ADDRESSING INEQUALITIES
The Heart of the Post-2015 Development Agenda and the Future We Want for All
Global Thematic Consultation

THE FUTURE IS NOW
Eliminating inequalities in sanitation, water and hygiene

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October, 2012

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Summary

There is a need to redefine progress in the context of development and explicitly include equality, non-discrimination and equity at its foundations. In the 21st century, progress must no longer continue to mask inequalities and discrimination. The future development agenda must include measures to determine how progress is distributed and who is excluded. It must create incentives to eliminate inequalities and focus on the most disadvantaged. Now is the time to act.

Through collaborating with human rights experts, sector professionals, and data specialists, the Special Rapporteur on the human right to safe drinking water and sanitation has developed proposals for the future development framework that meet human rights standards and principles, are relevant to the water, sanitation and hygiene sector, and are feasible from the perspective of data collection. Current limitations in measurements should not deter the international community from committing to a robust set of targets. The boundaries of what is currently perceived as measurable must be pushed to shed light on persistent inequalities. Most importantly, the future framework must not stop at monitoring income disparities and general notions of inequity, but must seek to detect different types of discrimination in order to examine and address their root causes.

Short biography of the author

There is a need to redefine progress within the context of development. In the 21st century, progress must no longer continue to mask inequalities. When millions of children, women and men are have no access to essential services such as sanitation or water, a global development agenda cannot continue to ignore their daily reality. The future development agenda must include measures to determine how progress is distributed and who is excluded. It must create incentives to reduce inequalities and focus on the most disadvantaged. In other words, the post-2015 development agenda must fully integrate equality and non-discrimination. We must act now as the future is now.

Growing inequalities across and within regions and countries are increasingly signaled to nuance and even challenge some of the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) achievements. There is increasing awareness of the high social cost of inequalities, resulting in disillusionment - in particular among youth - instability and violence. Inequalities hinder efforts for poverty reduction and economic growth,\(^{ii}\) negatively affecting society as a whole.\(^{iii}\) In fact, the World Economic Forum cited inequality as one of the top global risks.\(^{iv}\) For major international actors and agencies, including the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and UN-Women, addressing inequalities is vital to their work. There is also a shared understanding in the water and sanitation sectors that the MDGs did not put sufficient pressure on Governments to ensure their efforts are reaching the poorest and most marginalized populations.\(^{v}\)

Inequalities are present in every country across the globe, yet, they manifest themselves differently across regions and within countries. Some types of discrimination such as that based on gender, age or disability status are relevant in all countries, while others – such as ethnic discrimination – can take diverse shapes from country to country. Despite these country differences, inequalities and disparities are structural factors. While the specific groups may vary, patterns of marginalization, exclusion and discrimination are consistent across the world. Showing these patterns and trends through global monitoring conveys a powerful message and provides a tool to draw attention to the situation of the most disadvantaged and marginalized. In turn, global monitoring assists Governments to develop the necessary laws, policies and
programmes that will lead to elimination of the gap between those groups and individuals with access and those without it.

The last decade has seen a significant evolution in the human rights framework, enhancing the tools to address growing concerns about inequality in the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights. While the rights to water and sanitation have always been a component of the right to an adequate standard of living as contained in several international human rights instruments, their explicit recognition by the UN General Assembly and the Human Rights Council in 2010 vii created enormous momentum in the sector, galvanizing international support to increase resources and scale up efforts to ensure access to water and sanitation for all. More generally, a deeper understanding of economic, social and cultural rights in the last decade, viii coupled with further guidance about the effects of non-discrimination in the realization of these rights viii has allowed for the development of a more discernible human rights framework around these issues. These evolutions must permeate the post-2015 global development agenda.

Every country in the world has committed to realizing human rights, including the human rights to water and sanitation. The post-2015 agenda must be universal in scope so as to reflect this commitment, and ambitious enough to respond to the reality of daily lives. The focus on achieving equality is relevant for every country, including developed countries where a relatively small number of people are left without (adequate) access to services, and aggregate targets may not reflect the effort required to reach these individuals and households. The new framework must ensure that Governments prioritize the populations most in need.

For the next set of goals, it is not acceptable to disregard acute development challenges – as inequalities – simply because they do not fit into certain definable categories or because we have difficulties in measuring them. It is also not acceptable to reshape or limit them to fit with the comfortable limits of current knowledge. While many caution that future targets and indicators need to be measurable, and this is certainly true, there is also a tendency to hide behind this technical argument. Others have noted that measurability is an inappropriate standard for political decisions and that data should “be seen as a servant, rather than a master”. ix The future framework must measure what is valuable and not value only what is measurable. Therefore, data must be collected on issues such as inequalities precisely to bring them to light. The current lack of data may not be accidental: neglect often coincides with a low political profile. One example of this, present in many countries, is that of people living in informal settlements who do not appear in official statistics. The boundaries of what is currently perceived as measurable must be pushed. A commitment to better and more accurate data collection is essential to identify and monitor inequalities, a crucial step to making progress to end them.
Embracing Non-discrimination, Equality and Equity

Non-discrimination and equality are fundamental human rights principles; development actors often use the notion of equity. These concepts must be understood before discussing their integration into goals, targets and indicators is discussed.

- **Non-discrimination** is one of the pillars of international human rights law. Discrimination is defined as any distinction, exclusion or restriction which has the purpose or the effect of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis with others, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field. In terms of monitoring, this principle requires States to look beyond average attainments and disaggregate data sets in order to identify disparate impacts or less favorable treatment over time.

- **Equality before the law and equal protection of the law** without any discrimination, constitute basic principles relating to the protection and enjoyment of human rights. They require a focus on all groups and individuals experiencing discrimination. Substantive equality calls for adoption of affirmative action or temporary special measures where barriers exist and persist, and which lead to denial of rights to individuals and groups.

Equal, however, does not mean the same. Equality does not imply treating what is unequal equally. Under human rights law, there is a necessary distinction, as equality does not indicate identical treatment in all cases. While universality is about ensuring access for all—even the hardest to reach—equality is about “leveling up” or progressively working to improve the quality and levels of service for groups that lag behind. In relation to water, sanitation and hygiene, equality presumes, for example, gradual improvements to close gaps in unequal coverage rates. Human rights law requires equal access to basic services, but this does not mean that everyone benefits from the same technical solutions or the same type of service.

- **Equity** is the moral imperative to dismantle unjust differences based on principles of fairness and justice. It requires a focus on the most disadvantaged and the poorest. Many organizations in the sector, including the Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council, WaterAid, the World Health Organization and the UNICEF, have made equity a central part of their agenda. However, from a human rights perspective, relying on equity has certain risks because its definition is a malleable concept that is not legally binding. While equity may denote justice, it may dilute rights claims if
considered separately from equality and non-discrimination and risks being defined arbitrarily according to political and ideological expediency.

Embracing the human rights principles of non-discrimination and equality, combined with the equity approach must be central to any post-2015 framework. They provide the necessary political foundation to identify and prioritize a State’s legal obligation to combat discrimination while also underscoring areas where human rights law has been traditionally less robust, particularly in relation to income disparities.

**Remedying Inequality as the most significant blind-spot in the MDGs**

The MDGs are silent on discrimination, inequalities and unjustifiable disparities. In theory, many of the targets could be achieved without benefitting a single person with a disability, a single person belonging to an ethnic minority, or a single person living in poverty, because their focus on average attainments creates a blind-spot in the achievement of equality.

UNICEF has taken a lead role by placing equity at the centre of its development agenda, recognizing that reaching the poorest and most marginalized communities within countries is pivotal to the realization of the Goals.\textsuperscript{xv} Likewise, UN-Women has also cautioned that, with the target date of 2015 in sight, it is increasingly clear that progress towards meeting many of the Goals, particularly those strongly related to gender inequality, is off-track. Inequality, including gender inequality, is holding back progress.\textsuperscript{xii} The United Nations System Task Team on the Post-2015 Development Agenda put forward equality as one of the fundamental principles providing the foundation for the post-2015 agenda alongside human rights and sustainability.\textsuperscript{xiii} Unless action is taken to address discrimination and inequalities, the post-2015 goals will fail to address the underlying truth behind the figures: MDG indicators are consistently worse for discriminated groups in every region.\textsuperscript{xiv}

In many countries, specific groups are excluded from access to water and sanitation, often reflecting patterns of discrimination and marginalization. These groups can be identified along ethnic and socio-economic divides.\textsuperscript{xv} In some countries, indigenous peoples do not have access to water or sanitation services.\textsuperscript{xvi} Dalits often suffer discrimination in accessing water and sanitation,\textsuperscript{xvii} while Roma are marginalized with respect to water and sanitation in many European countries.\textsuperscript{xviii} Moreover, there are vast gender inequalities - women and girls are overwhelmingly tasked with collecting water.\textsuperscript{xix} Persons with disabilities are also disproportionately represented among those who lack access to safe drinking water and sanitation.\textsuperscript{x} Multiple discrimination, or the compounded impact of various grounds of discrimination, heightens the marginalization and discrimination experienced by an individual or group.
Discrimination and marginalization relate to different factors such as ethnicity, language, religion, caste, gender, age, disability, nationality, and others. While the focus of the equity discourse is often on people living in poverty, it must not be forgotten that the world’s poorest are not randomly distributed—they disproportionately share one or several of the factors that commonly lead to exclusion and discrimination. In order to assess progress properly in reducing inequalities, monitoring must go beyond inequities in income because focusing on income disparities does not address the root causes of exclusion and lack of access to social development. Examining these other factors explains why people lack access and helps to design appropriate policy responses. A person with a disability and a person of an ethnic minority might be both poor and lacking access to water and/or sanitation—but the reasons for their lack of access differ, and the necessary policy response to guarantee them access are also distinct. Sometimes, the barrier preventing certain individuals and groups from having access is not a lack of financial resources, but rather the existence of discriminatory laws, policies, cumbersome administrative procedures, stereotypes, or unequal power relations that lead to their exclusion. Moreover, without targeting the most marginalized, they will continue to be excluded even when efforts target the poorest of the poor.

**Integrating Equality and Non-discrimination into the Future Framework: A Stand-alone Goal on Equality**

The post-2015 development agenda must be ambitious and forward-looking. It must tackle disparities and identify non-discrimination and equality as core principles. Appallingly, much of the progress made since 2000 has left the most marginalized individuals and groups in the same situation they were in when the MDGs were designed. Indeed, many agree that the current set of MDGs, which focus on average global progress, has masked the inequalities that lie behind these averages. This sentiment is widely shared by those working in the water and sanitation sectors, commenting that, “concerns of non-discrimination and equity related to fulfilling the right to access water and sanitation should be reflected in future indicators.” For the future framework, better tools and methodologies for measuring the underlying inequalities need to be developed.

Already in 2010, States committed to improved systems for monitoring progress towards the MDGs, so as to allow for the collection of disaggregated data to capture inequalities by recognizing that, “all countries require adequate, timely, reliable and disaggregated data, including demographic data, in order to design better programmes and policies for sustainable development”\(^{xxi}\) The MDG framework calls for disaggregation of data according to different stratifiers such as sex to the greatest extent possible.\(^{xxiii}\) Experience has shown, though, that such calls are not sufficient in themselves – they need to be linked to goals and targets that
offer an incentive for progress in reducing inequalities. Data constraints often reflect a lack of political commitment – they must no longer be used as an excuse to mask inequalities.

By itself, disaggregation of data does not automatically result in the reduction of inequalities. It provides a tool for the collection of more detailed and accurate data, but policy-makers need to act on the information it reveals. The real challenge lies at the political level because the way in which development, poverty and their inherent inequalities are measured has tremendous influence on the direction of policies, the allocation of resources and the effectiveness of responses. Therefore, the aim of reducing inequalities must not only be captured at the level of disaggregation of indicators, but must be reflected in specific goals and targets against which progress can be measured.

The post-2015 framework must be designed explicitly to reveal who remains invisible and where past efforts have been insufficient. Based on these findings, goals and targets must be framed in a way to reduce inequalities and target the most disadvantaged. They must not continue to focus solely on aggregate outcomes. This process’ inherent difficulty should not detract from the fact that it is a legal and moral imperative. Inclusion of goals and targets that focus on eliminating inequalities within the post-2015 framework will help draw attention to the groups and individuals most in need, trigger the creation of more precise data and adjust development aims and policies to better respond to the reality on the ground.

In response to concerns about inequalities in progress, some have proposed that future targets be made universal, so that no group can be left behind. The goal could not be considered achieved unless everyone is reached. However, setting universal access as the goal – as laudable and necessary as it is – is insufficient to ensure priority for the most disadvantaged groups and individuals. Universal access at a specified target date would continue to bring focus on aggregate outcomes without setting incentives to reduce inequalities through targeting those individuals and groups that are most disadvantaged. On the contrary, specifying that a goal be “universal” alone may be an incentive for States to continue to prioritize relatively well-off and easy-to-reach individuals and groups without access, in order to demonstrate rapid progress towards the goal of universal access. Under that scenario, the most disadvantaged will often be the last to be reached. The future goals and targets must therefore explicitly embrace equality alongside universality.

Equality is relevant to all fields of development and must be applied to all future goals. To underscore the intrinsic value of equality as an overriding objective, it should also be a stand-alone goal. Having a stand-alone goal on the reduction of inequality is essential to bring it to centre stage of the development agenda. While some argue that a separate equality goal will lead to an insular treatment of equality, the opposite is likely to be the case: including
equality as an overarching, cross-cutting concern at the goal level will ensure that the elimination of inequalities will be addressed under all the substantive targets.

Among the ideas for a dedicated goal on equality, one of the most cited proposals is to have a target for income inequality by using the Gini coefficient. A target could either relate to a specific level of income equality or it could call for a reduction in the Gini coefficient until it fell below a certain value. However, income inequality is not always the best proxy for measuring overall inequality. Other metrics of inequality may better capture discrimination and inequalities. Future targets should reflect the reality that poverty is often the result of multiple, intersecting forms of discrimination.

In fact, the current MDG on gender equality already represents an attempt at formulating a stand-alone goal on one particular area of equality. The accompanying target has been heavily criticized for limiting gender equality to education, which is again somewhat broadened by the indicators that also measure the share of women in wage employment and the proportion of seats in national parliament. Still, the gaps between the goal and its accompanying targets and indicators related to the overall measure of gender equality highlight the difficulty of reducing a goal on equality to a limited number of quantifiers that can capture the different forms and manifestations of inequalities in any meaningful and comprehensive way.

The challenge is to set an overall goal on equality that does justice to its cross-cutting nature, relevance to all fields of development and different grounds and manifestations of inequalities. To address these challenges, the future development agenda could include an overall goal on achieving equality accompanied by targets for different sectors for reducing inequalities. Since it might not be necessary, feasible or advisable to relate all targets to all different grounds of discrimination, the pertaining indicators could focus on the dominant inequalities as relevant for different sectors relating to sex, disability, age, income/wealth, ethnicity, and geographic location, among other stratifiers. The overall framework would have to ensure that all different types of inequalities are captured. Optionally, if indicators with ordinal values were selected, the different sectoral indicators could be combined for a composite score that would yield an overall measure of equality.

Crafting Targets to Ensure Equal Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for All

Turning to water, sanitation and hygiene specifically, one of the challenges will be to improve the analysis of different forms of discrimination and design an appropriate methodology to monitor them. The following section highlights some manifestations of discrimination derived from international human rights law, as well as general considerations of equity. These issues could also be applied outside the water, sanitation and hygiene sector. Based on these
considerations, this section also puts forward some ideas of how to integrate these into the future development goals, targets and indicators framework.

To allow for such monitoring, the data sets that are presently used include a wide variety of equity and equality-related variables which are amenable to much more equality analysis than has been performed to date. Other data could be generated relatively easily with slight adaptations of the current data sources and the addition of other sources to complement existing household surveys. Ongoing discussions at the technical level show that these proposals are feasible and that better monitoring of the equality dimension of access to water and sanitation can be achieved, given the required political will.

- **Move forward while reducing inequalities**

Human rights law requires States to prioritize basic access for everyone. This must be reflected in future goals, targets and indicators. Progressive realization means that expeditious and effective steps must be taken and that it is not acceptable for States to aim for universal access at the most basic level only. Instead, continual improvement toward an adequate standard of living must be the aim. However, prioritizing those lacking services and ensuring progressive realization does not by itself address non-discrimination.

Among those who are disadvantaged in their access to water and sanitation, there are many who are discriminated against - because they have a disability, because they are girls, because of where they live, or a combination of these and other factors. If these additional dimensions are not captured, the people who are discriminated against will continue to be discriminated against, even among the most disadvantaged in their access to water and sanitation.

- **Address geographical inequalities: rural/urban disparities and slums**

One of the most pervasive inequities in water and sanitation exists between the urban and rural populations. Global monitoring shows that rural populations persistently have lower levels of access than urban populations. Geographically removed, remote and marginalized regions are often overlooked in planning. The disaggregation between rural and urban as called for in the current monitoring framework should therefore be retained, while improving the methodology to capture the situations of people living in slums.

People living in slums frequently lack access to adequate water and sanitation. Worldwide, it is estimated that a billion people live in slums, which is about one third of the urban population. There are many causes for their lack of access to services, including deliberate exclusion in laws and policies of informal settlements from formal water and sanitation services.
Identifying and defining slums can pose a challenge for monitoring, but significant advances have been made in recent years, including by groups working with slum-dweller organizations and through spatial analysis. Assessing slums by their location could both yield more accurate data and serve as an effective link to planning. In addition, the definition of slums needs improvement; the best approach may be to use definitions supplied by the countries themselves. Household surveys could be complemented special slum surveys or could include oversampling in slum areas.

- **Shed light on the poorest of the poor**

Wealth inequity correlates in many countries to inequalities in access to adequate water and sanitation. The rate of progress is very uneven among wealth quintiles in many countries, with the poorest two quintiles frequently experiencing lack of improvement while other quintiles experience significant improvements. In other countries, progress has been impressive among the lower quintiles, and lessons could be drawn from these experiences. Some Governments are reacting to this analysis by reassessing their policies and programming to target resources on those living in poverty.

The wealth-quintile analysis is very powerful in highlighting the inequities in access to water and sanitation, and also in showing that States are in a position to improve this situation with the necessary political will. The new framework should reflect the need for this analysis at the level of targets. Hence targets should be crafted that specifically address improvements for the lowest quintile or call for eliminating the inequalities between the best-off and the worst-off.

- **Address group-related inequalities that vary across countries**

The impacts of discrimination on access to water, sanitation and hygiene are often due to income disparities, but often they go beyond lack of resources. The dynamics and systems involved in discrimination against minorities and the impacts of wealth inequities are different. Data can assist in elucidating these differences, helping to catalyze action in relation to the specific problems present in a given context.

Pilot analysis carried in the framework of the Working Group on Equity and Non-discrimination of the WHO/UNICEF Joint Monitoring Programme for Water Supply and Sanitation demonstrated that significant disparities exist in water and sanitation access among ethnic, religious, and language minorities in some countries. For example in one South Asian country, data show that while open defecation rates for the majority population was 37%, the rate for the minority population was 70%. A rights-sensitive analysis uncovers such patterns so that factors leading to these differences can be explored and policy responses be developed. If the
progress of groups that suffer discrimination and marginalization is not specifically monitored, those groups will remain excluded—even among the poorest.

Targets and indicators should therefore specifically address the “most disadvantaged groups”. As discrimination manifests itself differently across regions and within countries and groups discriminated against vary by country, the formulation “most disadvantaged groups” is recommended, allowing for national specificity while making global monitoring possible. States would be required to identify the specific groups that will be monitored at the global level through a participatory process. Groups that might be chosen for monitoring include those defined by ethnicity, race, religion, language, or spatially defined groups such as slum-dwellers, residents of specific geographic areas, or other nationally tailored groupings.

- **Address inequalities due to individual status relevant in every country**

Evidence shows that women and girls, older people, persons living with chronic diseases or with disabilities often face particular barriers in accessing water and sanitation, and that these barriers are experienced both within the household and when accessing community and public facilities. Global monitoring data have demonstrated that women and girls shoulder the burden of collecting household water, which restricts their time for other activities, including education, work and rest. Moreover, when households share sanitation facilities, women and girls may be required by social norms on privacy to avoid using the facilities except during hours of darkness, when their personal safety may be at increased risk. When sanitation and water facilities are not designed with them in mind, older persons and those with physical access constraints, including disabilities, may face obstacles to using these facilities. Such discrimination based on sex/gender, age, disability, and health status occurs across the globe and in all strata of society.

Human rights law requires that effective measures be taken to end discriminatory impacts based on sex/gender, disability, age, and health status in all fields and to eliminate inequalities wherever they occur. States are obliged to take measures to enhance equality in all places, both public and private spheres. While human rights law does not require Governments to provide water directly or to build sanitation facilities wherever they are lacking, it does oblige Governments to take steps to ensure that everyone can access these rights without discrimination. In government-run institutions such as primary schools, hospitals, or places of detention, direct provision of services is required.

Much has been learned through questions in household surveys about intra-household inequalities related to water collection. Much less is known about inequalities concerning access to, and use of, sanitation and hygiene, and about intra-household inequalities concerning age and disability. Given that not all households share resources and assets equally
among their members and that some may be relatively more privileged than others, it is imperative to accurately disaggregate intra-household data. There is evidence that intra-household inequality and poverty may disproportionately affect women, persons with disabilities, children and older persons. Targets and indicators should be phrased in a way that requires monitoring of intra-household inequalities. This would shine a powerful light on areas that need change, but remain often invisible.

In addition, it would be valuable to monitor how gender, age, and disability-related inequalities manifest themselves in relation to water, sanitation, and hygiene in public facilities such as schools, health facilities, work places, prisons and other detention centers. Indeed, such inequalities may be even more acute in public spaces, making the collection of data about equality variables especially important.

One particular area where individual inequalities and the lack of attention to women’s and girl’s needs is starkly apparent is menstrual hygiene management. Menstruation is a taboo topic. Women and girls are obliged to hide their menstrual hygiene practices, limit their movements during menstruation and behave furtively. Girls may be taken out of school or workplaces or choose not to attend because there are no facilities for hygienically managing menstruation in sanitation facilities (where they exist). xxxvi

Because menstrual hygiene management has such a strong impact on gender equality, it could be used as a proxy for information about discrimination against women and girls in sanitation and hygiene. Targets and indicators should be crafted to capture the ability of all women and adolescent girls to manage menstruation hygienically and with dignity.

**Conclusion**

Future goals must aim at universal access to water, sanitation and hygiene, while explicitly embracing equality. Aiming at universal access alone would continue to highlight aggregate outcomes without setting incentives to put an end to inequalities. The situation of the most disadvantaged groups would continue to be hidden and neglected. To underscore the intrinsic value of equality as an overriding objective and ensure that the elimination of inequalities will be addressed under all the substantive targets, equality should be a stand-alone goal in the future framework.

Current limitations in measurements or data collection should not deter the international community from committing to a robust set of goals and targets. The boundaries of what is currently perceived as measurable must be pushed precisely to shed light on persistent inequalities.
The future framework should not stop at monitoring income disparities and general notions of inequities, but must seek to detect different types and manifestations of discrimination in order to examine and address the root causes of exclusion. It must aim to ensure social development for all, and at offering strong incentives for effective policy responses at the national level without further delay.

The future agenda must target individuals and groups defined by ethnicity, race, religion, language, caste and other stratifiers or spatially defined groups such as slum-dwellers who often experience discrimination. While the specific groups may vary, patterns of marginalization, exclusion and discrimination are consistent across the world. The groups should therefore be defined through a participatory process at the national level while also enabling global monitoring, which will bring to light their specific situation and serve to effectively ensuring that progress includes them.

The future framework must also address inequalities linked to a person’s individual status such as gender, age, disability or health conditions, including in the area of menstrual hygiene management where gender inequalities and a lack of attention to women’s and girl’s needs is starkly apparent.

To tackle these challenges the future development framework must redefine progress and explicitly include equality, non-discrimination and equity at its foundations. It must set incentives to eliminate inequalities through focusing on the most disadvantaged and measure progress against these targets. Discrimination and inequalities have been, and still are, persistent across the globe: the new agenda must ensure that they become issues of the past.
REFERENCES:

I want to thank OHCHR staff as well as Dr. Inga Winkler, Ms. Virginia Roaf and Ms. Johanna Gusman for their support with preparing this paper.


This deeper understanding was also facilitated by the adoption of the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which gave the opportunity to address misconceptions about economic, social and cultural rights at international and national levels, including in relation to monitoring, accountability and access to remedies.

General Comment No. 20 on non-discrimination in economic, social and cultural rights 2009 (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

See for example article 1.1 of the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, article 1 of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, or article 2 of the Convention of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

General Comment No. 20 on non-discrimination in economic, social and cultural rights 2009 (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights).

Resolution A/64/292 (General Assembly) and Resolution 15/9 (Human Rights Council).

Resolution 65/1, para. 68 (General Assembly).


xxviii A country’s Gini coefficient is between 0 and 100, with 0 indicating perfect income equality and 100 indicating absolute income inequality, meaning a single person would have all the income.


xxxiii WHO and UN-HABITAT. (2010). *Hidden Cities: unmasking and overcoming health inequities in urban settings*.

