promote and protect multiple and complementary identities within each sovereign state. However, when identity has been bound up by conflict and division, this can be challenging to achieve. It requires designing institutions that recognize and mediate group difference through inclusive power-sharing (shared rule), group autonomy (self-rule) and effective checks and constraints on state power (limited rule). This focus works to support collaboration across groups rather than calcification of divisions or political “territories.” Many forms of pro-pluralist approaches to accommodation of diversity focus on the acknowledgement and respect for distinct identities of various peoples—both in the public and private sphere. Accommodation of immigrants and many religious minorities often takes the form of reasonable exemptions within shared institutions (such as being allowed to publicly display religious symbols or clothing in school). However, identities can be highly fluid. A pluralistic form of accommodation seeks to avoid institutionalizing or otherwise entrenching overly rigid notions of groupness (such as in Bosnia).

In *post-conflict and transitioning societies*, pluralism takes a more expansive view of how to construct democratic political systems, moving beyond regular elections and institution-building to open opportunities to address issues relating to the “substance” of democratic rule, such as socio-economic inequality and how to counter it, and in shifting perspectives on belonging and reinforcing more inclusive narratives. As such, pluralism seeks to push back on power imbalances as part of the core elements of addressing exclusion, marginalization and divisions in society.

In more *closed (or closing) authoritarian regimes*, opportunities and entry points for advancing pluralism may focus on diffusing domestic sources of conflict. Similar to “embedded” forms of promoting democracy—for example, development assistance designed to improve health or educational systems—a pluralist approach may “fly under the radar” for a period of time to lay more incremental foundations for respecting diversity. For example, programs that bring different groups together towards common aims, such as community activities that cross group lines in practical ways (e.g., for delivery of health and livelihoods initiatives) can lay important groundwork in this respect. At the same time, if only to avoid the risk of being co-opted and instrumentalized, it is important to remember that pathways to pluralism often do entail political change. Ultimately, greater pluralism, just like more democratic norms and behaviors, represent a challenge to authoritarian rulers, and their tolerance will have its limits.

<sup>16</sup> Gerd Schönwälder, “Democracy Promotion and Pluralism —Mapping Study” Intersections: Practicing Pluralism Occasional Series, Global Centre for Pluralism, November 2018, pg. 4. <https://www.pluralism.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Gerd-Scho%CC%88nwa%CC%88lder-Democracy-Promotion-updated-bio.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> See, Anna Lührmann, Juraj Medzihorsky, and Staffan I. Lindberg, “Walking the Talk: How to Identify Anti-Pluralist Parties,” V-Dem Institute Working Paper 116, March 2021, [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3813132](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3813132); Seraphine F. Maerz and Carsten Q. Schneider, “Public Discourse and Autocratization: Infringing on Autonomy, Sabotaging Accountability,” V-Dem Institute Working Paper 112, February 2021, [https://www.v-dem.net/media/publications/wp\\_112.pdf](https://www.v-dem.net/media/publications/wp_112.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> Excerpted with permission. Suberu, *Democracy and the Accommodation of Diversity*.



## ANNEX III: ALIGNMENT OF PLURALISM WITH EXISTING STRATEGIES AND POLICIES

### Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (Inclusive Development Strategy).

The CSM-STAND consortium members may adapt and apply a pluralism lens to tools under the [Transforming Agency, Access, and Power \(TAAP\)](#) Initiative for Inclusive Development to ensure that social inclusions and inclusion sensitivity are integrated across programs. TAAP activities will further support objectives of being universal (across all identities), intersectional (interactions between identities) and transformative (create deep social change).

---

### Local Capacity Development Policy.

By providing a systematic approach and expert level analysis, a pluralism lens also fully aligns with USAID's [Local Capacity Development Policy](#) and its approach to systems analysis across a range of actors, including marginalized groups. In particular, applying pluralism helps to understand, identify and apply interventions in both the social (software) and policy (hardware) spheres of a society: Both of which are necessary to ensure tangible, transformative social change.

---

### USAID Local Systems Framework.

A pluralism lens aligns and enhances existing approaches to effecting systems-level change, such as the USAID [Local Systems Framework](#). Pluralism's holistic focus across sectors and attention to both institutional and cultural responses to difference surfaces the sources of systemic exclusions and inequalities, giving societal actors agency to collectively design and redesign systems over time.

---

### Conflict Sensitivity Analysis.

A pluralism lens can strengthen existing approaches to [conflict analysis](#), building a more holistic understanding of the society, prior and during conflict, which will help make visible some of the issues contributing to the conflict and potential emerging divisions. Using a pluralism lens will give civil society actors in conflict affected areas critical insights into the range of multi-layered factors contributing to inequality, drivers of conflict and the extent to which anti-diversity attitudes persist at different levels of society. A pluralism lens will help to minimize harm and maximize potential impact. A further discussion of how pluralism contributes to conflict prevention and peacebuilding is available [here](#).

## ANNEX IV: GLOBAL CENTRE FOR PLURALISM'S MONITOR ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK INDICATORS SUMMARY

Dimension	Indicators	Data source (Illustrative)
<b>Legal Commitments</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Level of engagement with international commitments</li> <li>2. Constitutional and national legislative commitments to protecting and promoting diverse groups' rights</li> <li>3. Inclusive citizenship practices</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Constitutions</li> <li>2. Legislative acts and amendments</li> <li>3. State reports to treaty monitoring bodies</li> </ol>
<b>Practices</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Implementation of inclusive laws, policies and practices</li> <li>2. Availability, accessibility &amp; protection of group-based inequality data across five datasets (income, crime, health, education and electoral data)</li> <li>3. Environment for claims-making and contestation vis-à-vis the state</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Judicial practices</li> <li>2. Budgetary allocation</li> <li>3. Censuses</li> <li>4. Freedom House</li> <li>5. Shadow reports to international bodies</li> </ol>
<b>Leadership for Pluralism</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Political parties' values</li> <li>2. Participation of diverse groups in news media</li> <li>3. Prominence of news media actors that espouse pluralistic values</li> <li>4. Prominence of civil society actors that espouse pluralistic values</li> <li>5. Representation in private-sector workforce and leadership</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Diversity reports on private sector</li> <li>2. Electoral representation data</li> <li>3. News media and public broadcast practices</li> </ol>
<b>Group-based Inequalities</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Equitable political participation</li> <li>2. Equitable participation and access in the economic domain</li> <li>3. Equitable participation and access in the social domain</li> <li>4. Cultural inequalities</li> <li>5. Equitable access to justice</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Human development monitor</li> <li>2. Data on electoral and political participation</li> <li>3. World Justice Project</li> <li>4. USCIRF reports [United States Commission on Religious Freedom]</li> <li>5. DHS data [Demographic and Health Survey]</li> <li>6. Ethnic Power Relations</li> </ol>
<b>Intergroup Relations and Belonging</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Levels of intergroup violence</li> <li>2. Levels of intergroup trust</li> <li>3. Levels of trust in public institutions</li> <li>4. Levels of feelings of acceptance</li> <li>5. Levels of feelings of shared ownership</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Status of hate crimes and intergroup violence</li> <li>2. Minorities at Risk dataset</li> <li>3. Primary data on levels of intergroup trust</li> <li>4. Primary data on experiences of belonging</li> </ol>

## ANNEX V: GLOBAL PLURALISM MONITOR FINDINGS (2021-22)

Findings from 18 countries confirm that solutions to systemic problems of exclusion require a holistic view and attention to multiple issues transecting all sectors and societal actors.

### Lack of data “invisibilizes” inequalities and exclusion:

A striking lack of disaggregated data related to groups limits the extent to which intersectional analysis can be meaningfully utilized to identify and address systematic marginalization. The reasons for this lack of data include lack of political will (Colombia), historical legacies of misuse of data (Germany) and institutional frameworks that oversimplify demographic complexity (Malaysia).

---

### Role of media:

Assessment reports for several countries highlight how mainstream media, often controlled by elites, can perpetuate negative stereotypes or group divisions to bolster support for political agendas (Bosnia, Kenya and Bolivia). Many reports also emphasize that local media and the rise of digital media alternatives have supported democratizing the space and building representation for marginalized communities in media (Australia, Bolivia, Colombia and Nigeria). This suggests an important entry-point for local actors to focus on amplifying and coalescing disparate voices and perspectives to combat exclusionary narratives.

---

### Decentralized governance:

Decentralization can be an effective way to manage a variety of territorial and cultural claims or grievances and provide a level of autonomy, but it can also make it difficult to affect sweeping countrywide change because every state/county/province controls many of the processes that would create more inclusive societies (Germany, Kenya, Indonesia and Nigeria). There is a clear opportunity for civil society organizations (CSOs) working to highlight local examples of pluralistic innovation and leadership to arrive at solutions that can be replicated countrywide.

---

### Class as catalyst:

Assessments highlighted the role of class as a potential catalyst for change and a touchpoint for emergent identity formation. The assessment found several instances in which class served as an impetus for protest that cut across ethnic divides (Bosnia) and identified “peasants” as a burgeoning identity (Colombia). The assessments identified shared experiences of economic marginalization across ethnic and religious groups serving as a source of mobilization for social justice (Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Colombia and Ghana). Coalition-building and collective mobilization across marginalized groups reflects a strong sense that progress for any one group presents opportunities for others.

## ANNEX VI: EXAMPLES OF PLURALISM OUTCOMES

### *For civil society actors working on legislative/policy change*

- Enhanced legal frameworks and measures to protect and promote the rights of diverse groups
- Improved informal/formal mechanisms for accessing citizenship in the country (for previously excluded or marginalized groups)
- Systematic collection of data on inequalities for diverse groups throughout the country

### *Projects strengthening the capability of CSOs to advance pluralism*

- Strengthened capacity<sup>19</sup> of pro-pluralism CSOs advocating changes to exclusionary practices and/or policies
- Enhanced capacity of local CSOs to advance claims and concerns of specific (marginalized and disadvantaged) groups
- Increased respect for other groups' claims for recognition, dignity and participation in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the society demonstrated by civil society actors

### *Outcomes related to media strengthening projects*

- Increased capacity (knowledge and ability) of local media to promote respect for diversity and social cohesion
- Increased participation of diverse and previously excluded groups in news media

### *Addressing horizontal (group-based) inequalities*

- Increased participation of marginalized, racialized groups in political parties/electoral processes/civic life of the country
- Improved access in the economic domain (access to land and resources, employment) by marginalized groups
- Increased access to quality of educational services for marginalized groups
- Increased representation of marginalized groups in artistic and cultural life of the country
- Increased access to quality health services for marginalized groups
- Improved health outcomes for marginalized groups
- Improved educational outcomes for marginalized groups
- Equitable access to justice for marginalized groups

### *Intergroup trust and trust in institutions*

- Increased intergroup trust among groups
- Improved individual attitudes towards people from different groups in everyday interactions
- Increased levels of trust among marginalized groups in public institutions, including health care providers, law enforcement and the judiciary
- Increased feelings of inclusion and acceptance among individuals from marginalized communities

<sup>19</sup> Strengthened capacity covers a range of areas that include planning, implementation and monitoring capacities of the CSOs to promote pluralism.



This strategy was authored by the Global Centre for Pluralism with substantial contributions from the Aga Khan Foundation. Pact, IREX, Makaia, Sonke and USAID provided inputs.

This CSM-STAND Strategy was developed with support from the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the Civil Society and Media - Strengthening Together and in New Directions (CSM-STAND). CSM-STAND is a USAID-funded, five-year Leader with Associates (LWA) co-operative agreement implemented by a Pact-led consortium. The contents are the responsibility of the [Aga Khan Foundation](#) and the [Global Centre for Pluralism](#) and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the United States Government.