E PLURIBUS UNUM

PLURALISM IN PERIL:
CHALLENGES TO AN AMERICAN IDEAL

Report of the Inclusive America Project

January 2018 • Washington, D.C.

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
JUSTICE & SOCIETY
PROGRAM

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Editor

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The ideas and recommendations contained in this report should not be taken as representing the views or carrying the endorsement of the organization with which the author is affiliated. The organizations cited as examples in this report do not necessarily endorse the Inclusive America Project or its aims.

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Voice of America

Khizr and Ghazala Khan, Pakistani Americans, raise their pocket Constitution and speak during the 2016 Democratic National Convention about their son, United States Army Captain Humayun Khan, who was killed in 2004 during the Iraq War.

EXECUTIVE EDITOR'S NOTE

When we began collecting the essays for this book just after the 2016 election, we could not have predicted Charlottesville, the Muslim travel ban, or that the President of the United States would disseminate and amplify Britain First's sickening falsehoods and provocations. There is ample cause for worry. At the same time, for those in the interfaith movement it is a time of hope. Petty quarrels are dissolving in the face of a unifying threat. We are turning more to one another and reflecting on our shared humanity as a counter-narrative to the one of polarization being foisted on us.

If the Inclusive America Project staff had more time, this collection would be double the length. There are gaps, and for those the fault is all mine. We have not included essays from writers of non-Abrahamic faiths, or the growing voice of the "nones" and unaffiliated. We have not been able to delve into the role of social media, the arts, and especially comedy as social forces for both good and ill in this sector. What we hope we have done is to offer some guideposts. We have highlighted best practices, offered some tips for framing arguments, and lifted up the voices of some of the folks working hardest and smartest in this sector. We hope that by 2028, the vision set out in the final section of the book will be far closer than it is today.

Meryl Justin Chertoff
Executive Director
Justice & Society Program | The Aspen Institute
Pluralism in Peril Executive Editor
December 13, 2017

LETTER TO THE READER

Dear Aspen Friends and Partners,

From the days of our founders, American constitutional democracy has been committed to protecting the right of all Americans to practice their faiths in freedom and security. As we head into 2018, we reflect on how easily the blessings of liberty may be lost. The protections of the Constitution, independent courts, and equal justice under the law appear fragile. In times like these, we recognize how essential they are.

I am proud that for the last six years Secretary Madeleine Albright and Professor David Gergen have guided the Inclusive America Project, which addresses recent challenges to this ideal of respect for our diverse faith traditions. With their leadership, the Project's Distinguished Panel and Aspen Institute staff have built a national network that includes many of the most highly qualified experts and advocates in this field.

In 2013, the Inclusive America Project released its first report, *Principled Pluralism*, which examined strategies for managing America's religious diversity in a way that promotes informed respect and social cohesion. This second report goes deeper and examines new challenges religious pluralism faces today and emerging tools. Experts delve into and provide their perspective on a variety of topics, from interfaith allyship to resilience to youth-serving organizations and more.

The Inclusive America Project exemplifies the Aspen Institute's mission to foster values-based leadership and address critical social concerns. Its work will help strengthen our nation's social fabric and increase our resilience in the face of adversity.

As I depart the Institute, I continue to believe these will be defining issues in the years to come. I hope that you will be inspired by what you read here, and will help make religious inclusiveness an individual, community, and national priority.

Walter Isaacson
President and CEO, The Aspen Institute
November 28, 2017

INTRODUCTION

In 2013, the Inclusive America Project, under the guidance of its Distinguished Panel, published *Principled Pluralism: Report of the Inclusive America Project.* Troubled by the rise of Islamophobia, a growing divide between different faiths, and between believers and non-believers (or "nones"), and intrafaith disputes among those of different denominations, we recommended models for bridging difference. We built on the work of Harvard sociologist Robert Putnam, whose scholarship showed that the creation of interpersonal relationships— what he calls the "My Pal Al" phenomenon—reduces not only harmful stereotyping aimed at Al's particular minority group but also against minorities in general. Such relationships reduce "otherization" and normalize diverse experience of faith, culture, and religious heritage. Our focus was exclusively domestic; we left international issues to others. We made recommendations in five areas we believed were critical in building a more inclusive, religiously tolerant America: universities and colleges; youth-serving organizations; the media; religiously affiliated organizations; and government.

Today, we follow up with *Pluralism in Peril: Challenges to an American Ideal.* As the title suggests, the current landscape of our nation has been darkened by stormclouds of hate speech, white nationalist ideology, bias-motivated violence, and rising intolerance. For some, the America of 2018 has changed so dramatically and rapidly that they find it almost unrecognizable. Still, in the years since the last publication, there has been progress in a number of areas. In the series of essays that follow, we celebrate successes, highlight best practices, and provide resources to advocates and community leaders facing the challenges of today.

Essays by Brie Loskota and Sarah Morgenthau look at two important fields of practice that have emerged in the religious pluralism space in just the past decade. Morgenthau, fresh from the United States Department of Homeland Security, looks at resilience. Formerly the province of psychologists in the trauma field, resilience has become an important concept in responding to an array of setbacks; it is particularly important at the community level, as the civic fabric is tested by natural and man-made disasters and attacks. It must be built in minority communities facing discrimination and even violence. It must also grow in communities at large, so that adverse events are handled with courage and fairness, and without the need to create scapegoats or "outsiders." Loskota's essay addresses another emergent field of practice: allyship. As one of the premier practitioners in this area, Loskota has thought long and hard about what is necessary to support minority communities that are under fire, respecting autonomy of the group, offering appropriate technical, legal, and moral support, and working to foster the construction of authentic internal capacity.

The essay by Allison Ralph and Seán Rose returns to a theme that was so important in the 2013 report: education and youth development. After *Principled Pluralism* was published, we went deeper on the topic of youth-serving organizations. Two reports were published on the Ys of the USA and the Boys & Girls Clubs of America, both focusing on how understanding and appreciation of difference along faith lines were being incorporated in Y and BGCA curricula and programming. The authors look at the challenges and opportunities present in the largest youth-serving organizations in the nation, with reach across millions of members in settings that range from military bases to pueblos and tribal lands, city cores to isolated rural towns. Their essay also considers the potential for incorporating curriculum on understanding difference and fostering basic religious literacy in the public schools. Current conditions in the US strongly suggest that the absence of this programming has contributed to rising mistrust and intolerance. Pilot programs and best practice models need funding and support to be sure that the mistakes of the past don't infect today's school-age youth.

In the second and third parts of the report, we've included a series of short essays offering perspectives from various viewpoints. For advocates,

we include some guidance on measuring success, something that is essential to securing funding for this important work. We have also included some notes on pioneers in the philanthropic sector, explaining how they approach field-building in this important, underfunded space. We've asked an expert on extremism to explain the common traits of extremist recruiting across the political spectrum and some of the tools needed to combat it, and a former government official how we can embed those tools into civil society in state, local, and community structures, reconstituting leadership that is now missing at the highest levels of American government. We have asked a conservative thinker to imagine how the party of Lincoln can return to its roots of inclusion. And we've asked for Muslim, Jewish, and conservative Christian perspectives on where we are now, and a vision of where we hope to be. Some of these essays are data-driven; some are personal narrative. Both approaches help build a case for inclusion as an American core value.
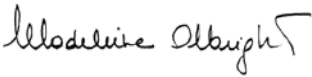
While few in 2013 predicted the rapid rise of white nationalism from the margins of civic discourse, we knew that Islamophobia was growing, and that if harnessed by calculating political actors it had the potential to do damage well beyond the Muslim community. Today, we see the devastating consequences. But since 2013, the networks countering hate have also grown at all levels. The Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council, My Neighbors Keeper, and WISE-UP are among many groups that have emerged to foster interfaith conversation at the leadership level. Community-based organizations like the Sisterhood of Salaam Shalom and the campus-based Interfaith Youth Core have opened chapters across the country, and long dormant Interfaith Councils in cities and towns throughout the US have received new life, with a renewed sense of mission.

Self-story telling has burgeoned as well. Writers and commentators like Eboo Patel, Wajahat Ali, Rabia Chaudhry, and Dean Obeidallah write about the American Muslim experience for general audiences in persuasive, passionate, and relatable terms. Hollywood has moved beyond the stereotypical Muslim terrorist with lovely portrayals like Kumail Nanjiani's *The Big Sick* and Hasan Minhaj on "The Daily Show." As the American Jewish community did before it, American Muslims are deploying humor in particular, to rationalize their experience and counter stereotypes. Hijabi sports heroes and fashion icons are emerging

both here and abroad. Identifiably Muslim actors are included in ads for products like SunMaid Graham Crackers and Coca-Cola, with the refreshing subtext that it is just not a big deal.

This is not to minimize the forces of reaction also at work in the media. Breitbart and other outlets normalize hate speech that formerly was relegated to dark corners of the Web, with anti-Semitic slurs joining anti-Muslim ones in a toxic brew that pushes "otherization" to new levels.

We continue to believe that the most important work building religious pluralism will occur at the local level, through individual citizens in concert with their "Pal Als." That means that thousands of communities must be touched, a daunting prospect. But it also means that beyond expertise, this work requires decency, empathy, appreciative curiosity about difference, and concern for our shared future. We hope that these essays will start you thinking about what you can do to preserve the American ideal of religious pluralism, the value of "e pluribus unum"— out of many, one.

Madeleine Albright   David Gergen   Meryl Justin Chertoff

December 13, 2017

PART 1:
EMERGING FIELDS
OF PRACTICE

Effective Relationship Building to Bridge Faith and Cultural Divides

Brie Loskota

Executive Director, Center for Religion and Civic Culture

From climate change to homelessness, the challenges we face locally and globally are too big for any one entity to address. The idea that government alone can solve complex problems has long been on the wane—so much so that many people today think government cannot solve *any* problem, regardless of its complexity. In reality, effective governance takes collaboration between government agencies, the private sector, and community groups to make progress on social problems, whether large or small.

Those who work in the trenches on social issues understand that, because our future is interdependent, we cannot solve problems by retreating to our bunkers. The language of collaboration—working across differences, breaking down silos, creating cross-sector partnerships, and building bridges—permeates our national culture, from interfaith initiatives and disaster preparedness to economic development and community policing.

Yet, there is also skepticism about collaboration. "Partnership" can be self-serving or perfunctory. In our politically polarized times, we may have deep suspicions about people with different political, religious, or cultural beliefs.

In order to be effective, therefore, partnerships must be relational. They must be based on self-knowledge and self-disclosure, mutual trust and respect, and shared responsibilities and rewards. While this may seem

obvious to those involved in bringing communities together, this kind of bridge-building has not always been a common practice.

Indeed, some skepticism about partnerships is justified. A police department may have a community advisory board, but the community might not see the members of the board as true representatives of the community's interests. An elected official's faith-based advisory council might be more about getting votes than effecting real policies. There is perhaps no more egregious example of this cynical stratagem than the coterie of evangelical advisors surrounding the current president. A "laying on of hands" provides him with the cachet of approval without his having to grapple with the needs of the wider faith community.[1] Even local officials and agencies might look to their community partners for a quick win by getting community support for a particular policy or by rallying a crowd to show up for an important event.

For many government agencies, "bridge building" can become task driven, rooted in a "check the box" mentality. Outreach to community groups is one item on a long to-do list. I have seen a department of public health become focused on handing out X number of flyers, rather than making sure communities really understand the risks of influenza. I have had people come to capacity-building trainings simply because they were referred by a supervisor to go to such a training. Once, a police officer signed up for a training for faith leaders in order to make an announcement and hand out flyers about his event, making no effort to learn something new or develop relationships. It should be no surprise when people do not show up to an event promoted by such a poor representative.

Community groups also suffer from the same instrumentalist approach to partnership. I once came across a very earnest Jewish organization that wanted to promote Jewish-Muslim dialogue, but no Muslims would show up at their events. When I asked a few more questions, I found out that they had not invited Muslims to participate in planning these activities. As a result, the initiative only succeeded in deepening the distrust between the two communities. In this work, it's important to remember the saying, "Never about us without us." While not all of these efforts

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1   Dan Merica and Kevin Liptak, "Trump seen Bowing in Prayer During Oval Office Session," *CNN Politics*, July 13, 2017, cnn.com/2017/07/12/politics/trump-prayer-photo/index.html.

fail, many do because they lack the buy-in of the groups whose engagement is necessary to make the events a success.

Most (but not all) of the time, a real intention to do good and meaningful work motivates the desire for "partnership." However, in many instances, one group—generally the one with less social power or standing—is viewed as a means to an end. The task, or the end, takes precedence rather than the hard work of community-building itself. This view of partnership only looks to short-term goals, and not the larger transformative potential of such work.

While tasks that are immediately at hand are important, the fact remains that effective, long-lasting, and impactful partnership cannot follow a transactional model. Instead, by building ongoing relationships, groups can accomplish their common goals and see their achievements as transformative of the wider community as well as of themselves. A one-off event or an interaction that is tightly circumscribed by transactional interests is less likely to produce this kind of transformation.

The Collective Impact Forum, an initiative of the Foundation Strategy Group and the Aspen Institute Forum for Community Solutions that connects collective impact practitioners with each other, tools, and training, created a spectrum of activities around cross-sector engagement to help groups understand different types of engagement and interactions.[2] One of the Forum's eight principles of practice is to "build a culture that fosters relationships, trust, and respect across participants."[3] Taking this idea a step further, I would argue that fostering relationships is not just one of eight principles, but rather is the foundational principle for engagement and partnership. If sustained relationship-building and trust are not present, little other work can be done.

In Los Angeles, for example, the University of Southern California Center for Religion and Civic Culture led an initiative for federal and city governments, along with local faith communities, to create a cross-sector network focused on emergency management, using a relational

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2   Collective Impact Forum, "Community Engagement Toolkit" (2017), collectiveimpactforum.org/resources/community-engagement-toolkit.

3   Collective Impact Forum, "Collective Impact Principles of Practice" (2016), collectiveimpactforum.org/resources/collective-impact-principles-practice.

approach. Because of the relationships developed through the Emergency Management Faith Community Roundtable, Los Angeles has a preparedness and response system in which information can reach vulnerable communities during a disaster and through which faith communities have the capacity and knowledge to respond and recover in a coordinated and effective manner. In a ceremony at the White House in September 2016, the Federal Emergency Management Agency's Building Resilience with Diverse Communities program honored CRCC's work to catalyze and coordinate groups of responders who had previously operated in isolation from one another.

How did we create such a partnership? In lecturing at the USC Price School of Public Policy's Safe Communities Institute, a training program for public safety professionals, I described the process for building successful relationships as a pyramid (see figure 1). At the base of this pyramid is the personal, upon which sit the relational and the shared components of community partnership.

Figure 1

Foundations of Successful Community Partnership

Shared Praise
Shared Responsibility
Shared Benefit
Mutual Trust
Mutual Respect
Mutual Knowledge
Self Articulation
Self Knowledge

The Personal Phase

Self-knowledge is the first phase of community partnership, though it may seem counter-intuitive that partnership begins introspectively. Warren Bennis, a USC professor and an internationally regarded expert on leadership, notes that leadership is a function

of knowing yourself, having a vision that is well communicated, building trust among your colleagues, and taking effective action to realize your own leadership potential.[4] People engaged in the partnership process need a clear understanding of themselves, their strengths, weaknesses, and working style.

Self-articulation or self-disclosure is the next component of the personal work necessary to lay the foundation for relational partnership. This involves being able to paint a picture that explains your values, roles, skills, and potential contributions to the process. It is the "why" that animates your work. This need for self-disclosure is especially acute when members of groups who have historically been at odds with each other are interacting. Marshall Ganz of Harvard University often advises leaders that if they are not being clear about their own stories, others will create a story about the leaders for themselves, and it is not the same story that the leaders would tell on their own behalf. As Hannah Arendt notes in *The Human Condition*, "Men in plural … can experience meaningfulness only because they can talk with and make sense to each other and themselves."[5]

In the context of the emergency preparedness interfaith roundtable I helped found in 2012, faith leaders needed to know themselves and their communities in order to understand how they could contribute to the safety of the entire city in an emergency. There are many areas in which an individual can plug into an emergency management system. Indeed, some people involved in the LA roundtable have trained to fill leadership roles in the city's response to disaster, while others trained to become chaplains and still others volunteered their congregations' parking lots as response sites. As I've learned through my work in emergency preparedness, the community is often considered a liability that acts and reacts outside the bounds and controls of government oversight. But through self-knowledge and articulation, individuals and groups can understand that they have assets and be empowered to use them, and use them collaboratively in ways that benefit the whole system.

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4   For a fuller account of Bennis's work on leadership, see Warren Bennis and Joan Goldsmith, *Learning to Lead: A Workbook on Becoming a Leader* (Reading, MA: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1994).

5   Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 4.

Humility is key in this phase. Useful knowledge can come from anywhere and should be respected wherever it arises.

The Mutual Phase

This phase of relational development is about building the relationship itself. In this era of great religious and cultural flux, institutional leaders often wield far less authority in shrinking spheres of influence. It can no longer be taken for granted that anyone's position or title will accord them trust or respect. When somebody tries to coerce action out of others, the relationship suffers, as do the outcomes. Instead, trust and respect must be cultivated and earned by all stakeholders in today's collaborations and partnerships.

A disposition of curiosity can help develop this sense of mutuality. NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change started in Los Angeles after several previous attempts at dialogue and engagement failed or fizzled out. In an interview for the public radio program "On Being" by Krista Tippett, NewGround's co-facilitators noted the importance of centering curiosity as a way to enter into difficult discussions, like on Israel-Palestine. "It's a common-sense idea: when going into a situation of existing conflict, one's assumptions are likely to continue feeding that conflict. But curiosity—about other religious traditions, other ways of living, alternative ways of seeing the world—has the potential to span seemingly unbridgeable gaps."[6]

Mutual knowledge: This form of interaction includes sharing personal and professional information about oneself. It also involves attentive listening to those details about another party. The quality of the self-disclosure and the quality of the listening to another party's self-disclosure are paramount and will have an impact on the subsequent levels. This process is especially important for parties where there is some identity-based, values-based, or historical tension to overcome. It allows for space for others to understand an individual's beliefs and priorities. This phase is not about arriving at agreement but about cultivating appreciation for another's experience and point of view.

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6   On Being, "Curiosity Over Assumptions," *OnBeing.org*, September 29, 2009, onbeing.org/blog/curiosity-over-assumptions.

Even if this openness does not come naturally to some of those who are involved in the process, interpersonal skills such as active listening, conflict transformation, and communication can be developed.

Mutual respect: Respect enables parties who have dramatic differences to operate with mutual good will and to ensure that all stakeholders are treated as equally valuable contributors to an effort that supports mutually beneficial ends. Again, respect is decreasingly a default norm, especially as titles and positions are treated with greater suspicion. Mutual respect creates the basis for dialogue that enables multiple parties to benefit from the unique skills and perspectives that each offers.

Mutual trust: Trust transcends respect and enables parties with considerable differences to bring those tensions into the open for inquiry and interrogation in a manner that will be candid and free from danger. Trust is both given and earned, requiring a leap of faith that the other party will do the same. Trust is critical in that it counteracts the fears inherent in partnership with "others," while also working to facilitate some of the more banal operational issues of collaboration. Trust is reinforced when partners in relationships are accountable to each other. For example, when commitments are made, are they followed through on? When the parties are working with others, do they accurately represent the partnership/relationship to outsiders? When missteps and mistakes happen, are they resolved adequately? If mutual accountability is not maintained, the relationship is a weak container—it can hold a small amount of tension or difficulty, but is quickly broken as challenges grow in scope and scale.

Successful partnerships offer ongoing occasions to develop mutual knowledge, respect, and trust. The Los Angeles Faith Community Roundtable convened quarterly for shared learning opportunities that included tabletop exercises that simulated what might happen in a disaster. A small but poignant example of mutual knowledge leading to greater trust and respect came from a tabletop exercise about responding to a power outage. Before we began, one of the women disclosed that her husband had died as a result of a power outage. He had a medical condition that required uninterrupted electrical power, and emergency services could not get to him during the outage. She trusted that we would respect her experience and, in turn, she received affirmation and feelings of support. Her

ability to be vulnerable and share with the group also made the exercise more meaningful and gave us a sense of gratitude to be able to be involved in such important work. In my trainings with a diverse array of community leaders in a wide range of settings, I have learned that this fundamental experience of trust is the *sine qua non* of effective organizing. A power outage has never seemed trivial to me since then.

The Shared Phase

It might be tempting to talk about equality within partnerships, but I intentionally use the word "shared" rather than "equal" in this phase because often the parties working together exist in an unequal environment. They have different social, political, and other forms of capital to leverage. While equality is a laudable goal, reaching it will remain elusive so long as inequality exists in the larger social context. Emphasizing the shared rather than equal nature of this phase circumvents fruitless exercises in score-keeping and instead cultivates a disposition of gratitude. Emergency management personnel who work with diverse communities have a saying that they can "ask but not task." Parties cannot be compelled to work together, nor can they be coerced into partnership or relationship.

Shared benefit: In order to build a joint project, it is critical to articulate and negotiate how all parties will benefit from the effort. This strategy helps avoid feelings of exploitation. The CCRC was approached to partner on a proposal for a government-funded project to study diabetes in low- to moderate-income African American neighborhoods. Through the course of the project plan it became clear that the study would not provide any benefits to the communities involved. Najuma Smith-Pollard, the program manager who oversees work at the Center in these communities, asked, "How can I ask people to participate in a project where they will see no improvement in their illness? I can't invite them to participate in something that leaves them sick." The project proposal was thus redesigned so that the participants would receive treatment. The shared benefit is clear in emergency management: if we work together to create a robust response system, then the lives of the people we care about will be protected.

Shared responsibility: Each party needs to share in the planning and execution of activities in a way that fits their skills, resources, and constraints. Hurricane Katrina illustrates the tragic consequences that follow when this step is neglected. At a tabletop exercise before the storm, emergency managers determined that faith communities would handle the evacuation of low-income residences. But faith communities lacked the resources to take on such a responsibility and noted this deficit to emergency management personnel. The plans proceeded, however, with this assumption, and thousands were left behind.

It is a great credit to the city and federal agencies involved in Los Angeles' faith roundtable that they not only invited faith leaders to sit at the table, but also have actively sought their partnership in the larger planning and response activities of the city. Los Angeles has not experienced a disaster on the order of Hurricane Katrina since the civil unrest that followed the 1992 acquittal of police officers involved in the Rodney King beating and the 1994 Northridge earthquake, only smaller scale challenges like the 2017 La Tuna Canyon fire. But because our current preparedness and resilience strategies are keenly informed by the lessons of those events, it is reasonable to suppose that the partnerships we have helped to cultivate among civic leaders, faith-based groups, and other stakeholders will serve Greater Los Angeles well when the next inevitable challenge arises. The ubiquity of nearby natural disasters like the Sonoma County fires serve as a constant reminder of the need to remain prepared.

Shared praise: When something is successful, the success accrues to the parties involved in a way that contributes to strengthening the relational aspects of their interaction.

When the Department of Homeland Security recognized the LA roundtable for its work at the 2016 FEMA Building Resilience with Diverse Communities awards, a diverse contingent of roundtable members—representing city agencies as well as Jewish, Black church, Catholic, and Sikh communities, among others—traveled to Washington to receive the commendation. The group, which meets quarterly, takes great pride in its ongoing work, which in turn strengthens the group's commitment to that work and to each group member.

Sharing benefits, responsibilities, and praise creates an environment of relational reciprocity. Future activity is enabled, the barriers to collaboration are lowered, and partners can more quickly move to maximize impact. And in an environment of relational reciprocity, parties have an ongoing commitment to mutuality. Knowledge is continually renewed, shared, and appreciated; respect grows; and trust is maintained while the partners build their capacities.

Now is the time to start building relational partnerships. The truism of disaster work, whether a large-scale natural disaster or a small-scale community crisis, is that a disaster is the worst occasion to exchange business cards. Yet groups rarely put in the time and effort necessary to bridge the divides that separate them until such an event happens. It is in the aftermath of disasters that groups have the important realization that working separately is untenable. And it is critical that groups realize that building relational partnerships before crisis occurs is the most important predictor of a community's ability to navigate and recover from any event that threatens social stability and flourishing.

William "Fitz" Fitzpatrick/United States Institute of Peace

Author Brie Loskota meeting with the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala, November, 2017.

Religious Literacy and Inclusion in Education Settings and Youth-Serving Organizations: Opportunities to Grow the Field

Allison K. Ralph
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Seán Rose
Independent Educator and Dialogue Facilitator

Introduction

A functioning democracy must have the effective participation of its members. In the introductory chapter to *Crossing Borders, Drawing Boundaries: The Rhetoric of Lines across America,* Barbara Couture and Patti Wojahn identify three core guidelines to ensure this participation: "first, a charitable perspective in which speakers assume that all others intend to make sense; second, a generous acknowledgment of bodily difference that averts dismissing the ways, needs, and speech of others; and finally, unreserved openness to others that goes beyond mere tolerance of those who share our societal space."[1]

To promote the ability of all to participate effectively in our democracy, we suggest encouraging civil conversations about difficult subjects, literacy about our differences and commonalities, and a genuine curiosity and

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1   Barbara Couture and Patti Wojahn, "Democratic Discourse and Lines across America," in *Crossing Borders, Drawing Boundaries: The Rhetoric of Lines across America*, ed. Barbara Couture and Patti Wojahn (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2016), 3–25, here 7.

charity toward others, in which everyone assumes that others intend to make sense. In particular, along with the American Academy of Religion, we suggest that "illiteracy regarding religion 1) is widespread, [and] 2) fuels prejudice and antagonism," and that this prejudice and antagonism are some of the greatest threats to our nation.[2] The organizations that have the biggest impact on the lives of youth, and therefore the biggest opportunity for change, are public and private education institutions and Youth-Serving Organizations, also referred to as Youth Development Organizations or simply youth organizations. Teaching about religion and engaging youth in religious literacy programs in public and private schools and YSOs can diminish that illiteracy and the prejudice that attends it, so long as it is done using the non-devotional, academic perspective called religious studies.

This essay explores the current and future potential of public and private schools and youth organizations to engage intentionally with religious pluralism and diversity in order to build strong and resilient communities and a functioning democratic process.

Specifically, it looks at best practice examples and lessons learned for creating safe environments for marginalized ethnic and religious minorities. It is informed by interviews with national and local staff, supplemented by independent research and interpretation. It is not intended to be exhaustive or comprehensive, but to highlight some examples of promising practice and innovative work to inform and inspire both sectors. Furthermore, it aims to suggest which program areas may be best positioned to be scaled-up and expanded to broaden and deepen their effectiveness. Perhaps the most consistent theme is the need to "teach the teachers" in all settings about how to raise competency levels for engaging religious diversity.

Public and Private K–12 Schools

Public schools have a terrific opportunity to engage in addressing diversity and in teaching religious literacy. As of fall 2017, 50.7 million students

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2   American Academy of Religion, "Teaching About Religion: AAR Guidelines for K–12 Public Schools" (2010), 1, aarweb.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/Publications/epublications/AARK-12CurriculumGuidelines.pdf.

are attending public preK–12 education in the United States. Another 5.2 million students are enrolled in private elementary and secondary schools.[3] No other institution or set of institutions has such broad reach to American youth, and therefore as much opportunity to address religious literacy. There are many approaches to ensuring appropriate teaching about religious literacy, including ensuring diversity of faculty and staff, but those larger issues of diversity and public education lie outside the scope of this essay. Here we focus on curricula and teacher education. One common issue is that there is hesitancy to approach the topic of religious literacy in public education because of concerns about the constitutionality and potential discomfort of teaching religious literacy in a public setting. However, there are resources and organizations that address these concerns (see the resources section at the end of this essay).

Guidelines for Constitutionality

The Anti-Defamation League and the American Academy of Religion have both put out guidelines for teaching about religion in public schools. Although these guidelines were developed specifically for public institutions, they also provide a set of best practices on teaching about religion and crafting safe spaces for religious diversity that may be used in public, private, or YSO environments. The AAR guidelines are an extensive resource, providing an overview of the constitutional limits, as well as an introduction to the pedagogical approaches to teaching about religion.

The ADL's guidelines are significantly shorter and more accessible, offering an overview of what is constitutional in teaching about religion and how to avoid some of the potential pitfalls. This resource also offers a few helpful situational examples and appropriate responses.

Both resources offer support to those public and private K–12 institutions that are willing to take the opportunity to engage intentionally with religious pluralism and diversity in order to build strong and resilient communities for a functioning democracy.

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3   National Center for Education Statistics, "Fast Facts" (2017), nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=372.

Teaching the Teachers

One of the greatest challenges of offering instruction about religion in America's classrooms (or in any environment) is a lack of religious literacy and preparedness with religious-studies-specific pedagogies on the part of the teachers themselves. Although there are some helpful examples in both sets of guidelines mentioned previously, even these resources suggest that educators seek other opportunities for training. The set of examples here is only representative. There are many more local efforts around the nation.

There are a few projects that have aimed to address the lack of facility with teaching about religion. The Hartford Teacher Education Project ran from 2013–2016, and was led by Professor Diane Moore of Harvard Divinity School's Religious Literacy Project. The Hartford Teacher Education Project gathered a total of forty middle and secondary school teachers from the public schools of the greater Hartford, Connecticut area for five-day workshops in which they learned the RLP method of understanding and teaching religion.[4] Teachers of a variety of subject areas took the workshop and were able to apply their learnings to the subjects and lessons they were already teaching, and the response was overwhelmingly positive. As one participant said, "How could you teach history without religion? Could you teach it without government, without economics; could you teach it without geography?" The Superintendent of West Hartford summed up his response to the program: "The biggest lesson is we can't be afraid to teach; we can't be afraid to lift the veil of ignorance." After only the first year of the program, over a thousand students had been impacted by the changed methodology of their teachers, and participants felt their students "had a richer, deeper, more honest and more personally engaged encounter with the central role … of religion in social, cultural, and political history and current events."[5]

According to senior staff, the RLP is now taking the lessons of the four-year HTEP program and developing a continuing education program

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4   Religious Literacy Project, "Religious Literacy Project: The Greater Hartford Teacher Education Initiative" (2015), youtube.com/watch?v=dbibXccc0Hg&feature=youtu.be.

5   David Roozen, "Two Summative Comments," Hartford Institute for Religion Research (2013). Available by request from Dr. Diane Moore at RLP.

to include webinars, in-person seminars, and hybrid online/in-person opportunities. The revised program is set to become available in the next year and will offers an excellent opportunity for individual teachers to improve their skill sets, and for administrators to encourage participation.

Another resource for educators is the training and pedagogy developed for teachers by the Tanenbaum Center for Religious Understanding. In partnership with the Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance program, Tanenbaum has developed the Seven Principles for Inclusive Education pedagogy, and a set of trainings and curricula to accompany the pedagogy.[6] The brilliance of the Seven Principles pedagogy is that it might be used in any learning environment, public, private, or YSO. Although the Seven Principles pedagogy is designed to account for diversity in all forms, teaching and learning about cultures and religions is written directly into the principles. Including teaching about religion in the pedagogy itself encourages teachers to approach a topic with which they might be uncomfortable, whether that be from fears of unconstitutionality or a simple lack of knowledge about religion. Mark Fowler, Deputy Chief Executive Officer of Tanenbaum, notes that, "By not talking about religion, we keep it as an unsafe topic, and we give people permission not to address it." Tanenbaum's own assessment shows teachers reporting that, after the teacher training, they were better able to inform their students and their students' behaviors changed positively. Although the program is focused exclusively on teacher training and does not interact directly with students, there is a great opportunity to discover more about the effectiveness of the pedagogy and training, and refine the program, by administering before and after surveys to the students themselves. A student religious literacy assessment already exists, developed by New York University's Faith Zone program, and published in the new book *Teaching Religious Literacy*.[7] This or a similar metric could be used to collect data.

The John L. Loeb, Jr. Institute for Religious Freedom at the George Washington University and the Ashbrook Center at Ashland University

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6   Tanenbaum, "The Seven Principles for Inclusive Education" (2015), tanenbaum.org/programs/education/tanenbaums-pedagogy/; Tanenbaum, "Education Trainings" (2017), tanenbaum.org/programs/education/education-trainings.

7   Ariel Ennis, *Teaching Religious Literacy: A Guide to Religious and Spiritual Diversity in Higher Education*, (London; Routledge, 2017), Chp. 2, online.vitalsource.com/#/books/9781351796767.

have put together an initiative for teacher training. In the summer of 2017, the partnership offered a continuing education colloquium, *Religious Freedom in America: Historical Sources and Contemporary Issues*, addressing the history of religious freedom in the US. The offering included in-depth lessons on the early development of religious freedom in US history, the Free Exercise Clause of the Constitution and how it has been tested in the courts, and Islamic perspectives on religious freedom. Each session was grounded in primary historical sources, modeling the source-based teaching that is best suited to learning the context and issues of American religious pluralism. The participants now have a better understanding of the history and sources to share with their own students. The seminar is set to be repeated again in summer 2018. We hope to see this program continue or become a model for other programs, as it offers yet an additional model for teachers seeking to understand the history of American pluralism.

Curricula and Workshops for Use in the Classroom

There are a few available curricula specifically designed to teach religious literacy. Tanenbaum has developed several curricula for K–6 classrooms, as well as one for high school students.[8] These curricula all have some focus on religious diversity and are a ready resource for teachers in grade school or high school classrooms. Like Tanenbaum's teacher training materials, these resources and their implementation could be improved by careful study of their effectiveness on shaping or changing views on religious diversity. However, they remain an excellent resource.

New York University's Office of Global Spiritual Life has recently published their own curriculum for its acclaimed workshops.[9] The workshops are designed for college campuses, but senior staff note that the program has been run several times with high school students with very positive results. Although there may be aspects of the training that could be further adapted to high school settings, they are confident that the basic concepts and structure of the workshops translate to the younger cohort. Additionally, the Faith Zone workshops need not be fit directly into a

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8   Tanenbaum, "Curricula for Educators" (2017), tanenbaum.org/programs/education/curricula_for_educators.

9   Ennis, *Teaching Religious Literacy*.

classroom. They also could be very useful for high school extracurricular clubs, especially those focused on interfaith engagement, diversity, and service. While we hope that in the longer term religious literacy education becomes fully integrated into the education system, early use of the examples mentioned above in extracurricular clubs may be a good first entry point for schools and districts interested in supporting religious literacy education but concerned about constitutionality in required education.

NYU Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership

Gathering at the NYU Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership, part of the NYU Office of Global Spiritual Life, which developed the Faith Zone training.

The Current State of Religious Literacy Education in Public Schools

There is at this time little information about what is taught about religion in public school systems across the country. Professor Moore at the Religious Literacy Project is currently running an effort to map the teaching of religious studies in American K–12 public schools. The project began in the summer of 2015, and looks forward to releasing its first set of data on religious studies in secondary schools in spring 2018. Its organizers hope to follow up with studies of effectiveness of various curricula. The data, once in, will allow the development of more comprehensive curricula certainly, and will also allow YSOs to tailor their trainings and programs

on diversity and religious pluralism to more precisely serve the youth in local communities, because educators will know more about what sort of education their young constituents already have.

Youth-Serving Organizations

Youth-serving organizations have their own role in diversity and religious literacy education, and are suited to that work in a different way than are public education institutions.

YSOs play a unique and pivotal role in fostering and nurturing character development, civic engagement, and resilient communities among and between young people, their families, and broader society. Religious literacy education should be an integral part of that development.

Why Youth-Serving Organizations?

With local chapters, associations, and groups in urban, suburban, and rural settings across the country, YSOs have almost unparalleled reach in diverse communities throughout the United States. The YMCA of the USA, formed in 1851, engages 9 million youth (and 13 million adults) each year, across 2,700 YMCAs in 10,000 communities;[10] 4-H, founded circa 1902, counts almost 6 million youth aged 5–21 as members, supported by 500,000 volunteers;[11] the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, founded in 1906 with roots dating back to 1860, serves over 4 million youth annually through over 4,000 autonomous local clubs.[12] Together these organizations, along with others including the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts of the USA and Camp Fire, serve millions of youth each year. Tens of millions of individuals are alumni of their programs, some of whom remain engaged as volunteers, group leaders, and staff; 4-H alone has 25 million alumni.

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10 YMCA, "the Y: Organizational Profile" (2017), ymca.net/organizational-profile.

11 4-H, "What is 4-H?" (2017), 4-h.org/about/what-is-4-h.

12 Boys & Girls Clubs of America, "Our Mission & Story" (2017), bgca.org/about-us/our-mission-story.

The Boys & Girls Clubs of America

History and Organizational Structure

The Boys & Girls Clubs of America had its beginnings in 1860 in Hartford, Connecticut. Character development and a focus on personal goals were the cornerstones of this first Club, and remain essential elements of today's Clubs. Several Clubs decided to affiliate in 1906, and this was the beginning of the national organization. The Boys Clubs of America was renamed the Boys & Girls Clubs of America in 1990. Each local Club is an independent 501(c)3 organization with a chartered relationship with headquarters. This charter helps to maintain standards of quality and safety, while giving Clubs autonomy and freedom to design and implement programs that best meet the needs of their own users in their own local context.

Diversity and Inclusion

BGCA's stated mission is to "enable all young people, especially those who need us most, to reach their full potential as productive, caring, responsible citizens."[13] BGCA has a strong presence across urban, suburban, and rural settings, including American Indian tribal reservations and surrounding communities, with 30% of Clubs co-located in schools. Programs are typically offered at low- or no-cost. Many of the communities served by Clubs are high-need, with large populations of at-risk youth. Inclusion is a fundamental tenet of BGCA philosophy and practice, with all local clubs striving to serve youth regardless of income, race, religion, or status. As one senior staff member says, "Clubs' doors are open to all" and "inclusion is the bedrock on which all our programs are founded." Inclusion is one of the five core values of the organization, under the umbrella of "Respect."[14]

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13 Boys & Girls Clubs of America, "Our Mission & Story" (2017), bgca.org/about-us/our-mission-story.

14 Boys & Girls Clubs of America, "Values" (2017), bgca.org/about-us/careers/values.

Local Clubs

Because of the autonomy inherent in the chartered relationship between the national organization and a local Club, each Club will approach the task of meeting the various needs of its local community differently. For some Clubs, it is a priority for materials to always be bilingual or available in multiple languages to ensure parental buy-in and understanding. In communities that have hosted significant refugee resettlement efforts in recent years, some Clubs are focused on outreach and relationship-building with recently-arrived populations, seeking to ensure that they continue to serve and understand the broad needs of the wider community.

The national organization attempts to be responsive to the needs and priorities identified locally by Clubs. The experiences, struggles, and emerging priorities of local Clubs can galvanize and inform the national organization, which responds with support and resources to engage locally. Resources are "translated" or interpreted for specific, distinct local implementation. It is an iterative process, with local Clubs and national priorities informing and responding to each other in an ongoing cycle of feedback and development. This means that it can take years for issues and questions around diversity and inclusion that emerge on a local level to become recognized as national priorities. Staff interviewed for this essay indicated that issues of religious diversity and inclusion are not currently seen as pressing or prominent on a national level, with other issues being identified by some local Clubs as more urgent or relevant to their day-to-day work.

Youth for Unity

Youth for Unity was developed and launched by BGCA in 2005–2006 as the hallmark program of their diversity initiatives. It is still in use by many local Clubs, although it is not promoted and supported as actively as when it launched a decade ago, and information is not easily accessible on the national BGCA website. Youth for Unity aims to promote and celebrate diversity—including but not limited to religious and cultural diversity—while combating prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination. It includes age-appropriate programming for youth, teens, and parents, such as interactive diversity activity kits, training and resources for Club professionals, and a leadership awards program. It is intended to recog-

nize that to navigate an increasingly diverse nation, young people and their leaders need both knowledge and skills to thrive. Specifically, it aims to build capacity for members to appreciate themselves as unique individuals, understand society's diversity, recognize bias and unfairness, and take personal leadership in confronting bias.[15]

There could be a great appetite for an updated version of the Youth for Unity program that draws on more contemporary issues and experiences, and gives youth concrete opportunities to put their knowledge and skills into practice, for example through resource toolkits to equip Club leaders to run intergroup service learning programs with intentional opportunities for reflection. An updated program could also make use of recent technological developments, for example by connecting youth in homogenous areas to those in more diverse areas through low-cost video-conference-based dialogue (see the resources section at end of this essay).

Boys & Girls Club of Skagit County

Youth for Unity event at the Boys & Girls Club of Skagit County, Washington. Youth for Unity provides youth and parents with the groundwork that will help them better understand diversity and combat prejudice, bigotry, and discrimination.

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15 Boys & Girls Club of Burbank & Greater East Valley, "Youth for Unity" (2014), bgcburbank.org/news-updates/healthandlifeskills/youth-for-unity.aspx.

Current Priorities

National staff interviewed in spring 2017 indicated that issues around religious and minority ethnic inclusion were not often related to them by local Clubs, and that consequently this is not currently a priority area. Two current priorities for diversity and inclusion across the BGCA network are full inclusion of youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer, and youth with disabilities. Because of the decentralized relationship between the national organization and local Clubs, national priorities are typically responsive to the needs and emerging questions of local organizations.

It should be noted that the senior staff member who spearheaded previous collaborative work between BGCA and the Aspen Institute as Vice President for Diversity passed away in 2016. His strong personal commitment to promoting religious diversity and inclusion provided much of the necessary thrust and momentum to build support and enthusiasm within the organization, and his loss is a reminder of the importance of nurturing senior staff to champion this issue.

Because BGCA has prioritized LGBTQ and disabled club members for specific inclusion efforts, it is clear that the will to make organization-wide commitments does exist. The organizational response to these current priorities may serve as a model for how religious diversity and inclusion could also be emphasized. For LGBTQ matters, it was essential to reach a critical mass of grassroots support with a large number of local Clubs repeatedly reporting that they needed support to feel confident providing inclusive and accessible programming. BGCA National consulted in-depth with a handful of well-established organizations in determining possible approaches to an LGBTQ toolkit before creating their own, which draws on but is distinct from existing offerings. However, given that religion and religious diversity can be a taboo subject for civil discussion in the mainstream, waiting for local Clubs to raise the issue may be counter-productive. We suggest a more proactive approach to get ahead of issues that cultural sensitivities may hide but which are nonetheless real. Potential organizational partners already exist, along with available resources and curricula that could be utilized to approach the issue of religious diversity.

An Intersectional Approach

BGCA strives to be an advocate for all young people and to provide high-quality, safe, inclusive spaces for all. One reason why religious inclusion may not yet have appeared as a national priority is that Clubs typically understand the needs of their members and wider community on an intersectional level, with religious diversity being one key part of the broader experience. One senior staff member explained that many Clubs today are working with "communities in transition," i.e., communities that are experiencing rapidly shifting demographics and population changes due to immigration, refugee resettlement, and broader socioeconomic forces. As such, navigating religious diversity and ensuring the full and active participation of those from minority ethnic and religious groups includes consideration of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity. It often goes hand-in-hand with broader efforts by local Clubs to ensure the full inclusion of youth in foster care, those for whom English is not a first language, and first- and second-generation immigrants. As local Clubs continue to see religious and ethnic minority identities becoming more visible in the populations they serve, and see a growing need to respond positively and proactively on a local level to the impacts of negative and divisive narratives about religious minority groups in the national political conversation, Clubs may begin to seek further support and resources from the national organization. There may be other opportunities to create pilot programs specifically addressing these issues by partnering with local funders. Such pilot programs, if successful, would then offer an opportunity for scaling on the national platform.

4-H

History and Organizational Structure

4-H is one of America's largest youth development organizations, with almost 6 million youth participating in programs annually. Its history is rooted in numerous localized opportunities for rural youth to engage in self-development in the 1850s, in the politically and socially tumultuous period immediately prior to the American Civil War. Around 1902, youth programs began to develop out of a desire to make better connections between public school education and rural life. These historical programs

are seen as foundational to the national 4-H organization, formed in 1914. The name is a reference to the four Hs of the organization's original motto: "head, heart, hands, and health." Of the almost 6 million youth participants who engage in 4-H's work annually, a majority are in rural areas (2.6 million), although the organization also has strong reach in urban (1.8 million) and suburban (1.6 million) communities. The mission of 4-H is to "engage youth in reaching their fullest potential while advancing the field of youth development." Of the three YSOs this essay describes, only 4-H is a governmental organization. 4-H is delivered by Cooperative Extension, a division of the US Department of Agriculture, which is a community of over 100 public universities that facilitate 4-H through in-school and after-school programs, school and community clubs, and 4-H camps. There are currently approximately 90,000 4-H clubs. Though typically thought of as an agriculturally focused and rural-based organization, 4-H today focuses on citizenship, healthy living, and STEM programs (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics).[16]

Strategic Direction

4-H has a number of national programs and initiatives around diversity and inclusion that are implemented differently at state and local levels. Three elements of the national organization's strategic direction through 2025 include goals specifically related to diversity and inclusion. The Power of Youth includes goals to incorporate youth culture into program design and delivery, and to extend existing opportunities to more diverse youth; Access, Equity, and Opportunity includes goals for all 4-H programs to be culturally relevant and for staff skill sets to be developed to reach additional youth; and Exceptional People, Innovative Practices aims to have professional staff and a volunteer workforce that reflect each state's population and demographics, new strategies for staff diversity and training, and youth development research to embody an inclusive approach.[17] It is intended that progress towards these directions and goals be supported by robust, innovative, and culturally relevant curricular resources and training.

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16 4-H, "4-H Youth Programs at a Glance" (2017), 4-h.org/parents/programs-at-a-glance.

17 4-H, "National 4-H Strategic Plan 2017" (2017), nifa.usda.gov/sites/default/files/resources/National%204-H%20Strategic%20Plan%202017.pdf.

WeConnect: A Global Youth Citizenship Curriculum

WeConnect is a curriculum developed by the University of Minnesota in 2014.[18] Designed to be used with middle school youth (ages 11–14), it can be adapted to suit both younger and older age groups, and its format has been successfully used in afterschool settings, clubs, camps, and cultural exchanges. The curriculum includes twenty lessons, organized in four sections: exploring, stretching, challenging, and connecting. It is designed to prepare youth to thrive in a culturally diverse world, through inspiring understanding and confidence in relating and connecting to other people. WeConnect includes lessons that unpack and explore the interconnection of fear, identity, and diversity; stereotypes and marginalization; ways to challenge assumptions and generalizations; and interdependence. It encourages youth to think critically, communicate effectively, reflect on their own self-identity, and engage in meaningful, positive action in the wider world. One of the strengths of this curriculum is that it explores the skills and dispositions that are necessary for young people to engage confidently and positively with both their own identity and the identities of others from diverse backgrounds. While it does not emphasize language particular to "religious diversity," it provides a solid foundation of cultural awareness on which to potentially build religious literacy. The curriculum, which is used by 4-H groups across the country, is available to other YSOs for use in their contexts, and from July 2017 has begun to be used across Canada as well. National distribution and easy online access are important elements of making this resource accessible and widely used.

Diversity: The Source of Our Strength

Diversity: The Source of Our Strength is a member-directed curriculum used by 4-H. It was developed by the Ohio State University Extension in 2014.[19] Through this project, youth explore the many forms diversity takes in our daily lives, with eight activities based on an experiential learning model. This curriculum is aimed at teens, particularly those

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18 J. A. Skuza and J. P. Russo, "WeConnect: A Global Youth Citizenship Curriculum" (2014), 4-hmall.org/curriculum/WeConnect_Curriculum_LOOK%20INSIDE.pdf.

19 Ohio State University, "Diversity: The Source of Our Strength" (2014), 4-hmall.org/curriculum/Look-Inside/BC/Diversity/4H372_LookInside.pdf.

with some leadership experience. Activities include Defining Diversity, Connecting with Others, and Understanding Religious Diversity. A final Capstone Project encourages youth to put their learning into practice in a creative format. It aims to foster and nurture young people's empathy towards those of different religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, helping them to see life from various perspectives. This curriculum is also distributed and followed nationally.

Other Curricular Resources

Resources from other organizations have influenced and informed 4-H's own materials and approach to diversity and inclusion. In Minnesota, the ADL's A World of Difference anti-bias education program and various resources from the Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance program described previously have influenced staff development. Culture Matters, a cross-cultural workbook published by the Peace Corps in 1997, has been inspirational in the development of resources including WeConnect. Across the 4-H network, there is enthusiasm to engage young people proactively and positively in learning about and experiencing diversity in many forms, including religious diversity. Furthermore, there is a clear willingness to learn from and build relationships with organizations and programs that are thought-leaders around religious diversity and inclusion, such as the ADL, Facing History and Ourselves, and Teaching Tolerance.

Representation

Corresponding with national strategic priorities around diversity and inclusion, many state-level 4-H groups have set themselves even more ambitious goals. 4-H Minnesota has a strategic goal that the members of every local program across the state, which includes 87 counties and 11 American Indian tribal communities, reflect and represent its local community by 2019. Thus, a county including 14% Latino population will run programs with 14% Latino membership.

This intentionality around representation extends to the recruitment of professional staff and volunteers. With the support of its dean, 4-H Minnesota has hired two members of the local tribal community, a full-time Somali-American staff member, and other part-time staff who

reflect the makeup of the community. There is a willingness and openness to critically examine whether leadership and staff reflect the shifting demographics of the community they serve, and strong support for taking proactive measures to ensure better representation. 4-H Minnesota has seen significant program growth as a result. There has been an increase in the number of 4-H Clubs across the state, and increased programming with immigrant, refugee, African-American, and Latino communities. More youth from more diverse backgrounds are now being served by more programs.

Rootedness

4-H leadership knows that for 4-H programs to endure, it is important to build a diverse volunteer infrastructure and to design and develop programs in collaboration and partnership with local communities. As such, local programs may be developed by, with, and for diverse community stakeholders and partners. This more organic, iterative process increases community trust and buy-in, and means that programs become more deeply rooted in the community. Being responsive to the needs and priorities of indigenous populations, for example, means that rather than taking a one-size-fits-all approach, exploration of beliefs, culture, language, and values is built into curriculum that is used in tribal communities. Developing organic, tailored programming for populations with diverse religious and ethnic minorities has been a major best practice for 4-H Minnesota, which is looked to as an exemplary model by other 4-H groups.

It is important to build a diverse volunteer infrastructure and to design and develop programs in collaboration and partnership with local communities.

A Place at the Table

One institutional challenge has at times been the tension between serving communities with a long history and deep roots in an area while welcoming, inviting, and encouraging recently arrived communities such as Somali-Americans in refugee-resettlement programs, along with

historically underrepresented or marginalized ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. As one senior staff member put it, "We always save room for new people at the table, but sometimes that means that we need to expand the room and expand the table." It is important to be intentional and strategic about how program growth and development is communicated to existing members and communities, to avoid potential alienation or resentment.

Global Outlook

As xenophobic sentiment has become more vocal and mainstream, organizations such as 4-H with deep roots and strong representation in communities across the country are very well-placed to articulate a pluralistic outlook as an alternative to a parochial one. Local 4-H groups can function as a crucial point of contact and engagement between different populations and cultures as area demographics shift. It is important, for example, to ensure that rural audiences, the traditional focus for 4-H, do not feel a loss or resentment when urban and suburban programs grow in response to these new, diverse populations. Supporting and resourcing 4-H groups in their role as a point of cross-cultural and intergroup contact is a potential area for growth. Today, the organization deliberately frames and communicates its work around four populations: rural areas, urban areas, suburban areas, and tribal communities.

Training and Evaluation

Training for staff and volunteers typically happens through state-level organizations, supported by resources from the national body. Diversity and inclusion are core aspects of staff training, including exploring strategies and practices to maintain and uphold high-quality, safe, and inclusive learning environments. In 2015–2016, for example, Minnesota 4-H offered training called "All Together, Not All the Same," which integrated principles of positive youth development into diversity and inclusion best practices. Inclusion of marginalized ethnic and religious minorities is also built into program evaluation, to measure the impact, reach, and outreach to audiences. As such, it is one of the key standards to which 4-H organizations hold themselves accountable.

Somali-American Experience

In recent years, 4-H Minnesota has made a concerted effort to work with the state's Somali-American population. Minneapolis and the surrounding area is now home to the largest refugee population in the world outside of Kenya.[20] 4-H Minnesota has a very strong partnership with Ka-Joog, a YSO that works directly with Somali-American families and youth. For example. there is a Ka-Joog staff member on the 4-H staff who is helping to expand and deepen existing work with this primarily Muslim community.

In building culturally appropriate programs, one early lesson was that programming that happens outside of the school day is not tradition-ally seen as a priority for Somali-American families, who place a high priority on school and academic success. It was therefore important for 4-H Minnesota staff and volunteers to invest time and energy in build-ing their reputation and credibility among this population, to be able to demonstrate that youth work that happens in a non-formal or non-school setting can be as powerful as that occurring in school. At the same time, it was necessary to adapt existing programs to build in homework time because families did not feel that they were necessarily equipped to support their children's homework. This was a valuable lesson in the importance of working with a population to educate and inform them while also learning about their values and motivations, and communicat-ing 4-H organizational values clearly and robustly.

There are everyday practical considerations for working with religious minorities, such as primarily Muslim Somali-American populations. When Hennepin County 4-H was invited to present at the State Fair in 2014, staff and volunteers worked to build trust and relationships with parents who may not traditionally allow their children to stay away from home overnight (the fair was an overnight experience). Staff were thoughtful about designing the schedule to include adequate and appro-priate opportunities for prayer. Caterers were contacted in advance to ensure that there would be food options available that were free of pork products. Before the fair, the group spent time reflecting on their own

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20 Cody Nelson, "Who are Minnesota's refugees?" *MPRNews*, February 1, 2017, mprnews.org/story/2017/02/01/who-are-the-minnesota-refugees-explainer.

individual identities and ways to make each other feel fully valued and appreciated in their diversity, particularly before spending time at a fair with youth from across the state who may have had less exposure to, experience with, and confidence in engaging with diverse youth.[21]

An extensive resource section on the Minnesota 4-H website, including a number of short, informative videos exploring different elements of diversity and cultural competency, is a valuable support for 4-H leaders.[22] While the videos highlight specific local experiences, such as the Hennepin County 4-H State Fair visit, they have broader applicability and their lessons would be useful for groups in other areas and contexts. There is even a thoughtful discussion guide to accompany the videos, and a regularly updated blog. Providing resources to develop and amplify existing materials such as these videos, and to create additional videos within state-level 4-H groups to highlight their experiences and best practices, would be a valuable way to engage the wider 4-H community in deeper conversations about religious diversity and inclusion.

The YMCA of the USA

History and Organizational Structure

The YMCA was founded in London in 1841 as the Young Men's Christian Association, with an explicitly Christian vision that included Bible study and prayer as alternatives to the hazards of life on the streets.[23] Today, the YMCA operates in 119 countries. The first YMCA in the USA was founded in Boston in 1851. From its original focus on housing for vulnerable populations in urban areas, the organization has evolved to address needs including youth leadership, health and fitness, and education. Membership is open to all, regardless of age, gender, or religion. The YMCA of the USA is the national resource office for over

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21 University of Minnesota Extension, "Fostering Religious Inclusion" (2014), youtube.com/watch?v=XyLmkVsvTQU.

22 University of Minnesota Extension, "Culture and diversity" (2017), extension.umn.edu/youth/research/culture-diversity/#presentations.

23 The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) is a separately constituted organization. While it has diversity programing, its work is beyond the scope of this essay.

2,700 YMCAs in 10,000 communities across the United States, engaging 9 million youth and 13 million adults annually. The mission of Y-USA is to "put Christian principles into practice through programs that build healthy spirit, mind, and body for all," with work focused in three areas: youth development, healthy living, and social responsibility.[24]

Strategic Imperative

Y-USA has long recognized the need to effectively serve an increasingly diverse society through culturally relevant programming and tailored outreach efforts. In their recent strategic plan (2014–2017), one imperative was to build the organizational capacity necessary to effectively fulfil the Y cause, in part through a strategy to advance diversity and inclusion to ensure all segments of society have access to the Y.[25] As a direct result of a previous collaboration with the Inclusive America Project, Y-USA is developing an "Engaging Communities of Diverse Faith and Belief" manual, being piloted in 2017–2018, with an in-person training program being developed in 2018. These resources will be a core part of the Y's national efforts to support all local Ys in developing their confidence and competency around religious diversity and interfaith issues. While there is some openness to learning from and collaborating with other organizations in co-developing resources such as these, there is a strong desire to focus on internal capacity-building. There is a perception that resources from external organizations that may not understand and be attuned to the complex history of the Y may be too challenging to adapt for the Y context.

The Challenge

The stated mission of Y-USA can appear to pose a challenge: balancing the "Christian principles" element with the commitment to programs that are "for all," regardless of religion or background. Y-USA strives to lift up the idea that these two elements of their mission are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, there is great potential for the organization to use

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24 YMCA, "the Y: Organizational Profile" (2017), ymca.net/organizational-profile.

25 YMCA, "Delivering Our Cause: Strategic Plan 2014–2017, YMCA of the USA" (2014), ymca.net/sites/default/files/organizational-profile/Delivering-Our-Cause-Strategic-Plan-Online.pdf.

its mission as the starting point for honest self-reflection among staff, volunteers, and service users from diverse backgrounds about their own understanding of how to implement this mission effectively and with integrity. A few Ys offer dedicated support and communities of practice to help navigate this concern. The YMCA of the Greater Twin Cities Christian Principles Network engages and serves staff, members, volunteers, and community partners to support the delivery of the YMCA mission in an inclusive way and runs the Serve to Lead conference, which includes cultural competency training.[26] The YMCA of San Francisco works to support its diverse constituents with a representational diversity of faith and belief using an approach informed by interfaith frameworks taught at local annual conferences.[27]

Work around religious diversity and interfaith issues is complex and dynamic for the Y because, like other YSOs, it is a federated organization, with each local organization striving to create programmatic and operational opportunities for the specific community it serves.

Staff Training and Consultant Support

The forthcoming Engaging Communities of Diverse Faith and Belief resources represent a prime opportunity for more broad-scale, comprehensive, and consistent training and engagement around the opportunities and challenges of religious diversity. The resources and accompanying workshops are designed for adult staff use and will have three major functions: education about major faiths, examples of interfaith work, and linkages to longstanding YMCA strategies for improving communities. Y-USA is focusing on adult training and capacity building in this area so that staff can better address the basic needs of their constituents, while also effectively supporting targeted local programs. According to senior staff, many Ys do want to engage youth in interfaith programs, but local youth initiatives are unsustainable without adult staff training and buy-in.

Y-USA also has retained expert consultants to support its interfaith work. The YMCA of Greater St. Louis engaged the services of a promi-

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26 YMCA Twin Cities, "Serve to Lead: YMCA Twin Cities" (2017), ymcamn.org/servetolead.

27 YMCA of San Francisco, "YMCASF Employee Conference Schedule" (2016), ymcasf.org/association-ymca-professionals#Schedule.

nent interfaith consultant, through the organization Interfaith Quest, to support staff development and organize cross-cultural, inclusive interfaith events. This working relationship led to the Y partnering with the Center for Indian Cultural Education – Bal Vihar of the Saint Louis Science Center and other partners on a one-off interfaith youth art/ sculpture initiative that has now become an annual event.[28]

Depending on the specific historical context, local Ys in some regions may not be familiar with engaging intentionally with non-Christian communities. Helping local Ys to connect with reputable, effective, and appropriate resources in their local communities, including independent consultants with specific religious and cultural knowledge and connections, can help them to build relationships and confidence in engaging with diversity.

Local Initiatives and Community Events

YMCAs across the country are working to provide accessible, informative educational events and programs that engage members and the wider community in dialogue and learning about diverse religious and cultural groups. Trotter Y, part of YMCA of Greater Houston, organizes an interfaith Passover community program, which invites attendees to increase their knowledge of Passover through a presentation and discussion with a local Rabbi.[29]

Many groups, such as YMCA of the Triangle, in Raleigh, North Carolina, co-organize an annual Interfaith Prayer Breakfast on Martin Luther King Jr. Day in January, as an opportunity to connect across diverse traditions for this "day on for service."

The University YMCA at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign runs a monthly First Tuesday Dialogue Series to help students find connections, explore ideas, build relationships, and promote the importance of dialogue. It also offers a service-learning program, Interfaith in Action. The University YMCA's Board of Governors approved a set

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28 Bal Vihar, "Teens Create Interfaith Mural" (2015), balvihar-stlouis.com/articles.php?id=23.

29 YMCA of Greater Houston, "Interfaith Passover Community Program" (2016), ymcahouston. org/events/10307.

of new program initiatives, including Faith and Justice, which continue today, and is recognized across campus and in the wider community as a safe, thoughtful interfaith space.[30]

In 2015, the Heart of the Valley network of YMCAs in Huntsville, Alabama, one of the most culturally diverse regions of the state, opened a space for high school students to design and lead the Interfaith Multicultural Youth Coalition for cultural exchange, community service, and interfaith dialogue. It aimed to build youth capacity for and openness to empathy and respect, and to do so while keeping their own identity, faith, and culture intact.[31]

Y-USA has already engaged more than 75 local Ys as core partners in this work.

Y-USA has already engaged more than 75 local Ys as core partners in this work. Although they approach their challenges in many different ways, these local Ys are already more conversant in diversity and interfaith and inter-belief work, according to senior staff. At some locations, the Christian chaplains on staff have been doing work on inclusion through the lens of Christian social justice in order to open up doors to all, leaning on the bridge-building practices of interfaith work. Local efforts to address issues of diversity and intersectionality can only go so far, though should a tragedy occur related to such issues in a community where the local Y has not already done the groundwork, that Y will not be well prepared to respond. Continuing to provide staff training and resources for engagement will allow local Ys to respond most effectively to difficult events in their communities.

One avenue for going forward may involve finding funding partners in a community who will work with the local Y to create pilot programs that may then be scaled elsewhere. Between regular staff training and local pilot programs, Y-USA has an excellent opportunity to improve coverage of these issues.

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30 University YMCA, "University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign: Faith and Justice" (2010), universityymca.org/faith_and_justice.

31 Kay Campbell, "Huntsville YMCA to Form Youth Group for Interfaith, Multicultural Service and Learning," *AL.com*, March 17, 2015, al.com/living/index.ssf/2015/03/ymca_interfaith_multicultural.html.

While impactful and meaningful programs are undoubtedly happening through local Ys, cross-pollination and sharing of best practices at the national level appears limited. Developing a responsive and robust system for highlighting and sharing innovative practices, and working through challenging situations, would be highly beneficial. Furthermore, while Y-USA seems hesitant to draw from resources of external organizations, doing so would increase the potential for effective collaboration. This is especially true in those cases where curricula for literacy and multi-faith engagement have already been produced by organizations working through a Christian lens. The Y, together with other profiled YSOs, could benefit greatly from existing frameworks and opportunities to build relationships of trust with organizations that have expertise in religious diversity and inclusion.

Conclusion

Running with the thesis that "illiteracy regarding religion 1) is widespread, 2) fuels prejudice and antagonism, and 3) can be diminished by teaching about religion in public [and private] schools [and YSOs] using a non-devotional, academic perspective, called religious studies," we see significant opportunities in public and private K–12 education and YSOs to provide young people with access to learning about religion and religious diversity. Opportunities for teacher learning can and should be scaled in school systems using such tools as the Seven Principles of Inclusive Education, AAR and ADL guides to teaching about religion, and the forthcoming continuing education project at RLP, to support student engagement with pluralism.

YSOs struggle just as public education institutions do with staff training, funding, and a multiplicity of priorities. However, organizations such as 4-H, BGCA, and YMCA have programs aimed at both youth education and adult capacity-building that are promising best practices for youth engagement. Other student-oriented workshop curricula are already available, such as the Teaching Religious Literacy curriculum developed at New York University's Faith Zone, which could easily be adopted or adapted for use by YSOs.

Resources

Guidelines

American Academy of Religion Guidelines: "Guidelines for Teaching About Religion in K–12 Public Schools in the United States." An extensive set of guidelines covering religious studies pedagogy, constitutionality of teaching about religion, and a methodology. The guide is well-written and researched, and provides careful reasoning for the need to teach about religion. Extremely useful for teachers and administrators. Available at rlp.hds. harvard.edu/files/hds-rlp/files/american_academy_ of_religious_-_curriculum_guidelines.pdf.

Anti-Defamation League Guidelines: "Religion in Public Schools: Religion in the Curriculum." An accessible guideline covering constitutionality of teaching about religion and providing helpful scenarios. Excellent resource, especially as a first look for anyone interested in including more information about religion in their courses. Available at adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/ assets/pdf/civil-rights/religiousfreedom/rips/RIPS-Ch4ReligInCurric. pdf.

General Anti-Bias Materials

Anti-Defamation League Anti-Bias Trainings for the Classroom: "A Classroom of Difference." Anti-bias curricula and lesson plans developed constantly in response to current events. This set of resources is invaluable. Not focused exclusively on religion, but includes many plans that incorporate discussion of religion as context. Available at adl.org/ education-and-resources/resources-for-educators-parents-families/ lesson-plans.

Peace Corps' Cross-Cultural Workbook for Staff and Volunteers: *Culture Matters: The Peace Corps' Cross-Cultural Workbook.* An extensive workbook, offering specific guidance to those entering an entirely unfamiliar culture, this resource offers insights and best practices to anyone wanting to develop a better sense of how to engage with people of an unfamiliar culture. Available at files.peacecorps. gov/multimedia/pdf/library/T0087_ culturematters.pdf.

Southern Poverty Law Center's Teaching Tolerance: A set of materials and curricula addressing a broad range of biases, but including some religion-specific resources. Available at tolerance.org/topics/religion.

Religious-Diversity-Specific Materials and Tools

Facing History and Ourselves: A set of materials addressing many kinds of bias, but with a large selection of materials and lesson plans specifically addressing anti-Semitism. Setting actions as choices in historical context helps to contextualize modern situations and exposes youth to a particular kind of self-assessment. Available at facinghistory.org/topics.

Generation Global: This program offers educators of all kinds the ability to connect youth from around the corner and around the world via video conferencing. Access is free, and content is moderated. Staff will assist public and private school educators, as well as YSO staff and volunteers, in using the program. Available at generation.global.

New York University's Faith Zone Curriculum: Described by Ariel Ennis in *Teaching Religious Literacy* (Routledge, 2017), this workshop-based methodology, curriculum, and assessment is a ready-made guide for high-school aged students and older, and could be applied in almost any YSO or education setting.

Religion in America: An online archive of primary-source documents pertaining to the history of religion especially as it relates to social change and politics. The site also provides some scholarly analysis. Available at religioninamerica.org.

Tanenbaum Pedagogy: "The Seven Principles for Inclusive Education." A pedagogy or methodology of teaching meant to underpin the entire approach to the classroom, and which includes a particular interest in religious diversity. Available at tanenbaum.org/programs/education/tanenbaums-pedagogy.

Tanenbaum Teacher Trainings: "Education Trainings." A set of materials developed for teachers to improve their own facility with topics of religious diversity and knowledge. Available at tanenbaum.org/programs/education/education-trainings.

Tanenbaum Grade and High School Curricula: "Curricula for Educators." A set of materials and curricula designed for use in the classroom setting, with several curricula for K–6 education, each having a different focus, and one conflict-resolution curriculum for high school students. Available at tanenbaum.org/programs/education/curricula_for_educators.

Local Solutions to Global Challenges: Building Resilient Communities

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Communities drive action and innovation. When a man-made or natural disaster strikes, there are often community-driven approaches that can mitigate the threat and/or effects and speed recovery.

As the world grapples with a seemingly endless cycle of natural disasters and the acceleration of barbaric acts of terrorism, policy discussions are turning more and more to community resilience as the necessary antidote to existential global threats. Resilience—a term seldom associated with homeland security when it first emerged—is today almost a household word. Resilience is the "the capacity of a community to meet disruption or shock by minimizing damage and quickly restoring stability, while also using the experience to develop strategies for future challenges and opportunities."[2] Resilience must begin with an understanding that communities need to promote engagement and inclusivity long before an incident occurs, thus bolstering trust, sharing best practices, and perhaps most critically, ensuring that "the other" instead becomes "the neighbor," on a local, national, and global level.

Resilience is a broad concept. It is frequently discussed in popular literature as an individual's ability to overcome adversity in a positive

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way.[3] But resilience also applies in the context of community disaster preparedness, referring to safety measures and structures that allow us to withstand a natural or man-made disaster and recover successfully.[4] Additionally, the resilience of a community to respond to a trauma by building resilience in those individuals impacted is a critical capacity for communities nationwide. This essay is not meant to discount the importance of federal and international coordination in building resilience—in fact, locally-driven resilience can be both a partner to such efforts and serve as an illustrative example—but rather is an effort to share the stories of a number of communities that are successfully creating ground-up solutions to challenges that intersect on the global stage.

While the focus on resilience seems contemporary, bridging the community-to-national divide is not new: over 60 years ago, Eleanor Roosevelt, then First Lady, and Fiorello La Guardia, the Mayor of New York City, were tasked by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to stand up the country's first Office of Civilian Defense, the original model for what today is the Department of Homeland Security.[5] Mrs. Roosevelt believed that the solution was civic engagement, while Mayor La Guardia wanted to create a fourth military branch. Their battle was a precursor for the conversation that continues today. What is overlooked by this debate is that civic engagement can create stability that relieves pressure on our security apparatus, and that these two objectives are not mutually exclusive. Recognizing the community's role up-front and building trust in advance of a crisis is critical to mitigating its effects.

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3 See, e.g., Sheryl L. Sandberg, "How to Build Resilient Kids, Even after a Loss," *New York Times*, April 24, 2017, nytimes.com/2017/04/24/opinion/sheryl-sandberg-how-to-build-resilient-kids-even-after-a-loss.html.

4 M. Mazereeuw and E. Yarina, "Emergency Preparedness Hub: Designing Decentralized Systems for Disaster Relief," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 71, no. 1 (March 2017): 65–72, tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10464883.2017.1260928?journalCode=rjae20&.

5 Dina Temple-Raston, "Eleanor Roosevelt and Fiorello La Guardia Battling Over How to Protect Americans," *Washington Post*, June 30, 2016, washingtonpost.com/opinions/eleanor-roosevelt-and-fiorello-la-guardia-battling-over-how-to-protect-americans/2016/06/29/f4e660de-3702-11e6-8f7c-d4c723a2becb_story.html?utm_term=.d5dd05ecb524.

Building Resilient Communities

American governance stakeholders, from local mayors and town councils to the federal government, need to connect vertical and horizontal partners to bolster resilience and learn by example. Today, as the nation grapples with the response to Hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria, there is evidence of significant levels of community-driven response, a result of communities now increasingly interested in enhancing their resilience. For example, the so-called "Cajun Navy"—a collection of volunteers from neighboring communities, equipped with boats—sprang into action in response to Hurricane Harvey, actions that the Federal Emergency Management Agency notes are in many cases examples of lessons learned from previous disasters.[6] Stories also emerged demonstrating the fortitude of particular community members from many walks of life doing their part, such as the Cambodian-American family in Houston that offered its doughnut shop as shelter (and sustenance) to first responders.[7] Similarly, a number of local mosques opened their doors as 24-hour shelters, resulting in so many US Muslim-community volunteers arriving to help that leadership sent them to assist at municipal shelters.[8] The Islamic Society of Greater Houston also collected a list of 50 doctors from their community who agreed to be on call, and shared the list with the city. That kind of organized community response, the kind that responds to and works with individuals and government in an emergency, is a prime example of community resilience.

Federal, state, local, private, and nonprofit partners must be encouraged to share activities that work in building resilience to security and disaster threats, and do so up and down the chains of command. Whether the objective is recovering from a natural disaster or preventing hatred and

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6 Patrik Jonsson, "In All-Hands-on-Deck Response to Harvey, Lessons Learned from Earlier Storms," *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 28, 2017, csmonitor.com/USA/Society/2017/0828/In-all-hands-on-deck-response-to-Harvey-lessons-learned-from-earlier-storms.

7 Robb Walsh, "One Houston Community's Response to Harvey: Keep Making the Doughnuts," *Washington Post*, September 7, 2017, washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/food/in-harveys-wake-one-houston-community-thrives-cambodian-doughnut-shop-owners/2017/09/06/aafbbd9c-934b-11e7-8754-d478688d23b4_story.html?utm_term=.449cf64a3f01.

8 Anna Swartz, "Texas Muslims are Turning Mosques into Shelters to Help Harvey Victims," mic.com, August 29, 2017, https://mic.com/articles/184130/texas-muslims-are-turning-mosques-into-shelters-to-help-harvey-victims#.e7WG9ohXd.

violence, information and partnerships are our most valuable commodities. Comprehensive recovery and threat mitigation require the identification and development of best practices and effective organization at

Comprehensive recovery and threat mitigation require the identification and development of best practices and effective organization at all levels.

all levels. For example, despite the Deepwater Horizon oil spill impacting the Gulf Coast and its local communities, its scope was of nationwide concern and America looked to the federal government to address the challenge. US Coast Guard Admiral (ret.) Thad Allen, who led the response to Katrina five years earlier, discussed the importance of a multi-layered response, saying "the American public demands horizontal (across government) and vertical (federal, state, local, private sector) integration and coordination of effort." As such, local communities depended on federal resources, but the federal approach was not omnipotent—cooperation with local partners and approaches driven by them was critical for success.

Looking back several years later, and discussing lessons learned, Admiral Allen emphasized the importance of individual and community-based resilience:

> In a natural disaster, the first responder is you, the second first responder is your neighbor…. The more resilient you are, the more you are immune to the event because you have taken steps in advance—two things happen: you put less demand on the system based on your needs, and you are able to help your neighbor. If your neighbor has done the same thing, then you collectively put less demand on the system, and you are helping your community. On the community level, if you thought about how high structures should be built, how you should approach zoning… you start talking about "community resilience;" at the national level, it is going to take an understanding of what is inherently governmental and what is not because the line is getting blurred.[9]

9 Thad Allen, "Thad Allen on Katrina, Deepwater Horizon, and Disaster Response," *Smithsonian.com*, smithsonianmag.com/videos/thad-allen-on-katrina-deepwater-horizon-an.

Experts and practitioners have the knowledge, but often lack the resources and appropriate pathways to share and connect their ideas and experience, and thus critical information sharing frequently falls short, leading federal resources to become overly taxed and less effectively utilized. Within our communities in the US, we are at a critical juncture to take advantage of such opportunities.

Community-driven approaches must be a priority to make resilience successful, and shrink the demand on the federal security apparatus, on which we risk becoming too heavily dependent. We need to build intersectional communities that trust and connect with each other first, then share their knowledge outward and upward. We need "megacommunities" where leaders of government, business, and civil society work together to solve problems.[10] As practitioners in disaster response and countering violent extremism alike attest, "megacommunities" are most effective when they are built at the grassroots level with local communities taking the helm.

Global Communities and Federal Objectives

I came to understand the power of resilience built at the community or grassroots level during my time serving in the Obama Administration in two seemingly different worlds, first at the Peace Corps, and then at the US Department of Homeland Security.[11]

In building a nascent discipline like community-driven resilience, looking to existing initiatives with a track record of success is critical. While at Peace Corps, I met Vanessa Kerry, former Secretary of State John Kerry's daughter and a brilliant young doctor working on global health and social medicine at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. An effort she launched helped to increase the number of sub-Saharan African doctors and nurses by identifying the gaps in health care delivery systems at the local level and leveraging Peace Corps resources to provide

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10 Mark Gerencser, Reginald Van Lee, Fernando Napolitano, and Christopher Kelly, *Megacommunities: How Leaders of Government, Business and Non-Profits Can Tackle Today's Global Challenges Together* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

11 This position at DHS included serving as Executive Director for the Homeland Security Advisory Committee.

technical expertise.[12] This model was launched in three countries in East Africa in 2012, substantially facilitating local resilience to Ebola.[13] The international-level resource in this case was used to stand up capacity based on local needs, and provide the community with the tools it needed to drive responses tailored to success in the local context.

Armed with examples like this one from my Peace Corps experience, I moved to DHS in early 2015 to the new Office of Public Engagement to help connect federal resources and national priorities to community leadership across diverse, complex, and interconnected communities, including state, local, tribal, and territorial government, law enforcement, business, nonprofits, and academia. One initiative was to create a platform, a Subcommittee of outside experts, on Countering Violent Extremism to act as an incubator of ideas for the Department's new Office of Community Partnerships.[14] OCP was stood up in September 2015 to focus on finding pioneering ways to support communities seeking to discourage violent extremism and thwart terrorist efforts. Then Secretary Jeh C. Johnson launched this effort to "build relationships and promote trust, and, in addition, find innovative ways to support communities that seek to discourage violent extremism and undercut terrorist narratives."[15]

In addressing how to respond to the challenge of violent extremism, the Subcommittee noted that "local communities are central to understanding not only the origin but also the impact of changes taking place within

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12 The Global Health Service Partnership is a program with Peace Corps, PEPFAR, and the nonprofit Seed Global Health, that started in Tanzania, Malawi, and Uganda and today also includes Swaziland and Liberia.

13 Hilary Sargent, "Vanessa Kerry is Determined to Transform Global Health," *Boston Magazine*, February 8, 2016, boston.com/culture/health/2016/02/08/vanessa-kerry-is-determined-to-transform-global-health.

14 Countering Violent Extremism is the category of non-kinetic, non-coercive activities that prevent and counter radicalization to extreme violence; it is the prevention model in counterterrorism. CVE Subcommittee membership is published at dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Countering%20Violent%20Extremism%20Subcommittee%20Membership%20Roster_1_0.pdf.

15 Jeh C. Johnson, "Statement by Secretary Jeh C. Johnson on DHS's New Office for Community Partnerships" (Department of Homeland Security, DHS.gov, September 28, 2015), dhs.gov/news/2015/09/28/statement-secretary-jeh-c-johnson-dhss-new-office-community-partnerships.

neighborhoods, among peer groups, and as a result of influencers."[16] The emphasis these experts placed was on *empowering* credible local partners who thoroughly understood the intricacies, rhythms, and cultural nuances of their local communities at a deeper and more fundamental level than a state or federal representative ever could.

While a young field like CVE—and resilience in general—may lack comprehensive reviews that measure effectiveness, some studies do back up the experts' assertions. For example, an evaluation conducted in Montgomery County, Maryland concluded that the World Organization for Resource Development and Education, an outreach and engagement program, effectively deterred recruitment and radicalization.[17] Similarly, an assessment of a German program—the Violence Prevention Network—that works with convicted extremism supporters, showed a reduction in recidivism to 13.3%, a drop of 70% from the German national average.[18] From a global perspective, these studies offer only narrow snapshots of effectiveness, but success in Maryland and Germany in preventing extremism suggests that replicating these activities throughout the US is worth a try to reduce the threat to terrorism, and if done at scale, the results of such programs could be examined more rigorously to determine what works.

As of now, we simply do not have randomized control trial studies that comprehensively review results of American efforts, but until the day that resilience is widely adopted throughout the country, our strongest evidence that resilience can make Americans safer comes from the experiences of those working on the front-lines who have seen it work first-hand.

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16 Department of Homeland Security Homeland Security Advisory Council, Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Subcommittee, "Interim Report and Recommendations"(DHS.gov, June 2016). dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/HSAC/HSAC%20CVE%20Final%20Interim%20Report%20 June%209%202016%20508%20compliant.pdf.

17 Michael J. Williams, John G. Horgan, and William P. Evans, "Evaluation of a Multi-Faceted, US Community-Based, Muslim-Led CVE Program" (Washington DC: National Institute of Justice, 2016).

18 Judy Korn, "European CVE Strategies from a Practitioner's Perspective," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (October 2016), doi. org/10.1177/0002716216671888.

From the Frontlines: Examples of Resilience from Practitioners

Resilience practitioners who are tackling a broad range of issues are coming to similar conclusions: partner persistently, build enduring trust, and be practical. Tailor approaches to align with what a community is most likely to do in a crisis, not what federal or other actors wish they would do. A crisis response in Manhattan will look very different to one in rural Texas. Moving away from a one-size-fits-all solution and instead embracing diverse community realities will nearly always generate more favorable results. The federal government can encourage this approach by engaging communities consistently and letting them drive efforts when appropriate.

Moreover, what these practitioners convey is that soft security approaches often have very positive hard security outcomes; building community trust and engagement can mitigate catastrophe during crisis. While those suffering local tragedies will need outside assistance, federal officials may have little idea what would work to solve a specific challenge unless they listen to those at the local community level.

When Disaster Strikes: Whether preventing man-made disaster or responding to natural disasters, the principle of community-driven approaches is equally applicable.

Caitlin Durkovich was an Assistant Secretary at DHS, leading the mission to protect critical infrastructure and redefine public-private risk management. When it comes to building resilience, she says:

> It takes planning. It takes bringing people together. In this day and age, our infrastructure is more intertwined; the amount of information is immense; threats are increasing; and population shifts, socioeconomic, and other factors play a significant complicating role…. This is why [at DHS] we viewed our stakeholders as the homeland security enterprise—not just the federal government but throughout all levels of government, infrastructure owners and operators, and the public. We shifted from protection of an asset to resilience of an industry or region, which meant we needed to focus on the patchwork of services and functions that underpin it.

She notes that DHS's "Regional Resiliency Assessment Program would work with local partners to identify a key infrastructure, understand the threats and hazards that could disrupt the infrastructure, and assess key dependencies: power, water, communications, etc. Then bring stakeholders together: emergency managers, state and local officials, infrastructure owner/operators etc., and provide resilience options for consideration and also exercise around a particular scenario."[19] In creating those opportunities for shared activities and partnerships, local community members who may not otherwise know each other act out a potential disaster response, such as a hurricane, flood, or tornado drill.

One notable experience for Durkovich at DHS was working with local stakeholders in Charleston, South Carolina. In July 2014, they brought together the area's academic experts, state and local government officials, and infrastructure owner/operators for an exercise around leveraging science-based climate information to enhance long-term planning and resilience. The community saw the value of playing a resilience role in the historic Charleston region, and they institutionalized the effort by creating the Charleston Resilience Network. The Network was activated and able to respond when disaster struck in October 2015, aiding in the recovery from historic-level flooding and hence reaffirming the importance of partnerships.[20]

Citing a similar example, Reverend David L. Myers recalls how FEMA could not have facilitated flood response in upstate New York without close partnership with interfaith groups. "There was a church that had a food pantry, and people would come [from rural, mountainous areas] to get food—some every day and some on a weekly basis. Flooding wiped out a lot of the roads, so many people couldn't get to the food pantry. Thanks to already-established relationships, the church took food to the people. They took four-wheel-drive vehicles up into the [mountain-based communities]," he recalled. "What communities will bring to you

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19 Ms. Durkovich was the Assistant Secretary for Infrastructure Protection at DHS from May 2012 through January 2017. She currently serves as Director at Toffler Associates, a strategic advisory firm founded by futurist Alvin Toffler.

20 Charleston Resilience Network, "Understanding the October 2015 Charleston Floods: A Symposium Report," February 23, 2016, charlestonresilience.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CRN_Flood_Symposium_Report-_FINAL.pdf.

[in engaging in conversations with non-government stakeholders] is not capabilities [for disaster relief]; they will bring you a conversation, and that conversation helps you understand their resources, and how they can be activated in a disaster."[21] In this instance, the community created its own solution, allowing FEMA to focus efforts elsewhere.

In a crisis, existing relationships are an important recovery mechanism, allowing a church, for example, to deliver food when others cannot. Myers' prescription for harnessing the power of relationships is to convene diverse community leaders and first responders so that members of both groups know where and how they will give or receive resources in the event of a crisis.

Communities Are Crisis Solvers: Michael Masters, a former Executive Director of the Department of Homeland Security and Emergency Management for Cook County, Illinois asserts that engaging community stakeholders, including faith-based groups, about the issues of greatest concern to them is critical to building trust. A "whole-community, all-hazards" approach fosters relationship building, not just with the public sector, but also in a way that allows government to serve as a convener to assist in bridge-building between communities. After observing recovery methods relied on by the first responders in New York and New Jersey during Hurricane Sandy, Masters says his team in Cook County "created an Interfaith Security Advisory Council—made up of the community— to identify their concerns, and problem-solve on how to collaboratively address them."

This involved planning events, tabletop exercises, and role-playing scenarios. In one event with community members, Masters recounted, "I went to the largest Sikh gurdwara in Cook County; on a tour, they noted the number of meals they serve every Sunday…. They also noted that, if there were ever an event where Muslim or Jewish members of our communities were in need—a flood, blizzard or other event—those community members could come to the gurdwara…. The food prepared in accordance with Sikh traditions inherently met all of the requirements

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21 Reverend Myers served as Director for Faith-Based & Neighborhood Partnerships at DHS from 2009–2017. He currently serves as the Director of Migrant Services for the Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service.

for kosher and halal traditions," so the members of other faith groups would not have to compromise their faith in a time of crisis.

Providing that resource for members of the Muslim and Jewish faiths was a question of simply going to communities and asking how they might help fellow community members. "It allowed government to serve as a resource while creating relationships within, and between, communities; that is the real essence of resilience," he says. "It has to be the people who, at the end of the day, are invested in their community—local government or local community actors, who will create enduring solutions within their community. The federal government, in particular, can be supportive, but they are not there, on the ground, all of the time.… They cannot force community engagement or, necessarily, be a part of it, when they are only present on an ad hoc basis." Masters believes that government can assist by facilitating the necessary relationships that build trust over time with local stakeholders and communities, but emphasizes that "we must make friends before we need them. That way, when we do need friends, we know they will be there."[22]

Much can also be learned from the successful application of resilience principles in other countries. We may encourage such progress by, for example, connecting the resilience practitioner integrating communities to prevent violence in Cleveland to their counterpart in Brussels, as we all deal with similar challenges.

Indeed, the US government has sought to learn from successful approaches abroad for building community-based resilience. Farah Pandith, the first special representative to Muslim communities at the State Department, notes that the first step is to create a shared experience among community members, even if that experience is small. "I remember being in Italy, in Sicily—I was talking to young Muslims who were second generation immigrants, discussing identity, and whether they felt Italian. Although they felt absolutely Italian in culture and nationality, one young woman was beginning to see people look at them in a different way," says Pandith, "and the older she became, the more

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22 Mr. Masters is currently the National Director & CEO of the Secure Community Network, a nonprofit organization which provides security resources and expertise to the American Jewish community, as well as the President of The Soufan Center, a nonprofit organization dedicated to serving as a resource and forum for research, analysis, and strategic dialogue related to emergent threats.

she realized people were not seeing her as Italian." The young woman created a shared experience, tailored to her community: "they took part in local fairs through baking and needlepoint, showing people that they made cannoli and other traditional desserts as lovingly and authentically as those who were ninth generation Italians.… They were doing small things like that, just to be seen. And in their neighborhoods, it made a difference."[23] Here in the United States, we can look at this example as a small way a local community can reduce perception of "otherness," which may be tied to hate crimes or radicalization.

Community as the Solution

According to a new body of science and practice, community resilience itself counters many of the feelings of "other" that lead individuals to become disconnected and disinvested in the community, and therefore more susceptible to radicalization. Building resilience helps community members understand how to prevent and intervene before individuals go down a dangerous path.[24] In light of social marginalization's role in violence, community partnerships are not only helpful for recovery if a terrorist attack takes place, they are also part of the solution itself, helping prevent violent extremist ideologies from taking root.[25]

Imam Mohamed Magid's All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS) mosque and community center in Sterling, Virginia, is an excellent

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23 Ms. Pandith served as the Special Representative for Muslim Communities at the Department of State from 2009–2014. She is the author of *How We Win: How Cutting-Edge Entrepreneurs, Political Visionaries, Enlightened Business Leaders, and Social Media Mavens Can Defeat the Extremist Threat* (Custom House, 2018).

24 See, e.g., Stevan Weine and Osman Ahmed, "Building Resilience to Violent Extremism," start. umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/Weine_BuildingResiliencetoViolentExtremism_ SomaliAmericans.pdf; B. H. Ellis and S. Abdi, "Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism through Genuine Partnerships," *American Psychologist* 72, no. 3 (2017): 289–300, apa. org/pubs/journals/releases/amp-amp0000065.pdf.; A. Dalgaard-Nielsen and P. Schack, "Community Resilience to Militant Islamism: Who and What? An Explorative Study of Resilience in Three Danish Communities," *Democracy and Security* 12, no. 4 (October 2016): 309–327, tandfonline.com/doi/abs/1 0.1080/17419166.2016.1236691.

25 See, e.g., Matthew Levitt, (ed.), "Defeating Ideologically Inspired Violent Extremism: A Strategy to Build Strong Communities and Protect the U.S. Homeland," *Transition 2017: Policy Notes for the Trump Administration* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy), 37 (March 2017), washingtonin-stitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/Transition2017-CVE-6.pdf.

example. Imam Magid has worked to develop local and government networks to ensure a broad community that is resilient in every way. He has developed deep relationships with interfaith and government partners, but most importantly acts as a resource for parents concerned that their children may be headed down a violent path, for whom he offers himself as a resource to counsel children and point them in a peaceful direction. This type of faith-based community outreach has steadily increased since 2001.[26] Such work is critical: one study of American Somali youth concluded that cultural isolation in communities was a key driver of radicalization.[27] Thanks to his tireless efforts, Imam Magid has so far dissuaded at least five young people from turning to Islamist-inspired violent extremism.[28]

On the other side of the ideological spectrum, local organizations are emerging to similarly prevent white supremacy and far-right extremist violence. One is Life After Hate, a group of former neo-Nazis who intervene in the radicalization of individuals or even disengage those who have already joined such movements. Their credibility as perceived members from communities and backgrounds similar to those of the vulnerable individuals with whom they work is crucial to their effectiveness in countering radicalization.

In a welcome development in the face of tragedy, the response to the white supremacist attack on the counter-protest in Charlottesville has been broad and swift, tapping into both local and national interfaith networks. Nearly 700 rallies and vigils were scheduled the week following the attack alone.[29] Public responses to the attack and the racism underlying it came from sources as diverse as FoxNews CEO James

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26 The Pluralism Project, "America's Interfaith Infrastructure: An Emerging Landscape" (pluralism. org, Harvard University), pluralism.org/interfaith.

27 Erroll Southers and Justin Hienz, "Foreign Fighters: Terrorist Recruitment and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Programs in Minneapolis-St. Paul" (National Center of Excellence for Risk and Economic Analysis of Terrorism Events, 2015).

28 Laurie Goodstein, "U.S. Muslims Take On ISIS' Recruiting Machine," *New York Times*, February 19, 2015, nytimes.com/2015/02/20/us/muslim-leaders-in-us-seek-to-counteract-extremist-recruiters. html.

29 Jeff Stein, "How to Find your Local 'Solidarity with Charlottesville' Demonstration," *Vox,* August 13, 2017, vox.com/2017/8/13/16141290/charlottesville-rallies-indivisible-locations. Over 682 solidarity rallies were held after Charlottesville; collated by Indivisible.org.

Murdoch and Apple CEO Tim Cook, who each donated $1 million to the Anti-Defamation League.[30] A small-town church in Iowa even used its front sign to promote the message, "White supremacy is sin. Say it."[31] These widespread public responses demonstrated the effectiveness of the growth of faith-based, nonprofit, and other networks to respond to crisis situations in our local communities.

George Selim, another author in this essay collection, is currently at the ADL. He previously was the first Director of the Office for Community Partnerships at DHS and led CVE efforts within the federal interagency. Selim embraces the concept: "a shared risk and shared reward.… What we have seen since 9/11, whether they [the communities we partnered with] be Arab, Muslim, South Asian, or others, is community members who have raised their hands to say 'we want to be partners in this homeland security effort.'"[32] Selim believes that communities can play a critical role in understanding whether a friend or neighbor is going down a path toward violence, and can create trust between communities and with the government, to facilitate appropriate intervention before violence occurs. Integrating across those communities can also reduce feelings of "otherness" that may lead to violence in the first place.

Selim's efforts include helping civic groups across the country prepare processes to intervene with at-risk individuals, challenge extremist narratives online, expand local non-profit and law enforcement capacities, and, indeed, build community resilience. With terrorism, "you can only expect prevention if you have resilient communities," says Selim. When his former office solicited federal grants for terrorism prevention it "received over $100 million worth of applications for a $10 million

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30 Maggie Haberman, "James Murdoch, Rebuking Trump, Pledges $1 Million to Anti-Defamation League," *New York Times*, August 17, 2017, nytimes.com/2017/08/17/us/politics/james-murdoch-trump-donation-anti-defamation-league.html?_r=0; Lisa Eadicicco, "Apple CEO Tim Cook Just Made a Huge Donation to Anti-Hate Groups After Charlottesville," *TIME*, August 17, 2017, time.com/money/4904859/apple-tim-cook-charlottesville.

31 Aaron Young, "Small Iowa Church Responds to Charlottesville: 'White supremacy is Sin. Say it,'" *The Des Moines Register*, August 15, 2017, desmoinesregister.com/story/news/2017/08/15/charlottesville-virginia-glenwood-iowa-church-response/565444001.

32 George Selim is the Senior Vice President for Programs at ADL. He most recently served as the Director of the Office for Community Partnerships at the Department of Homeland Security, a position he held from September 2015 through August 2017.

pot of money. Organizations came forward with a demonstrated need to expand and deliver at the local level, with a key focus of that being on resilience itself." The demand for community resilience resources, he notes, far exceeds supply.

Selim points to Dearborn, Michigan, home to a large Muslim immigrant population, as an example of a community that has successfully built local partnerships. According to Ronald Haddad, Chief of Police for Dearborn:

> The ideals [of building community trust] are quite simple: individuals should become educated about their community and show through action their legitimate concern, ensuring all members of the community have an equal voice and are respected for who they are and what they represent. These actions will result in trust. Trust results in communication. Communication allows police to better deter and solve crime and enlist community support and assistance in providing a safe and secure environment for the entire community.[33]

Unleashing the Power of Local Partners

There are already too many incidents of senseless extremist violence in our recent history, from the Boston Marathon bombing to the Orlando nightclub massacre. In the aftermath of the heinous extremist act committed in San Bernardino, California, local partnerships were one reason the response to the incident was as efficient as it was.[34] Local police relied on existing relationships with community faith leaders, including the local Muslim population, which had half a dozen mosques in the area.

The next significant security threat seems to be coming from the far right. Emerging research shows that twice as many Americans have been killed

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33 Ronald Haddad, "Building Trust, Driving Relationships with the Dearborn, Michigan, Arab American Community," *The Police Chief* 78 (March 2011): 42–47.

34 Rick Braziel, Frank Straub, George Watson, and Rod Hoops, "Bringing Calm to Chaos: A Critical Incident Review of the San Bernardino Public Safety Response to the December 2, 2015 Terrorist Shooting Incident at the Inland Regional Center" (Police Foundation, 2016), policefoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Bringing-Calm-to-Chaos-Final-1.pdf.

by far right violent extremism than Islamist-inspired extremism (excluding the outliers of 9/11 and Oklahoma City).[35] Yet our approach to preventing terrorism is skewed toward the jihadist threat rather than communities from which far right extremism may emerge.[36] A close friend of Dylann Roof was aware of his plans to murder congregants at Emmanuel Church, but did nothing to dissuade Roof or alert the authorities.[37] Recent events confirm we must immediately begin trust-building to encourage resilience in such communities before this trend spirals out of control.

Expert practitioners continue to come to similar conclusions: community members are more likely to know what is going on, or what is needed, in their own neighborhoods; local communities will be less responsive if only approached during a time of crisis; trust is critical to building partnerships; and those partnerships, and the resilience they foster, are critical to our nation's shared security. Only by creating ongoing and meaningful partnerships, both vertically and horizontally across multiple networks, can we begin to forge the long-term, layered resilience civil society needs to preempt, confront, and ultimately defeat the ever-evolving threats to our freedoms, safety, and way of life.

Individual resilience is tied to community resilience, which in turn puts less pressure on the ecosystem of crisis management and response. Without individual connections that span the vertical (local to federal) and the horizontal (across localities and communities), resilience will be impossible. Without putting communities in the lead to tailor responses to what will be most successful—and what is most needed for them—prevention and response to disaster will continue to be lacking. Not every response requires a federal lead. Instead, creating partnerships within and across communities before they are needed must be a top priority for federal and local governments alike, to prepare for all threats and to bounce back from a variety of potential tragedies.

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35 University of Maryland National Consortium for Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, "Islamist and Far Right Homicides in the United States" (START.UMD.edu, February 2017), start. umd.edu/pubs/START_ECDB_IslamistFarRightHomicidesUS_Infographic_Feb2017.pdf.

36 Government Accountability Office, "Countering Violent Extremism: Actions Needed to Define Strategy and Assess Progress of Federal Efforts" (GAO.gov, April 2017), gao.gov/assets/690/683984.pdf.

37 John Mon, "Joey Meek Knew What Dylann Roof Was Going to Do, Told Others Not to Talk to FBI," *The State*, April 29, 2016, thestate.com/news/local/crime/article74651222.html.

PART 2:
TOOLS FOR ANALYSIS AND ADVOCACY

An Overview of Data on the US Muslim Community's Capacity to Advocate for Inclusion

Dalia Mogahed

Director of Research, Institute for Social Policy and Understanding

Introduction

The 2016 election season was one of the most polarizing in recent memory, dividing the country along not only partisan but also racial and religious lines. Nativist rhetoric targeted immigrants, refugees, Mexicans, trans people, Jews, and women. But some of the most shocking and exclusionary statements and policy positions were reserved for Muslims, from banning visitors and immigrants who are part of the religious community from the country to establishing a registry for Americans who are Muslim.

This toxic climate has had a measurable impact both on the Muslim community and on the broader public. Hate crimes targeting those perceived to be Muslim have grown sharply.[1] Muslims are the most likely of any major faith group in America to report experiencing religious discrimination, and nearly half of Muslim women report fearing for their personal safety at the hands of white supremacist groups. Sadly, the impact doesn't stop at adults. According to a 2017 Institute for Social Policy and Understanding study, 42% of Muslim families with children in K–12 schools report their kids were bullied for their faith, higher than any other

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1   Azahed Ansari, "Hate Crimes Spike, Most Sharply Against Muslims," *CNN.com*, November 15, 2016, cnn.com/2016/11/14/us/fbi-hate-crime-report-muslims/index.html.

faith community.[2] And it's not just peer-to-peer abuse. Among those bullied, a teacher or administrator was the bully 25% of the time.

Though harder to measure, a climate of anti-Muslim bigotry and fear has impacted the general public as well. One clear example of this is anti-Muslim legislation at the state level. It is not an isolated phenomenon. Eighty percent of state legislators who sponsor laws restricting the rights of Muslims also introduce policies to restrict the rights of the LGBTQ community, women, immigrants, black and Latino Americans, and even blue-collar workers.[3]

The normalization of bigotry hurts many more than just the targeted group. Islamophobia is also linked to anti-Semitism. In a recent Gallup study, anti-Semitic sentiments were the single most powerful predictor of anti-Muslim prejudice, more powerful than one's views on Islam, whether one knows a Muslim, or any demographic variable.[4] This link is now clear, with the growing prominence of white supremacy movements that openly express anti-Semitic and Islamophobic views.

According to neurological research, fear makes us more accepting of authoritarianism, conformity, and prejudice, eroding the very foundation of a functioning democracy. It kills freedom. Islamophobia is not just a threat to minority religious communities. Critical thinking, government accountability, and a fair society are issues of concern to everyone.

Muslims in one sense are canaries in the coalmine—they might be the first to feel it, but the toxic climate of fear and bigotry hurts us all. Muslims have a historical opportunity to work for a truly pluralistic America in which every person can fully contribute. This essay aims to assess the Muslim American community's strengths and struggles in advocating for inclusion.

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2   Dalia Mogahed and Youssef Chouhoud, "American Muslim Poll 2017: Full Report," *ISPU.org*, March 21, 2017, ispu.org/american-muslim-poll-2017.

3   Alejandro Beutel and Saeed Khan, "Manufacturing Bigotry: A State-By-State Legislative Effort to Pushback against 2050 by Targeting Muslim and Other Minorities," *ISPU.org*, November 10, 2014, ispu.org/public-policy/islamophobia.

4   Gallup, "Religious Perceptions in America: With In-Depth Analysis of U.S. Attitudes Toward Muslims and Islam" (Gallup, Inc., 2009), clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/SSP_MWF_WorldReligion_Report_en-US_final.pdf.

The capacity to advocate for any value requires at least two things. First, the desire to bring about a world where that value is realized—do you exemplify that value yourself? And second, the capacity to bring about this shift—do you have the resources to advocate effectively for this value? We will analyze each of these questions separately.

Commitment to Pluralism

One of the most common American and European public perceptions of Muslims is that of "intolerance," that Muslims do not accept people different from them. If this were true about Muslims generally, then their desire to advocate for pluralism would be self-serving, ineffective, and performative at best. However, empirical evidence challenges this pervasive perception. In fact, Muslims often stand out as the American faith community most appreciative of religious pluralism, and among the most committed to ending bigotry and discrimination in general.

1. **Commitment to Pluralism:** "Despite believing that they are often the victims of intolerance, Americans who practice Islam are among the most tolerant of US faith groups studied. Muslim Americans' combined integration-tolerance scores—a measure of their appreciation for religious pluralism—are higher than those of Protestant Americans, Catholic Americans, and Jewish Americans."[5]

2. **Prioritizing Social Justice as Religious Duty:** According to Pew's 2017 poll of Muslim Americans, "about seven in ten Muslims (69%) say working for justice and equality in society is essential to what it means to be Muslim, and nearly as many (62%) say the same about protecting the environment. By comparison, a majority of US Jews (60%) also say that working for justice and equality is essential to their Jewish identity. And far fewer US Christians (22%) say protecting the environment is essential to what being Christian means to them." This compares to 72% who say loving the Prophet Muhammad is essential to what it means to be Muslim, and six in

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5   Gallup, "Muslim Americans: Faith, Freedom and the Future: Examining U.S. Muslims' Political, Social, and Spiritual Engagement 10 Years After September 11" (Gallup, Inc., 2011), news.gallup. com/poll/148931/presentation-muslim-americans-faith-freedom-future.aspx.

ten who say following the Quran and Sunnah is essential to what being Muslim means to them.[6]

3. **Support for Intra-Muslim Pluralism:** According to Pew's 2017 poll of Muslim Americans, "while many [US] Muslims say they attend mosque and pray regularly, sizable shares also say that there is more than one way to interpret their religion and that traditional understandings of Islam need to be reinterpreted to address the issues of today."[7]

4. **Black Lives Matter:** According to ISPU's 2017 poll, Muslims are the most likely faith group (66%) to support the Black Lives Matter movement. This compares with roughly 58% of Jews and individuals not affiliated with a faith, and less than 39% of Catholics and Protestants. The highest support for BLM is among Muslims who are black (72%), Asian (76%), or young (72%).[8]

5. **Political Priorities Include Civil Rights:** Muslims are the most likely faith group studied to consider bigotry and challenges to civil rights as the most important issues facing our country today.[9]

6. **Muslims and the LGBTQ Community:** While often singled out as "anti-LGBTQ," Muslim Americans resemble mainline Protestants in their views on the LGBTQ community.

   a. Muslims do not include an anti-gay agenda in their political platform. Muslim political priorities are economic growth and job creation, pluralism, and education, rather than social issues.

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6 Pew Research Center, Religion & Public Life, "Muslims Concerned about their Place in Society, but Continue to Believe in the American Dream," *PewForum.org*, July 26, 2017, pewforum.org/2017/07/26/identity-assimilation-and-community.

7 Elizabeth Podrebarac Sciupac, "U.S. Muslims are Religiously Observant, but Open to Multiple Interpretations of Islam," *PewResearch.org*, August 28, 2017, pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/28/u-s-muslims-are-religiously-observant-but-open-to-multiple-interpretations-of-islam.

8 ISPU, "Muslims Most Likely Faith Group to Support Black Lives Matter Movement" (*ISPU.org*, 2017), ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/AMP_2017-7.jpg.

9 ISPU, "American Muslim Poll 2017: Muslims at the Crossroads, Key Findings" (*ISPU.org*, 2017), ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/AMP-2017-Key-Findings.pdf, 1.

Muslim piety resembles more the religious left than the religious right.[10]

b. The majority of Muslims (52%) say homosexuals should be accepted by society, identical to 52% of Protestants who say the same and far higher than 34% of white evangelical protestants.[11]

Capacity to Advocate for Pluralism and Inclusion:

Though the American Muslim community is committed to pluralism, its capacity to advocate for it is challenged by a lack of political influence due to a deficit in civic engagement, exacerbated by intra-community fragmentation.

1. **Lower Civic Engagement:** Muslims are less likely than other faith communities to be registered to vote or to have participated in the last election.[12]

2. **Intra-Community Fragmentation:**

   a. *Income disparity:* Muslim Americans are the most likely to report low income, despite the prominence of professional Muslims.[13]

   b. *Intra-community racism:* A significant minority of Muslims of all races (33% of black Muslims, 26% of Arab Muslims, and 31% of Asian Muslims) report being discriminated against by other Muslims during the last year, but the majority of Muslims (roughly 54%) report race-based discrimination from the general public. Interestingly, intra-community racism is not unique to Muslims; one-third of both African American Muslims and

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10 Dalia Mogahed and Fouad Pervez, "American Muslim Poll: Participation, Priorities, and Facing Prejudice in the 2016 Elections" (*ISPU.org*, 2016), ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/poll2016-1.pdf, 6.

11 Pew, "Muslims Concerned," pewforum.org/2017/07/26/political-and-social-views/#muslim-americans-increasingly-accepting-of-homosexuality.

12 Mogahed and Chouhoud, "American Muslim Poll 2017: Full Report," 3, ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/AMP-2017_Full-Report.pdf; Pew, "Muslims Concerned," pewforum.org/2017/07/26/political-and-social-views/#about-four-in-ten-muslims-say-they-voted-in-2016.

13 Ibid., 9.

> African Americans in the general public report race-based dis-
> crimination from members of their own faith community.[14]
>
> c.   *Lack of a common narrative:* The community is highly frag-
>   mented across sect, race, and ethnicity, hailing from at least
>   77 different countries with no country accounting for more
>   than 10% of the country of origin. A large portion of American
>   Muslims are either immigrants to the United States or first-gen-
>   eration Americans. Muslims, as well as the public, are split on
>   the need to reassure the public on terrorism. Half of Muslims
>   say Muslim leaders bear responsibility for reassuring the public
>   that they are against terrorism, a third say they do not, and the
>   rest are unsure.[15]

The Muslim American community has a number of resources it can
leverage to resist bias and discrimination. American Muslims contribute
disproportionally to the wellbeing and progress of their country, espe-
cially in fields of economic growth and job creation: science, innovation,
and medicine.[16] The community is young and highly educated on average,
with its female members exceeding their male counterparts in education
and religiosity, suggesting a strong base for the next generation.[17]

And while Muslims disagree on the need to reassure the public regard-
ing terrorism, they are unified in their rejection of it. "Although both
Muslim Americans and the US public as a whole overwhelmingly reject
violence against civilians, Muslims are more likely to say such actions
can *never* be justified. Three-quarters of US Muslims (76%) say this,
compared with 59% of the general public. Similar shares of Muslims
(12%) and all US adults (14%) say targeting and killing civilians can
"often" or "sometimes" be justified."[18]

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14 Ibid., 11.

15 Ibid., 8.

16 Currently, ISPU's mapping project has published data for the state of Michigan, ispu.org/an-
impact-report-of-muslim-contributions-to-michigan.

17 Mogahed and Chouhoud, "American Muslim Poll 2017: Full Report," 10.

18 Pew, "Muslims Concerned," pewforum.org/2017/07/26/terrorism-and-concerns-about-
extremism/#muslim-americans-even-more-likely-than-general-public-to-say-targeting-and-killing-
civilians-is-never-justified.

American Muslim communities already contribute strongly to the national output—American Muslims are scholars, doctors, police officers, firefighters, social workers, elected officials, and shop owners. American Muslims already contribute to their neighbors' food baskets in charity campaigns, and to the nation with their tax dollars. In order to fully realize this potential to advocate for themselves and for the common good, Muslims and their allies must address the communities' obstacles, so that they become a strong force for social justice in America.

Metrics for Success in Pluralism Projects

Edina Lekovic
Cofounder, NewGround:
A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change

Facts don't change people, feelings do. This realization hit me around 2005, when I was first thrown into the deep end of the pool of interfaith dialogue.

I found myself on the front lines of addressing a litany of lies and distortions about Islam and Muslims, to media outlets and policymakers, hoping that these platforms would help me play a part in setting the record straight and providing a relatable face. I found myself among a small field of American Muslim voices, spokespeople really, who vied for access to public soapboxes so they could share facts and data about the faith.

Back then, we thought that was the best way to move public opinion. But all those facts and all that data were no match for the ever-present stream of horrifying images and messages of Muslim perpetrators of violence and the spike in fear and distrust toward Islam and Muslims by other Americans. For the vast majority of the past 16 years, public opinion about Islam and Muslims has been almost evenly split on average—despite the distribution of tens of thousands of Qurans, PSA campaigns that promoted "Islam means peace" messages, and advocacy groups working around the clock to separate themselves from terrorists who represent .000001% of Muslims worldwide. Instead of facts and information, societal change must have another origin.

If my decade of experience in building programs that focus on leadership development and network building have taught me one thing, I'd boil it

down to this: personal relationships are the basic building block of societal change. At NewGround, a Los Angeles-based community-building organization I co-founded in 2006 that creates, connects, and empowers Jewish and Muslim change-makers, we have learned that you can't make change until you make a *real* relationship. As Professor Brene Brown says, "it's much harder to hate someone up close."[1] It's far easier to assume the worst (and be left unchallenged) when your only contact with someone from a race/faith/sexual orientation/identity different from your own is through an electronic screen (TV, films, social media). When that "someone" is from an under-represented group, those portrayals are often limited to stereotypes that amplify and reinforce their "different-ness." They increase the understanding gap rather than bridging it.

That reality hit home a couple years ago when I joined a women's group made up of Jewish, Muslim, and Christian women that focused on textual analysis and art projects as a way of creating and sustaining a deeper sense of personal connection and spiritual learning. A year into our group's existence, we found ourselves gathered in the living room of our leader a week after the San Bernardino attack. She began by sharing that in the past when she heard news of a violent attack by a Muslim perpetrator she was ashamed to admit her gut reaction was to fear Muslims. With emotion growing in her voice, she continued, "This time when I heard the awful news about San Bernardino, my gut reaction was again fear, but this time my immediate thought was, 'Oh, Edina and Sumaya and Reem and Gail … how will all my Muslim friends be impacted?" We had built authentic relationships in a reflective and nurturing group environment, and stuck with them even when we had tension or conflict, because we became invested not just in the text or the process, but in one another.

NewGround does this and more in seeding and supporting the development of authentic relationships that respect individuals' unique experiences and viewpoints rather than seeking to diminish them. Part of the pixie dust of NewGround's professional fellowship, high school leadership council, and public programming originates in establishing up

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1   Brene Brown, *Braving the Wilderness: The Quest for True Belonging and the Courage to Stand Alone* (New York, NY: Random House, 2017).

close, authentic connections between thousands of Muslim and Jewish Angelenos each year. For the participants in our fellowship, they are trained in intentional listening, conflict styles, and how to recognize and handle anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, as well as exposed to Islam and Judaism and Israel-Palestine history from multiple sources. And they talk, listen, laugh, cry, and sometimes even raise their voices. But no matter what, they stick with it, they survive their internal conflicts, and they join forces to work together on projects that reach their broader communities, both in person and online. NewGround has transformed Muslim-Jewish relations in Los Angeles, and advanced a shared agenda for change on the national stage.

Zain Delawalla/NewGround: a Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change

On April 3, 2017, NewGround's Muslims and Jews Inspiring Changes High School Leadership Council gathered in Santa Monica at a spot where an Islamophobe spews hate to share their stories. They invited anyone walking by to join the circle as well.

But how *much* change has there been? The ability to measure and articulate the success of a mission for change drives internal improvement for the betterment of the mission, and helps us attract donors and talent, all while expanding the reach of our message. So, then the question is, how can we measure the change we've made when our core deliverable is best described as authentic, enduring relationships?

Outcome measurement is "a systematic way to assess the extent to which a program has achieved its intended results."[2] The main questions addressed in outcome measurement are:

- What has changed in the lives of individuals, families, organizations, or the community as a result of this program?

- Has this program made a difference?

- How are the lives of program participants better as a result of the program?

These questions reveal the importance of being able to measure and document "soft outcomes," which may be more important than the movement toward metrics allows them to be captured. Building relationships between people or organizations or within communities is an important result of activities undertaken by many nonprofits, including capacity builders, but is hard to measure. So the outcome measures can be unsatisfactory, either because they are poor substitutes for these soft outcomes or because they ignore them altogether.[3]

To get around the elusive nature of meaning in relationships, we have to ask some qualitative questions and use qualitative methodologies:

- How can I see the change? (Through what kind of observation?)

- How can I hear the change? (Through interviews? Focus groups?)

- How can I read the change? (Through surveys? In participant reflections?)

While measuring "relationships" presents obvious challenges because of their subjective and personal nature, it is possible to measure how those relationships show up in the world and make a difference.

Below are some ways to think about what to measure and track when evaluating community building:

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2 Strengtheningnonprofits.org, "Developing a Plan for Outcome Measurement," strengthening-nonprofits.org/resources/e-learning/online/outcomemeasurement/Print.aspx.

3 Ibid.

- How many relationships have been built?
- How many projects have been developed?
- Has there been attitude change, as measured through pre- and post-fellowship surveys?
- How many alumni speak publicly about the work?
- How often is the alumni network engaged?
- How have the alumni put their training to use?
- How many collaborations among participants have been inspired?
- How much diversity and inclusion does the program/initiative include among its shared-identity participants?
- How does the "container" hold up? Does it engage the diversity among shared-identity participants as much as it does the others?

At NewGround, it took years before our work, based in our expanding network of personal relationships, began to be recognized, and that development expanded our reach. The relationships we have formed have shaped not only our organization's work, but the work of our alumni, whose projects have reached hundreds of thousands of people worldwide. Slingshot, which recognizes innovation and leadership in North American Jewish communities, named us one of the fifty top Innovative Organizations of 2016, and cited our ability to produce "emerging leaders who forge change."[4] That outcome may be a soft one, but it is something of which we couldn't be prouder.

As poet Maya Angelou famously observed, "I've learned that people will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel." Change a person's feelings toward another and you have a building block for societal change.

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4   NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change, "In the News," mjnewground.org/in-news.

Muslims and Philanthropy at the American Crossroads

Shariq Siddiqui

Visiting Director and Assistant Professor,
Muslim Philanthropy Initiative, Indiana University

American Muslims populate diverse and thriving communities across the US. Like other Americans, they make individual charitable contributions both inside and outside their local communities, they establish and give to faith- and community-based nonprofit organizations, and those nonprofits seek assistance from outside sources of funding. These three areas form the landscape of Muslims and American philanthropy. Some challenges, such as fear of association with bad actors and ongoing negative narratives, adversely affect development in these areas. However, there are some best practices and recommendations for community members, nonprofits, and outside funders that may help to overcome these challenges.

Individual Giving

According to the 2017 American Muslim poll conducted by the Michigan-based Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, Muslim Americans give at lower rates than Christian or Jewish Americans to religious charities.[1] Dr. Ihsan Bagby, in a recent article in the *Journal on Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society,* provides case studies to further examine

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1 Dalia Mogahed and Youssef Chouhoud, "American Muslim Poll 2017: Full Report," March 21, 2017, ispu.org/american-muslim-poll-2017, 7.

this difference.[2] Some may argue that this suggests that Muslim Americans are stingier than the other religious groups. However, closer examination of the poll and Muslim tradition offers alternative perspectives.

First, Islamic tradition urges Muslims to keep their philanthropy private. Muslims are taught that "the left hand shouldn't know what the right hand gives," so it is possible that Muslims under-report their giving. However, it is more likely that Muslims define philanthropy differently. Some may consider zakat (giving 2.5% of your surplus wealth) as philanthropy while others may consider it to be a wealth tax. Furthermore, Muslim tradition lays emphasis upon helping individuals (family, friends, and neighbors) as part of philanthropy. However, the modern definition of philanthropy likely doesn't include this kind of giving.

Second, while Muslim Americans embrace philanthropy as an important part of their faith—according to the Zogby American Muslim Poll it was the second most important of the five pillars of Islam—demographics provide important reasons for this lower level of giving.[3] Muslim Americans are younger and less affluent than other faith communities. Research on philanthropy suggests that individuals tend to give more as they grow older and become wealthier.

The youth of the Muslim American population in recent years and its correspondingly small charitable offerings further an existing narrative that Muslim philanthropy has declined since 9/11. The alleged decline in giving noted initially within the Muslim American community in general and supported by civil rights advocacy group is thought to have been sparked by US government raids on Muslim American organizations in 2002, which created a chilling effect on Muslim American philanthropy.[4]

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2   Ihsan Bagby, "Exploring the Giving Practices in American Mosques: Why Do Muslims Give So Little to Their Mosques?" *Journal of Muslim Philanthropy & Civil Society* 1 no. 1 (2017): 94–115, DOI: dx.doi.org/10.18060/21407.

3   Shariq Siddiqui, "Giving in the Way of God: Muslim Philanthropy in the US," in *For The Sake of God*, ed. David Smith (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 28.

4   My research suggests that there was an increase rather than a decline in giving. See Shariq Siddiqui, "Myth vs. Reality: Muslim American Philanthropy since 9/11," in *Religion and Philanthropic Organizations: Family, Friend, Foe?* ed. Tom Davis (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 203.

Best Practice Model: The Pillars Fund Builds Muslim Philanthropy

Kashif Shaikh, Co-Founder and Executive Director of the Pillars Fund, says he learned how philanthropy not only shaped a city but built a powerful network of philanthropists as a young man working in the major gifts department of the United Way of Metropolitan Chicago. That lesson led him to help create the Pillars Fund in 2010. As he learned the world of philanthropic institutions, he could not help but wonder why American Muslims were so glaringly absent. While his experiences as a Muslim American showed both that the community was generous with their philanthropy and that that generosity was rooted in a deep tradition within the faith, Muslims were not building a philanthropic network.

In the years since its founding, the Pillars Fund has learned something about why this is. They believe it has to do with the narrative of terrorism. This narrative has long misrepresented American Muslims, and that is only worsened because many of their fellow citizens have limited contact with actual American Muslims. As a result, many Americans assign collective responsibility to the entirety of Islam and Muslims for the violent actions of a few. Muslims have been marginalized, made into the new global boogeyman, and framed in a lens of "us versus them."

Survey data from many sources including Pew, Zogby, and the Huffington Post highlight a deep distrust and suspicion of Muslims by the American public. Moreover, today the American Muslim community is being further marginalized as influential politicians employ bigoted rhetoric.

Based on its analysis of the situation, the Pillars Fund believes that the primary reason for the persistence of a negative narrative is the lack of resources for Muslim civic institutions. Such institutions can engage a community, provide an avenue for a community to work toward building a better nation, and create a voice for a community in the larger society. As Dalia Mogahed's demographic data demonstrates (see page 63), the American Muslim community is small although growing, fragmented and racially, economically, and religiously diverse. It is heavily immigrant or first-generation American, and young. This demographic data may help explain patterns in American Muslims' investment of their charitable dollars. First, one implication of being a new, immigrant-led community is that most American Muslim charitable giving has historically flowed

overseas. Many American Muslims support a variety of social service programs in their countries of origin, which tend to be poor and often are experiencing some type of crisis, either natural or man-made. Second, the creation and ongoing maintenance of local religious infrastructure has captured a significant amount of the community's charitable dollars, time, and energy. While religious institutions are important for American Muslims individually, this focus has hampered the community's ability to build civil society institutions that can represent the American Muslim community within broader American society.

But the American Muslim community has capital to invest and credibility to lend, and the community should broaden its philanthropic vision. The community will only be effective if the goal is to stimulate philanthropic activity domestically and build a network of influential civic and business leaders who use their influence to create positive social change—in this instance, reframing the dominant narrative about American Muslims by creating alternative narratives that are more accurate and nuanced.

- The Editors, with gratitude to Kashif Shaikh

Many Muslim Americans become concerned that their donation to a charity would "come back to haunt them," in two ways.[5] First, some simply have not wanted to give money only to find out that it was misused for financing terrorism. A 2004 report in the *Los Angeles Daily News* stated that Muslims were afraid and confused and thus shying away from philanthropy.[6] Second, there is a fear of guilt by association: donors are concerned about being investigated or scrutinized by the government if their names are found in the database of a suspected charity.[7] Additionally, in cases where the government investigates a charity, the philanthropic purpose of a gift may not be achieved if the funds are seized by the government or depleted through the legal defense of the office-holders of the organization. Starting in 2003, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Juan Zarate began meeting with Islamic chari-

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5   Adil Najam, *Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 13.

6   Najam, *Portrait*, 14.

7   Siddiqui, "Giving," 28.

ties through the auspices of the Islamic Society of North America. In 2008, at the World Congress of Muslim Philanthropists, as US State Department and US AID officials listened, the Executive Director of the Council on American Islamic Relations stated that civil liberty violations and scrutiny of Muslim Americans had had a chilling effect on Muslim American philanthropy. Yet, as my prior research indicates, this narrative was not actually true, and created new challenges for the Muslim philanthropic and nonprofit sector.[8]

Lack of additional research has made it difficult to comprehensively push back against the narrative of declining Muslim giving. However, while no comprehensive data exists, there is sufficient partial data to help us examine this claim. My research of fourteen of the largest Muslim American relief agencies' 990 forms shows that charitable giving to these organizations rose three-fold, from a little over twenty-nine million dollars in 2002 to over ninety-six million dollars in 2008.[9] Similar analyses of organizations like the Islamic Society of North America, Council of American Islamic Relations, and Muslim Public Affairs Council, along with other national and regional organizations, suggest increased levels of funding as well.

Similarly, a study of Pakistani-Americans by Adil Najam shows that philanthropy and civic engagement have actually increased since 9/11.[10] Najam found that individual donors became more vigilant after 9/11 when giving charity, but did not reduce their giving patterns.

It is unfortunate that the national narrative amongst Muslim American advocates has been focused on the decline of the Muslim American nonprofit sector. While this narrative has resulted in stronger and more transparent charities and donors becoming more vigilant, it has drawn Muslim Americans away from more traditional forms of philanthropy.

One measurable example of traditional Muslim philanthropy is individual giving. While there was a clear benefit of the national narrative

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8 Siddiqui, "Myth vs. Reality," 203.

9 All four of the Muslim American charities closed by the US Government for alleged terrorism links were relief agencies.

10 Najam, *Portrait*, 13.

in terms of transparency and vigilance, it distracted attention from the real victim of this concern: private remittances. Over 60% of Muslim Americans have an immigrant background.[11] The government raids after 9/11 primarily impacted Muslim American relief nonprofits that were mainly international in focus. My research suggests a dramatic decline in international remittances by Muslim Americans.[12]

However, an even more unfortunate result of this narrative is that while philanthropy may not have declined, Muslim Americans are under greater stress and scrutiny than their non-Muslim counterparts. This is true for American Muslim nonprofits as well, with the result that both Muslim individuals and nonprofits are less able to focus their efforts on positive contributions to society.

There are some bright lights in the realm of individual Muslim charity. In recent years, several major donors have made or planned highly-publicized gifts to causes broadly supported among Americans. These donations help to raise up the positive contributions of Muslims. Pierre Omidyar, founder of eBay, along with his wife Pam, have given away an astonishing one billion dollars through their Omidyar Group.[13] The Group includes international and domestic organizations, such as The Democracy Fund, which work to strengthen American principled leadership and effective governance for all.[14] A few years ago, Hamid Ulukaya made news by hiring refugees at his Chobani yogurt company, and for signing Bill Gates and Warren Buffet's Giving Pledge, with a promise to donate at least 1.4 billion dollars to charities.[15] More recently, Rafat and Zoreen Ansari gave 15 million dollars to the University of Notre Dame in order to fund a new Institute for Global Engagement with

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11 Siddiqui, "Giving," 28.

12 Siddiqui, "Myth vs. Reality," 203.

13 Tanza Loudenback and Emmie Martin, "The 20 Most Generous People in the World," *Business Insider,* October 12, 2015, businessinsider.com/most-generous-people-in-the-world-2015-10/#1-bill-gates-20.

14 The organization may be found at democracyfund.org.

15 Associated Press and Louise Boyle, "Chobani Founder Signs Up to Bill Gates' Giving Pledge and Promises to Donate Most of his Self-Made $1.4bn Fortune," *Daily Mail*, May 29, 2015, dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3112668/Chobani-CEO-pledges-donate-1-4bn-wealth.html.

Religion.[16] The rise of the faith-based crowdfunding site LaunchGood offers opportunities for Muslim Americans of lesser means to still make the news, as when over $162,000 was raised to repair vandalized Jewish cemeteries in early 2017.[17] The Muslim effort to care for their Jewish neighbors received so much media coverage that Ellen Degeneres and J. K. Rowling tweeted about it, which resulted in the site crashing. Large and small philanthropic efforts go a long way toward addressing the perceived decline in American Muslim philanthropy, as well as the threat of Islamophobia in America.

American Muslim Nonprofits

Muslim Americans have seen an incredible growth of philanthropic and nonprofit institutions to further their religious identity and care for the communities around them. But they do face some challenges. The incredible diversity of American Muslim communities means that they lack a cohesive alignment on issues because of their disparate interests and priorities. While the communities broadly can rally around the legitimacy of a Muslim identity in this country, the diversity of approaches makes it difficult to develop strategic philanthropic choices.

Additionally, Muslim American nonprofit institutions lack trained philanthropic professionals to lead and manage their operations. While these organizations have incredibly passionate and inspiring leaders, these leaders lack the nonprofit and philanthropic training and education that is offered by a growing number of academic institutions such as The Lilly School of Philanthropy at Indiana University and the Johnson Center on Philanthropy.

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16 Paul Sullivan, "An Unorthodox Gift to Notre Dame from Muslim Philanthropists," *New York Times,* March 17, 2017, nytimes.com/2017/03/17/your-money/norte-dame-muslim-philanthropists.html.

17 For the project itself, see: launchgood.com/project/muslims_unite_to_repair_jewish_cemetery#!/; Tyler Whetstone, "Meet the Muslim Man Who is Raising Money for Damaged Jewish Cemeteries," *Knox News,* March 7, 2017, knoxnews.com/story/news/local/2017/03/07/knoxville-native-raises-money-damaged-jewish-cemeteries/98856886.

This lack of training is apparent in the common but less productive strategy of raising money through fear, rather than inspiring individuals to give. Far too often these nonprofits present a threat and show how the nonprofit can "fight" against that threat. Few examine donors' priorities and how philanthropy can shape donors' visions of a better America. The positive approach is far more effective, and offers a better way for American Muslims to add their own voice to the shaping of American philanthropy.

Finally, American Muslim nonprofits face the same challenge that individual Muslim donors face post-9/11, as scrutiny forces them to prioritize greater accountability and transparency over programmatic success. Although the push toward stronger financial controls and vigilance is generally positive, it can also force nonprofits into unsustainable levels of institutionalization, when they should be seeking greater efficiency. To mitigate these challenges, nonprofits should seek training in nonprofit management and fundraising, and grantmakers should be willing to fund them. In seeking such funding, nonprofits should not overlook smaller and family foundations, which are consistently more willing to fund faith-based organizations than are larger grant-makers.[18]

Engagement by Outside Funders

The growth and development of Muslim nonprofits is further hampered by the relatively weak response by mainstream philanthropy to outreach by Muslim nonprofits. Despite mainstream philanthropies' engagement with issues of civil rights, racism, and pluralism, they have been surprisingly disengaged from the Muslim nonprofit sector. This has been in large part due to a lack of understanding about the scope, size, and nature of the Muslim nonprofit sector. Modern philanthropic institutions pride themselves on matching philanthropy with expertise. Lack of

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18 Robert Wuthnow and D. Michael Lindsay, "The Roles of Foundations in American Religion" in *The Roles and Contributions of Foundations to Society*, ed. Helmut Anheier and David C. Hammack (Washington: Brookings, 2010), 305–27, scholarworks.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/1805/5660/2009_li_rolesoffoundationsamericanreligion.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y.

expertise coupled with a fear of partnering with the "wrong" nonprofit seems to be hampering stronger engagement.

More recently, mainstream philanthropy has started engaging more with the Muslim American nonprofit sector. However, this welcome engagement raises some alarming concerns. First, at a time when the Muslim nonprofit sector needs a strong investment in broad capacity building, the funding is largely programmatic in nature. Programmatic funding, while helpful, doesn't build capacity in such a way that the sector can be a better champion of pluralism in the fight against Islamophobia. Second, the sector needs greater investment in research. While some research funding has been made available, it remains woefully inadequate for the task at hand. Third, mainstream philanthropy seeks to engage through intermediaries that they know. This skews investments in the Muslim nonprofit sector. Fourth, and more concerning, mainstream philanthropy and other external allies seek to define whom they consider an acceptable Muslim. This may be helpful to marginal groups within the Muslim nonprofit sector who desperately need support. However, while these marginal groups require funding for internal legitimacy within the Muslim community, they are less likely to serve a broader role. If the strategy is to build greater equity within the Muslim community, these are good investments. However, if it seeks to privilege one group of American Muslims over another, it suggests an alarming new form of Islamophobia.

In order to better engage the American Muslim space and address one of the great challenges to pluralism today, traditional funders must be willing to invest in faith-based organizations in Muslim communities by supporting requests for general operating funds and other capacity-building initiatives. Where traditional funders feel a lack of expertise in the field, they must make the effort to partner with intermediaries or develop internal expertise.

Best Practice Model: El-Hibri Foundation Uses Collective Impact to Build Community Capacity

The El-Hibri Foundation, a philanthropic organization that empowers and equips Muslim leaders and their allies to build thriving, inclusive communities, provides a model of innovative practices to ensure pluralism in the US. By responding to the needs of American Muslim nonprofit organizations and by drawing on best-practice grantmaking, EHF has been at the forefront in building the capacity of American Muslim nonprofit leaders to run effective organizations and to leverage impact through collaboration.

While the number of American Muslim nonprofits has grown over the last two decades, many nonprofit leaders lack the management expertise or experience to recruit and retain talent, deliver sustained and effective programs, scale work, or diversify revenue streams.

As a result, community impact can be limited, opportunities for advancement and inclusion are lost, and representative voices on the regional or national stage are missing and unheard. Capacity deficits are especially problematic for anchor institutions, whose contributions to community well-being and resilience are particularly important.

Beginning in 2015 with the leadership of Farhan Latif, EHF launched a groundbreaking effort to address these challenges through building nonprofit capacity, collaboration, and leadership. Leaving behind a traditional model of awarding project-based annual grants, EHF awards multi-year operating support grants for anchor institutions advancing inclusion while providing customized nonprofit management training to grantee board and staff members.

This combination of EHF operational support grants and tailored programs ensures that nonprofit organizations are equipped with the right combination of skills, resources, and technical support to succeed and grow at whatever their respective stages of institutional development.

One example of EHF leadership programming is an annual Public Narrative Training, led by Dr. Marshall Ganz of Harvard, which trains nonprofit leaders on the power of effective narratives, while also developing constituency-building strategies as a leadership skill. These trainings foster deep personal relationships among community leaders accustomed to working in silos, leading to new opportunities for professional partnerships and collaborations.

A consistent focus on relationship-building maximizes EHF's impact. By comprehensively mapping nonprofit work and conducting extensive outreach and one-on-one meetings, EHF plays a key connecting role between organizations, donors, allies, and thought leaders. Using its downtown Washington, DC location, EHF convenes working groups and hosts strategic retreats and programs to advance inclusion and support community organizing.

The El-Hibri Foundation is also known for its annual Peace Awards Ceremony, which celebrates the achievements of nonprofit leaders advancing inclusion as well as fearless allies who have stood in solidarity with American Muslims. By highlighting best leadership practices and recognizing nonprofit contributions to inclusion, EHF shines a spotlight on American Muslim civic engagement and community service.

This innovative collective action framework provides resources and skills, forges collaborative relationships, and increases inclusion of and with American Muslim communities, all of which are essential for ensuring that American Muslim nonprofit organizations are equipped to weather challenges in the years ahead, and become effective community leaders and partners in preserving American pluralism.

- The Editors, with gratitude to Farhan Latif and the El-Hibri Foundation

Conclusion

The Muslim American nonprofit sector is very diverse. It collectively shares the responsibility of developing a wide range of Muslim American civic identities and fighting against a negative narrative of Islam and Muslims, while constantly justifying its efficacy internally. The unfortunate false narrative that focuses on a decline in giving distracts from the very real challenges the sector faces. It is desperately under-resourced. While its diversity should be celebrated, we should also recognize its fragmented nature. While Muslims have been in America for centuries, the Muslim nonprofit sector is relatively young. Muslim American nonprofits need greater levels of general support to help them develop internal strategies and invest in both human resources and research on the sector and its challenges.

Out of Many, One:
Defining the Opposite of Extremism

J.M. Berger

Associate Fellow, International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague

"We have to defeat the extremist ideology!"

This has become a rallying call of the 21st century, repeated with near automatic precision by politicians and policy makers in the aftermath of a terrorist attack.

But 16 years of repeating the mantra have yielded few results. Extremist ideologies and the damage they wreak are more visible than ever.

Governments have thrown everything and the kitchen sink at this problem, from military intervention to economic development packages, with results that are at best debatable, and at worst, distinctly counterproductive.

How do you fight an extremist ideology? First, understand what it is. I study the ideological texts produced by extremists, and this is what I have learned:[1]

1. **Extremism** is the belief that one's own identity group (called an in-group) can never be successful without taking hostile action against one or more distinct identity groups (called out-groups). This does not refer to healthy competition or conflicts of interest that arise

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from normal interactions. Extremists believe their enemy out-groups present an irremediable obstacle to the in-group's health and success. As a result, extremists cannot be satisfied until their enemies are permanently dominated or destroyed.

2. **Ideology** is a term often used to encompass many qualities of belief, values, cultures, and societal rules or systems. But importantly, and perhaps primarily, ideologies are texts—they have no power if they are not transmitted. Ideologies are found in written and spoken words, images, tweets, songs, and videos.

These definitions are relatively new and may be contested by some, but they are derived from what extremists say about themselves (both intentionally and as subtext).

We talk about extremist ideology in terms of values and behaviors, but studying their texts points to a more subtle and important purpose.

Extremist ideologies are overwhelmingly concerned with defining the boundaries of identity, whether racial, religious, or national.

Extremist ideologies are overwhelmingly concerned with defining the boundaries of identity, whether racial, religious, or national. It is not extremist simply to identify with a collective, such as "American" or "Christian." But in extremist movements, the natural tendency of human beings to seek a sense of belonging mutates into cancerous excess.

Following a fairly predictable template, extremist movements create profusely detailed descriptions of their "in-groups"—clearly defining what it means to be part of their shared identity, including beliefs, traits, practices, and history. The goal of an extremist ideology is to draw rigid boundaries around this in-group identity.

Defining the in-group in such detail naturally produces a mirror effect—a parallel definition of people who are excluded from the shared identity, the out-group. These outsiders are also very carefully defined, using the same map of characteristics—belief, traits, practices, and history.

As an identity movement lurches toward extremism, the out-group is cast in increasingly negative terms. It is understood first as undesirable and then as an imminent and even cosmic threat. The threat is seen as intrinsic to the out-group's identity—it cannot be solved, it can only be fought, through discrimination, segregation, and violence, sometimes even going as far as genocide.

These detailed group descriptions contribute to a quality that social psychologists call "entitativity." Scholars Michael Hogg and Danielle Blaylock define it as "the property of a group, resting on clear boundaries, internal homogeneity, social interaction, clear internal structure, common goals and common fate, which makes a group appear 'groupy.'"[2]

It can perhaps be more simply described as authenticity or immanence—a group's ability to convince both insiders and outsiders that it is real, substantial, and potent. A substantial body of research suggests that entitativity makes extremist groups and movements attractive to people who are uncertain about themselves and their place in the world.

Extremist ideological texts and propaganda offer detailed group descriptions that anchor adherents with clear messages about who they are and what is expected of them. Importantly, in a world populated by a vast array of ideologies, the concepts discussed here are not particular to any one type of extremism—they apply equally to jihadists, neo-Nazis, and Buddhist nationalists, only a few of the movements that are currently wreaking havoc around the world.

Extremism has existed for thousands of years, and it comes in many flavors. It is part of the human experience and not exclusive to any one group. And thanks to a brave new world of instant global connectivity, the problem is perhaps more diverse than ever before. Extremism is a socially transmitted disease, and there are more vectors for infection than at any time in history.

While it is tempting to review recent history, and conclude that extremists are somehow "winning the war of ideas," that isn't exactly true.

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2   Michael A. Hogg, "Self-Uncertainty, Social Identity, and the Solace of Extremism," in *Extremism and the Psychology of Uncertainty* Vol. 8, ed. Michael A. Hogg and Danielle L. Blaylock (Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 19–35.

Super-empowered super-minorities are enjoying a temporary boost thanks to the rise of social media, which has enabled them to spread their messages using methods that didn't exist a generation ago, as well as to disproportionately magnify the reach and impact of extremist violence.

Pluralism, where it has taken root, is still remarkably resilient. Extremists are still mostly minorities in pluralistic societies, often very tiny minorities whose impact has been amplified by the media and political machines that swarm around their outrageous tactics.

But recent events, including noteworthy gains by far-right movements in democratic elections around the world, clearly show that we must not take the durability of pluralism for granted. We can and should do better.

Countering extremism is a multifaceted process involving many different lines of effort, which are often most effective when very specifically targeted to people who have been exposed to extremist social networks. But there is room to consider the broader issue of entitativity, the quality that helps extremist movements compete.

Extremist movements deliberately cultivate entitativity by creating detailed ideological arguments for their in-group's legitimacy, substantiality, and authenticity. Further aiding this effort, delegitimizing outsiders tends to help legitimize insiders. Entitativity relies on clear boundaries and rigid roles, and extremist ideologues meet that need by creating rigid and detailed rules about who is "in" and who is "out."

A grim example can be found in Nazi Germany's Nuremberg race laws, which defined very specifically who could be a German citizen and who was excluded as a Jew, adding laws against intermarriage between Germans and those who would "produce 'racially suspect' offspring."[3] The object of such laws, and other extremist ideological texts, is to remove any ambiguity about who can be accepted as part of the in-group, and who will be excluded and subjected to hostile actions.

Pluralistic identities face a special challenge in competing on this basis, precisely because they are based on fluid boundaries and opportunities

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3   US Holocaust Memorial Museum, "The Nuremberg Race Laws," ushmm.org/outreach/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007695.

for inclusion. They accept people with a wide range of beliefs, traits, and practices. All of this makes it more difficult to create and clearly define an identity.

Difficult but not impossible. Extremist movements appeal to vulnerable people by offering an anchor that feels substantial and real. Pluralistic movements are also substantial and real, and they can define substantive identities that both reflect and transcend such relatively simple common demographic markers as race and religion.

This requires a long and thoughtful analysis of how pluralism came to be, what it means to us today, and where it is going. We need to be able to articulate the practices and the benefits of pluralism. We need to robustly describe the traits and characteristics of a pluralistic society. We need to communicate all the ways that pluralism is working, describing its institutions and dynamics in detail. This will not be easy work; it will require passionate advocates dedicated to building difficult consensuses.

Importantly, we also must correct the dishonest extremist argument that most ancient societies were less pluralistic than those that exist today. History clearly shows that pluralism has as long and storied a history as any individual ethnic or religious group. We need to do a better job of conveying that history and creating a sense of continuity.

Far too often, initiatives against extremism are confined to tweet-length messaging campaigns that seek to emasculate the complex ideologies of extremist movements with "a few simple truths."

In order to defend inclusive societies, we must build narratives that are as deep and historical as those we seek to combat.

Extremism can never be fully defeated. It is part of the human condition. But the fight against extremism is also deeply embedded in human societies. We can make the world more stable, and more just, for more people.

We can start by telling our own story.

Civil Society's Renaissance: America's Hope to Counter Extremism

George Selim

Senior Vice President, Anti-Defamation League

In the face of an increasingly complex threat matrix that ranges from the white identity movement to ISIS recruiting, American civil society—nonprofits and community and faith leaders—plays an increasingly critical role. As my former Department of Homeland Security colleague Sarah Morgenthau points out (see page 45), civil society is where resilience must embed and be exercised.

Since 9/11, violent extremist organizations have evolved to become less location-dependent. Today, every country and community where governance is strained and communities are vulnerable is at risk of becoming the next terror target, and anyone with access to a smartphone can become radicalized—anytime, anywhere. Meanwhile, individuals with no previous ties to extremism are introduced to new ideologies via social media and canny online recruitment methods.

While homegrown jihadist extremism is a serious threat to this country, we tend to underestimate the threat posed by right wing extremists. As my organization, the Anti-Defamation League, has reported, "right-wing extremists have been one of the largest and most consistent sources of domestic terror incidents in the United States for many years," including 150 terrorist plots and attacks since 1993.[1] In recent decades, right-

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1   Anti-Defamation League, "A Dark & Constant Rage: 25 Years of Right-Wing Terrorism in the United States" (2017), adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/CR_5154_25YRS%20RightWing%20Terrorism_V5.pdf.

wing extremists have committed more murders than any other domestic extremist movement in the United States.[2] White supremacists—including those who marched in Charlottesville, Virginia and are responsible for Heather Heyer's death—are just one part of this dangerous strain of extremism. Far right extremism also encompasses anti-government extremists. As a former police chief said, following the death of his son—also a police officer—at the hands of anti-government sovereign citizen extremists, "Many people don't realize that there are people at war with this country that aren't international terrorists."[3]

Tim Dodson/UVA Cavalier Daily

White nationalists marched in Charlottesville with tiki torches on August 11, 2017.

In each of the last two years, FBI statistics revealed a spike in hate crimes targeting three groups: Jews, Muslims, and members of the LGBTQ community. While not on the scale of terrorism, these data point to growing "otherization" of minorities and disinhibition in moving from attitude to action. Experts in extremist recruiting, like J.M. Berger (see

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2   See Anti-Defamation League, "Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2015" (2016), adl.org/news/article/murder-and-extremism-in-the-united-states-in-2015. See also Anti-Defamation League, "Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2016" (2017), adl.org/education/resources/reports/murder-and-extremism-in-the-united-states-in-2016.

3   Chief Robert Paudert, "Sovereign Citizens and Law Enforcement," Southern Poverty Law Center (2010), youtube.com/watch?v=d_y-gLm9Hrw.

page 89) have done side by side comparisons of jihadi and right-wing extremist recruiting. They find that ideology is not the key factor in vulnerability. Rather, uncertainty about one's place in society is. University of Maryland researchers found that peer involvement, mental illness, and criminal history were the three factors that most frequently characterized recruits to either ideology. And self-reporting by former extremists shows many admit they could have been radicalized to a different ideology. ISIS recruits are often converts, and many adherents fail to faithfully practice tenets of their faith. However, they share with right-wing extremists a narrative of persecution and victimization.

Marginalization or alienation—being made to feel like "the other" or an enemy in one's own community—is a significant cause of jihadist-inspired violent extremism. Hate may actually create psychological incentives to justify violent extremism as retribution.[4]

While J.M. Berger's analysis is a useful theoretical framework for understanding extremist world views and how to begin countering them, my work at the Department of Homeland Security and the ADL has introduced me to examples of best practices at the local level. Advocates and organizers may want to examine what is happening on the ground to apply these approaches in their own communities.

In the wake of jihadist terrorist attacks, hate crimes against Muslims rise.[5] The proliferation of jihadist-inspired violent extremism encourages far right extremism and violence against Muslims—and all those deemed "outsiders"—which, in turn, incentivizes behavior toward Muslims to treat them as outsiders that may then increase the likelihood that extremist ideologies become more palatable to Muslims. A vicious cycle emerges.

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4   See, e.g., Sarah Lyons-Padilla, Michele J. Gelfand, Hedieh Mirahmadi, Mehreen Farooq, and Marieke van Egmond, "Belonging Nowhere: Marginalization & Radicalization Risk among Muslim Immigrants," *Behavioral Science and Policy* 1 no. 2 (Winter 2015): 1–12 gelfand.umd.edu/papers/BSP_2_Lyons_2p%20(002).pdf.

5   See, e.g., Kathleen Deloughery, Ryan D. King, Victor Asal, and R. Karl Rethemeyer, "Assessing the Likelihood of Hate Crime in Wake of Boston Attacks" (University of Maryland National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), April 2013), start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/research_briefs/START_HateCrimeTerrorism_QA.pdf.

To counter these trends, a multi-faceted approach is required. Once an individual crosses the line from belief or advocacy to criminal behavior, law enforcement must have the tools and capacity to arrest and prosecute them. That approach, of course, is the enforcement equivalent of locking the barn door 15 minutes after the horse has bolted. It requires an individual to *already* be dangerous, which inherently raises risk when compared to a more forward-leaning prevention posture. Moreover, collecting evidence is difficult, particularly from warzones or when a suspect uses communication encryption and other evasive measures. With threats on the rise, law enforcement cannot possibly become aware of or prevent every attack—nor should the responsibility fall solely on those in uniform. Reversing mutually reinforcing cycles of violence requires our collective effort to address and prevent their root cause.

We know communities that utilize tested principles of psychology, community resilience, and marketing can reduce the causes of violence and the allure of extremist messages. They can also help inoculate vulnerable communities against the appeal of new extremist movements. In the current political climate, funding for such initiatives is under attack thanks to the worst political instincts on both the right and left. The current Administration lacks the urgency required to respond to all forms of extremism.[6]

While the loss of federal leadership and guidance is a blow, it will accelerate needed change at the level of nongovernmental and subnational infrastructure addressing the problem. Regardless of political will or reason, the government's capacity to counter extremism is limited—it functions best as a convener or funder of innovative strategies, and less well as the author of messages to counter extremist ideologies or arbiter of the "best" approaches to patriotism or religion.

Publicly speaking out against these movements may also feel like a solution, but while these expressions are cathartic, those who condemn extremist movements sometimes inadvertently benefit them. Studies show that countering a view more often causes the believer to defen-

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6   George Selim and Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, "Save the Terrorism Prevention Toolkit," *War on the Rocks*, August 28, 2017, warontherocks.com/2017/08/save-the-terrorism-prevention-toolkit.

sively become more entrenched.[7] And the publicity from conflict only incentivizes new recruits. Ross Frenett, whose organization Moonshot CVE analyzes and counters extremism, noted in September 2017 that there was a "400% increase in online searches indicating a desire to join or get involved with violent far right groups in the weeks following the Charlottesville attack."[8]

Positioning government as the messenger or the public as the moral arbiter may backfire among movements that thrive on counter-culture and controversy. Compelling messengers are unlikely to be officials of the federal government because the adherents to extremist ideologies are inherently unlikely to be receptive to a message from the US government.[9]

Instead, the most effective way to create results in countering extremism is through messengers and civic leaders who are credible to those whose behavior must be changed.

Experts believe that the type of person most likely to change the behavior of a potential violent extremist is someone with whom they personally identify. A former extremist who has renounced the ideology, a friend, family member, or other community leader cannot easily be dismissed as an "other." Family interventions, for instance, have proven successful in preventing suicide and gang recruitment; they can reduce tendencies toward other violence as well.[10] Just as person-to-person recruitment by

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7   See, e.g., Alistair Reed, "IS Propaganda: Should We Counter the Narrative?" (International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague, March 17, 2017), icct.nl/publication/is-propaganda-should-we-counter-the-narrative.

8   Ross Frenett, as delivered at the Digital Forum on Terrorism Prevention, September 21, 2017.

9   Jihadist extremists view themselves in opposition to America. As for far right extremists in the US, anti-government sovereign citizens believe the US government itself is illegitimate. See Anti-Defamation League, "Sovereign Citizen Movement," adl.org/education/resources/backgrounders/sovereign-citizen-movement. Militia movement adherents follow conspiracy theories that virtually any government position could be a ploy to undermine their liberty and enslave them. See Anti-Defamation League, "Oath Keepers and Three %ers Part of Growing Anti-Government Movement," adl.org/education/resources/backgrounders/oath-keepers-and-three-ers-part-of-growing-anti-government?ncid=edlinkushpmg00000313.

10   See, e.g., Jane Pineda and Mark R. Dadds, "Family Intervention for Adolescents With Suicidal Behavior: A Randomized Controlled Trial and Mediation Analysis," *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 52 no. 8 (August 2013): 851–862, dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jaac.2013.05.015; Jon Shute, "Family Support as a Gang Reduction Measure," *Children & Society* 27 no. 1 (2013):48–59; Centre for Public Health, "Violence Prevention: The Evidence," World Health Organization (2010).

a family member, friend, loved one, or co-worker is one of the most successful methods of introducing people to extremist ideas, the inverse is also true, and can extract people from extremist groups, counter hateful ideas, and lessen the chances for violence.

In interventions arranged by Life After Hate, former neo-Nazis who have renounced that ideology work with people who are at risk of joining the white supremacist movement, or who are already part of it. The former extremists counsel the current extremists or potential recruits in terms and in a tone more likely to garner respect than any official's plea. Some faith leaders have spearheaded similar initiatives. For example, religious scholars and leaders like Imam Mohamed Magid of the All Dulles Area Muslim Society (ADAMS) Center in Virginia have counseled Muslim youth and raised awareness about the dangerous potential for extremism.[11]

The Obama Administration made great strides in catalyzing civil society efforts around these issues, such as holding global "summits" to connect civic leaders.[12] Related initiatives, such as the Strong Cities Network, connect local leaders to share promising practices.[13] My organization recently launched The Mayors' Compact, an innovative partnership that allows city leaders to share ideas and programs for countering hate.[14]

Another initiative, the Peer-to-Peer (P2P) program, administered by EdVenture Partners, empowers university students to counter hate online, so young adults considering extremist ideologies can hear from people "like them" who are advocating peace. Many of the programs attempt to break down "us versus them" barriers. In one initiative, students at the University of Nebraska created social media messages and stories about local refugees' lives and struggles, to help make the "foreign" more accessible and familiar.[15]

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11 There are several community initiatives doing this kind of work, such as Muflehun, which runs a "Rampoff" program for kids who start down a violent path, and the Muslim Public Affairs Council's Safe Spaces Initiative. See muflehun.org and mpac.org/safespaces.

12 CVE Summits, US Department of State, state.gov/j/cve/summits.

13 Strong Cities Network, strongcitiesnetwork.org.

14 The Mayors' Compact, mayorscompact.org.

15 Lori Janjigian, "Facebook is tapping college students to fight trolls and extremists." *Business Insider,* August 12, 2016, businessinsider.de/facebook-is-tapping-college-students-to-fight-trolls-and-extremists-2016-12?r=US&IR=T.

Life After Hate

Sammy Rangel, one of the co-founders of and the Executive Director of Life After Hate, addresses a crowd.

The tech industry has also begun to address the threat of extremism. Google, Microsoft, Facebook, and other technology companies have banded together to help tech startups recognize that their systems may be vulnerable to exploitation by extremists.[16] Jigsaw, the internal "think/do tank" for Alphabet (Google's parent company), worked with Frenett's Moonshot CVE to develop the "Redirect Method" to use existing videos of credible moderate voices to answer online searches for extremist content.[17] Bridging the commercial and security divide, Business Executives for National Security shows corporate leaders how their expertise can also help keep Americans safe. Across the board, extremism is reduced by initiatives that pair individuals who are vulnerable to extremist recruitment with reasonable counter-arguments from credible sources.

While government support could undoubtedly amplify these efforts, civil society will prove to be the true agent of positive change in the struggle against extremism. Offering sincere, trustworthy counter-arguments and breaking down "us vs. them" barriers can weaken the root causes of

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16 Adi Robertson, "Facebook, Microsoft, Twitter, and YouTube Launch Anti-terrorism Partnership," *The Verge,* June 26, 2017, theverge.com/2017/6/26/15875102/facebook-microsoft-twitter-youtube-global-internet-forum-counter-terrorism.

17 Andy Greenberg, "Google's Clever Plan to Stop Aspiring ISIS Recruits," *Wired*, September 7, 2016, wired.com/2016/09/googles-clever-plan-stop-aspiring-isis-recruits.

hatred, and can help break its vicious, violent cycle: hate incentivizing hate, which leads to violence, which feeds the flames of further hate. Targeted interventions by credible sources can create a less hospitable environment for this downward spiral.

More than ever, we need community efforts that lessen the fear of the "other" in each of us, and lift up the neighbor and compatriot in all of us.

PART 3:
VISIONS FOR 2028

Christian Commitment to Pluralism Should Not Waiver

Shapri LoMaglio

Vice President for Government & External Relations,
Council for Christian Colleges & Universities

Prior to the November 2016 election, I had the unique task of having to write my regular column on politics knowing that our readers—professors and administrators who work on Christian college campuses—would receive it shortly after the election. Given the uncertain outcome of the race, the task seemed tricky. Which issues should I inform them about? Would student aid likely be cut, or would higher education regulations likely become more onerous? Would the poor be more protected or made more vulnerable? Would protecting religious freedoms be an Administration priority, or would the Administration adopt a posture of protecting the American citizenry *from* religion? In addition, our association's membership spans 35 different Christian denominations, and studies show that we—the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities—have among the highest amount of political diversity in our faculty, staff, and students in our institutions. So I knew that either way, some readers would be excited, some would be angry, and others ambivalent about the outcome.

However, since both candidates supported things that were consistent with Christian values and beliefs as well as other things antithetical to those values, the content of my column did not depend on who won. As a Christian organization that represents almost 200 Christian colleges and universities in 20 countries around the world, our call would remain the same regardless of the election's outcome: to speak prophet-

ically (or, to use a familiar idiom, to "speak truth to power") and to live counter-culturally.

For Christians, the foundation for this idea comes from none other than Jesus himself. When asked whether Jews should pay taxes to the Roman government that was ruling over them, Jesus' deft response to "give back to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's" not only evaded the political snare that had been set for him, but it also clearly demarcated to Christians that while they were to respect earthly political systems, by no means should those systems capture their chief loyalty.[1] Through this teaching, Jesus demonstrated that believers could be involved in both spheres but that there were boundaries around these domains.

These boundaries are the heart of a pluralistic approach to matters of state that Christians should readily embrace. Principled pluralism creates space in society for persons and institutions of diverse belief systems, or none at all, to participate fully in the public square without penalty.

Principled pluralism requires five elements:

1. Societal participants must know what they believe.

2. Societal participants must view those with whom they disagree as people to be convinced instead of conquered.

3. Societal participants must seek first to persuade through the marketplace of ideas, not through law.

4. Societal participants should seek to protect others' entry into the marketplace of ideas.

5. Societal participants must be willing to champion laws that protect those with whom they disagree.

Principled pluralism must be a foundational element of a society with no religious or ideological test. Without a legal or social structure requiring conformity of thought around these matters, there will be those in agreement and those who dissent. History teaches that, where there is dissent, there is conflict. Conflict is ended when one position "wins" over the other, enforcing a purported unanimity of thought, through law or force,

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1   Matt. 22:21 (NIV).

unless the society itself is positioned to respect and even protect diversity of thought about matters of conscience and conviction that are essential to human existence.

What most undermines a pluralistic society is ignorance—both an ignorance of civic knowledge and an ignorance of religious knowledge. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson's writings affirm the principle that an educated citizenry is necessary to preserve a democratic government free of tyranny.[2] Principled pluralism is challenged by those whose own beliefs are unsettled or unmoored and who therefore view those who challenge them as threats. The conflict that exists in a pluralistic society occurs through the written and spoken word, not through physical feat or battle. The conflict of ideas allows people to make their case about why their political ideology or religion is superior without fear of reprisal. Knowledge is an essential element because it creates a foundation from which a person can express and defend her ideas and beliefs without fear.

Ignorance is indeed a great threat in the United States. A 2015 research survey from the Newseum Institute revealed that 33 percent of Americans cannot name a single right guaranteed by the First Amendment, and only 2 percent of those who could name some of the rights remembered the right to petition.[3] (Fifty-seven percent named the freedom of speech, 19 percent named the freedom of religion, 10 percent mentioned the freedom of the press, and 10 percent named the right to assemble.)

Another growing and troubling trend among Christians is a lack of biblical and theological knowledge. In 2016, the Barna Group released a report highlighting a sharp decline in Bible reading among Americans—while 46 percent reported reading the Bible at least once a week in 2009, that number had dropped to about a third of Americans, with the gaps even more noticeable among age groups (only 24 percent of Millennials,

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2   George Washington. "First Annual Address to Congress in 1790," presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29431; Thomas Jefferson, "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" (1778), tjrs. monticello.org/letter/58.

3   Newseum Institute, "The 2015 State of the First Amendment," newseuminstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/FAC_SOFA15_report.pdf.

for example, reported reading the Bible weekly).[4] The decline can be seen in their political views as well. A recent Lifeway poll showed that only one in ten Evangelicals said that their political opinion on immigration had been informed by the Bible.[5]

This lack of civic knowledge and catechesis threatens our pluralistic society, by undermining consensus in the faith-based pluralism of the Founding Fathers. They understood that our American experiment depends in particular on those in the majority to respect and uphold these principles of pluralism. That is why it is especially regrettable when Protestant Christians, who have long been the majority population in the United States, violate those principles essential to a pluralistic society by citing our national values as synonymous with our Christian values or by attempting to use the force of law to get people to adopt Christian practices.

Our faith should inform the individual intersection of Christians with politics and the fulfillment of our civic duties. Christians should confidently embrace those aspects of government that do not cause them to compromise their values, and should criticize those aspects that are contrary to Christian values with equal confidence. Where Christians should be the most enthusiastic is in promoting those aspects of government that allow Christians, and those of other faiths or no faith, to practice freely. But we should not blindly adopt or embrace a government or its leaders, even if they have promised to be supportive of our most important issue(s) or especially if they offer our faith special protection, as we risk paying more in devotion than in tax to Caesar. It must always be clear that as Christians our primary allegiance is not to any person or government of this world.

Jonathan Haidt, a social psychologist and author of *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion*, outlines why people, even those with the same religious convictions, can come to such

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4   The Barna Group, "The Bible in America: 6-Year Trends," barna.com/research/the-bible-in-america-6-year-trends/. The Barna Group is a research organization focused on the intersection of faith and culture.

5   Bob Smietana, "Bible Influences Only 1 in 10 Evangelicals on Immigration Reform," *Christianity Today,* March 11, 2015, christianitytoday.com/news/2015/march/bible-influences-only-1-in-10-evangelicals-views-on-immigra.html.

Stephen D. Martin/National Council of Churches

A woman speaks during an interfaith training in Charlottesville, preparing to counter the white nationalist rally.

different political conclusions.[6] He describes the five moral foundations shared among all humans:

1. Care/harm, which underlines the virtues of kindness, gentleness, and nurturance.

2. Fairness/cheating, which generates ideas of justice, rights, and autonomy.

3. Loyalty/betrayal, which underlines virtues of patriotism and self-sacrifice for the group.

4. Authority/subversion, which underlines virtues of leadership and followership, including deference to legitimate authority and respect for traditions.

5. Sanctity/degradation, which underscores notions of living in an elevated, less carnal and more noble way.

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6 Jonathan Haidt, *The Righteous Mind: Why Good People are Divided by Politics and Religion* (New York: Vintage Books, 2013).

Haidt concludes that people claim different political affiliations not because some people are more or less moral, but rather because they hold these moral values differently. While liberals and conservatives both place very high values on care and fairness, conservatives also value authority, loyalty, and sanctity equally, whereas political liberals ascribe much lower value to those three categories. What better defense of pluralism than recognizing that such strongly held beliefs can form despite shared values?

Pluralism's great strength is that it does not ask people to weaken their beliefs, political or religious. In fact, it preserves a guaranteed space for them to hold those beliefs strongly—and to live them out in both their public and private lives. Consequently, there should be no greater champions for principled pluralism than Christians.

Without freedom of conscience, freedom to believe, and freedom to live and act on our beliefs, there is no freedom at all. Therefore, whenever we act to defend the freedom of others, ultimately, we are defending our own. So let's duke it out in the marketplace of ideas, over religion, philosophy, and political ideology, but where our laws are concerned, let's work together to ensure that the marketplace of ideas remains open to all.

The Party of Lincoln
and of Reagan

Suhail Khan

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Recently, I was privileged to visit President Abraham Lincoln's cottage in Northwest Washington, DC. Located on the grounds of the Soldiers' Home (known today as the Armed Forces Retirement Home), the property served as President Lincoln's summer residence where he and his family would escape the heat and political pressure of downtown Washington. And while President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation at the White House on January 1, 1863, major portions of the historical document were contemplated and drafted at the modest summer getaway. President Lincoln's executive order liberated over three million enslaved Americans and eventually led to the passage and ratification of the 13th Amendment to the US Constitution, thereby abolishing slavery in the United States. As a life-long Republican and conservative, I couldn't help but feel enormous pride that the first Republican President was the leader who drafted and signed the landmark executive order that freed millions.

Growing up as the oldest child of immigrants who left their respective families in South Asia, risking all to find freedom, I was taught to revere leaders like President Lincoln, abolitionist Harriet Tubman, and other men and women who risked their lives and sacred honor in pursuit of liberty, and particularly so in the service of others. Ours was a special nation, an exceptional one, not because of ancestral or ethnic heritage, wealth, or military might, but because, as President Lincoln eloquently

stated, ours was a nation, "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Indeed, well over a century later, these revolutionary sentiments were echoed in the remarks of President Ronald Reagan at the opening ceremonies of the Centennial Celebration of the Statue of Liberty in New York City on July 3, 1986:

> I have always believed there was some Divine Providence that placed this great land here between the two great oceans, to be found by a special kind of people from every corner of the world, who had a special love for freedom and a special courage that enabled them to leave their own land, leave their friends and their countrymen, and come to this new and strange land to build a New World of peace and freedom and hope. Lincoln spoke about hope as he left the hometown he would never see again to take up the duties of the Presidency and bring America through a terrible Civil War. At each stop on his long train ride to Washington, the news grew worse: the nation was dividing; his own life was in peril. On he pushed, undaunted. In Philadelphia he spoke in Independence Hall, where 85 years earlier the Declaration of Independence had been signed. He noted that much more had been achieved there than just independence from Great Britain. It was, he said, "hope to the world, future for all time."[1]

I was a teenager when I heard President Reagan deliver these remarks about President Lincoln on live television and could feel my heart swell with pride. They tethered me, the son of hard working immigrants, to the Founders, the Declaration of Independence, the US Constitution, and our shared and hopeful future.

President Reagan continued;

> We're bound together because, like them, we too dare to hope—hope that our children will always find here the land

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1   Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at the Opening Ceremonies of the Statue of Liberty Centennial Celebration in New York, New York," July 3, 1986, reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1986/70386d.htm.

of liberty in a land that is free. We dare to hope too that we'll understand our work can never be truly done until every man, woman, and child shares in our gift, in our hope, and stands with us in the light of liberty—the light that, tonight, will shortly cast its glow upon her, as it has upon us for two centuries, keeping faith with a dream of long ago and guiding millions still to a future of peace and freedom.

President Reagan's remarks underscored that being American is not based on race, religion, ethnicity, or even ties to land, but instead a commitment to freedom, and protecting inalienable rights. The sentiments buoyed my patriotism, my love of our country and our shared values, and my hope for a better future. Even though I was too young to cast my vote for President Reagan in 1980 or 1984, I was keenly aware that the country had twice elected the former California governor to serve in our highest office.

Beyond studying the lives of our Founding Fathers, and the texts of our nation's founding documents, President Reagan inspired me to read seminal works such as Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative, Witness* by Whitaker Chambers, and *God and Man at Yale* by William F. Buckley.[2] As a seventeen-year-old freshman at the University of California at Berkeley, I joined Young Americans for Freedom and the College Republicans, and then, upon my eighteenth birthday, I registered for Selective Service and to vote as a proud member of the GOP. I worked on my first presidential campaign in 1988, to elect George H. W. Bush, who had served two terms as Vice President under President Reagan. After completing college and law school, I served on the staff of a California Republican Congressman on Capitol Hill and then for President George W. Bush. I also served on political campaigns on behalf of GOP candidates across the nation.

In campaign after campaign, I attended Lincoln Day dinners, where candidates invoked the legacy of Ronald Reagan. In the tradition of

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2   Barry Goldwater, *The Conscience of a Conservative*, reprinted with new foreword and afterword (1960; repr., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Whitaker Chambers, *Witness*, Cold War Classics (Washington, DC: Regnery History, 1980); William F. Buckley, *God and Man at Yale: The Superstitions of "Academic Freedom"* 50th Anniversary Ed. (1986; repr., Washington, DC: Gateway Editions, 2002).

"Reagan conservatism," GOP candidates at all times aspired to uphold personal liberty, fiscal responsibility, a strong national defense, and robust moral leadership in a troubled and dangerous world. Reagan's iconic invocation of America as "a shining city on a hill," was often recalled as a beacon of freedom across the globe.

There's no doubt the 2016 election cycle turned much of these cherished principles on their heads. Calls for bans on immigration based on faith and hateful rhetoric directed towards racial and ethnic minorities, immigrants, and refugees further poisoned an already divisive and vituperative campaign. And since the election, rising racial tensions, class and regional divisions, and the rift within the GOP between the traditional limited government majority and a vocal populist and increasingly nativist coalition of Republicans, independents, and disaffected Democrats, underscore the divided nature of our current politics. This has contributed to the sense of chaos within the GOP, our government, and in related institutions such as the media and academia.

Eric Draper, Courtesy of the George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum

After addressing the media, President George W. Bush talks with his hosts during his visit to the Islamic Center of Washington, DC September 17, 2001.

It's difficult to witness some within my party engaging in divisive rhetoric and proposing actions contrary to the spirit of our party philosophy and our nation's Constitution (as I write this, a candidate poised to win Alabama's seat in the US Senate has called for a religious test for elected office). If it's true that politics are downstream from culture, there should be little doubt that the overwhelmingly powerful undercurrents of fear, mistrust, and, in some painfully extreme cases, outright hate for each other have appeared to pull our nation irrevocably apart. I'm not sure how long it will take for my party and our nation to emerge from this difficult time, but overcome we will.

Why? Because we've done it previously. Ultimately, we're all Americans who share a cherished legacy of, time and time again, striving for individual freedom.

Each time some seek to give in to darker impulses based on fear, suspicion, and hate, it's crucial that thoughtful and responsible citizen leaders, echoing Lincoln and Reagan, continue to remind our fellow Americans that we are an inclusive nation, one based on principles of freedom and liberty, and not on division, race, or ethnic identity. From conversations around the family table, classroom, and boardroom, to political rallies and the halls of Congress and the White House, we must boldly and firmly stand for our founding principles. Reagan once observed that "freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. We didn't pass it to our children in the bloodstream. It must be fought for, protected, and handed on for them to do the same." Our commitment to our shared values can't be taken for granted, but I share Reagan's optimism and belief in the American spirit, demonstrated in the brave words, actions, and deeds of citizens across our nation, and ultimately—and hopefully—reflected in our elected leadership.

The Freedom of Speech and the Obligation to Listen: How to Save Political Discourse on American College Campuses

Rabbi Yehuda Sarna

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Bronfman Center for Jewish Student Life (Hillel)

With anti-Semitic incidents palpably on the rise over the last two years, Jewish communities and other minority groups are rediscovering common cause.[1] The emergence of the alt-right and, specifically, the penetration of campuses by the movement's provocateurs has disoriented and disturbed Jewish student communities. After years of being labeled "Zionist white supremacist" by radical left-wing groups for its support of Israel, Hillel, the central address for Jewish life on most campuses, now turns its attention to the appearance of White Nationalists, Identitarians, and Race Realists.[2] This creates an opening for potential alliances with Muslim, Hispanic, Black, and LGBTQ communities to nurture a hospitable campus climate.

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1   Anti-Defamation League, "ADL Audit: Anti-Semitic Assaults Rise Dramatically Across the Country in 2015," June 22, 2016, adl.org/news/press-releases/adl-audit-anti-semitic-assaults-rise-dramatically-across-the-country-in-2015.

2   Some recent examples include: Yvette Miller, "Tufts University Activists Publish Guide Calling Israel a 'White Supremacist State,'" *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, September 8, 2017, jta.org/2017/09/08/news-opinion/united-states/tufts-university-activists-publish-guide-calling-israel-a-white-supremacist-state; and Rachel Frommer, "UIUC Student Group Compares Zionists to KKK, White Supremacists," *The Washington Free Beacon*, September 7, 2017, freebeacon.com/issues/uiuc-student-group-compares-zionists-kkk-white-supremacists.

Serving as a University Chaplain at New York University for the past decade, I've held a front row seat for this transformation. In the aftermath of the elections, a Muslim prayer room was vandalized with "Trump" written across the door.[3] The next week, an NYU dorm room with some Jewish residents was defaced by post-it notes bearing messages such as "Make America White Again" and an image of a swastika.[4] Jewish students turned out *en masse* to a vigil hosted by the Islamic Center at NYU; members of the Islamic Center decorated a large poster board with hundreds of supportive post-it notes and delivered it to Shabbat dinner.

True, the Jewish and Muslim communities at NYU had been working together for a decade by the time these incidents occurred. But other schools in the New York area are experiencing a more dramatic turn, a transformation that I am actively supporting. As late as 2015, student marchers at Hunter College shouted "Zionists out of CUNY![5] An event co-sponsored by the Hillel at John Jay College of Criminal Justice featuring two observant police officers—one Jewish, one Muslim—was canceled because the Muslim Student Association came under pressure for collaborating with Zionists, thereby normalizing the Occupation.[6] Other Hillels in New York quietly reported a similar phenomenon: other student identity groups, including ones that did not have a particularly progressive orientation, were reticent to partner with the Jewish community on campus.

While I understood how the doctrine of intersectionality could be brought into the employ of perversely boycotting Jewish groups, it both-

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3   Sayer Devlin, "Tandon Prayer Room Vandalized With 'Trump!'" *Washington Square News,* November 10, 2016, nyunews.com/2016/11/10/tandon-prayer-room-vandalized-with-trump.

4   Lea Speyer, "NYU's Jewish, Gay Communities Shaken But 'Strong' After Finding Swastika Sticky Notes in Dorm, Campus Rep Says," *The Algemeiner*, November 22, 2016, algemeiner. com/2016/11/22/nyu-jewish-gay-community-shaken-but-strong-after-finding-swastika-sticky-notes-in-dorm-campus-rep-says.

5   Amy Sara Clark, "Hunter College Condemns Anti-Semitic Statements," *The New York Jewish Week,* The Jewish Week Media Group, November 16, 2015, jewishweek.timesofisrael.com/hunter-college-condemns-anti-semitic-statements.

6   Stewart Ain, "Campus Bias To Get Fresh Scrutiny After CUNY Report," *The New York Jewish Week*, The Jewish Week Media Group, September 14, 2016, jewishweek.timesofisrael.com/campus-bias-to-get-fresh-scrutiny-after-cuny-report.

ered me deeply. What ate at me was the belief, grounded in my experience at NYU, that things could be different. We had made it different.

In part, changing the equation demanded different input from the Jewish community side. For many years, Hillels had not prioritized outreach and allyship to communities of color or other immigrant communities. Many Jewish students assumed that Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel had paid the Jewish dues to the civil rights movement by marching with Dr. Martin Luther King, and that they could stay on the sidelines in the wake of Ferguson. They assumed that the century-long work of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society on immigration issues at the national level would cover them locally. Meanwhile, the organized Jewish community sent the message that Jewish students should keep their distance from Black Lives Matter and the Movement for Black Lives. Unfortunately, this orientation, combined with other factors, produced distance and alienation.

In the summer of 2016, UJA Federation of New York approached me and asked if, given the flourishing interfaith community at NYU, I could help turn the tide. Replicating what we had built at NYU would not be simple. Beginning in 2012, we had established a multifaith student center called the Center for Spiritual Life and a counterpart training entity called the Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership at NYU. In just a few years, the physical plant of the Center saw upwards of 4,000 students each week for prayer, study, or action. The Of Many Institute had produced an award-winning film, training module (Faith Zone), and an academic minor in Multifaith Leadership. In all these efforts, I worked closely with Imam Khalid Latif, my co-chaplain, and a talented team of administrators. My colleague Sara Fredman Aeder and I decided to address the UJA's challenge as a Jewish project however, since we believed that a re-orientation of Jewish student activity could, in the long run, yield the best result.

The idea was simple enough: hire a few interns on each campus, train them in allyship, track them as they brought their Jewish friends to show solidarity with other student groups, and see what worked. Rather than creating your own Jewish events where you invite others, simply show up at events, vigils, or protests that others are planning. Become a solidarity squad rather than a party planner. This last point continues to be the most difficult one to convey to our interns.

In the course of developing the training, we realized that we would need to frame this project as an *entrepreneurial* endeavor since every campus dynamic is different. We called the interns *Interfaith Entrepreneur Fellows* and their first assignment was to assess the landscape of their campus and identify one shared, perceptible problem they would like to fix. Interestingly, most of the campuses had no interfaith center or club, and establishing one became a central objective.

A flurry of activity came in December of 2016: spiritual arts festivals, open dialogue groups, joint holiday celebrations. We instructed the IEFs to allow the *other* groups to set the terms for joint activity and that their role was simply to show up. This resulted in the establishment of interfaith clubs where the leadership of multiple religious, ethnic, and spiritual communities came to know and trust each other. Tellingly, other faith groups began asking us if they could also have IEF from their communities.

One campus where we have seen marked change is the John Jay College of Criminal Justice at City University of New York. Before we began the Fellowship on campus, even non-political interfaith programming, such as the NYPD panel referenced above, was highly contentious, even impossible. During the 2016–2017 Fellowship year, our Fellow felt that while she could partner with clubs like the Environmental Club or Student Council, identity clubs, such as the Black Student Union, still distanced themselves from Hillel. This year, our Fellows have begun forming personal relationships with the Black Student Union and Muslim students on campus. They were invited by two Black and Latino fraternities to co-host an event on white nationalism and Charlottesville, and will lend support and bring Jewish student representation to the Black History Month event next semester.

At Hunter, our Fellows are at the center of a budding interest in interfaith work throughout the college. They were asked to speak at the ribbon cutting of a new interfaith space on campus, and have focused on art and performance as a medium to bring different faith groups together. They have created a new mode of partnership on campus, one in which faith clubs come together to share their songs, artifacts, and artistic expressions with one another.

It would be naïve to assume that the coalitions formed have smoothed over every political conflict, domestic or international, between communities. Nevertheless, what we are observing on campus is a serious exploration of *the ethics of listening*, the oft ignored handmaiden of the more glamorous *freedom of speech*. When does listening to someone with opposing, distasteful, or dangerous views become a legitimation of those views? Granted, I will not silence others, but must I provide an audience to everyone who insists on their desire to speak? How can I train myself and members of my community to be resilient in listening? While not enshrined in the Bill of Rights, the obligation to listen is a critical part of sewing together our social fabric. Interestingly, whereas many religious traditions do not establish free speech as a fundamental principle, they do insist on the importance of hearing others out.

I come out of a religious tradition which restricts all kinds of speech protected under the First Amendment. The Torah forbids tattling, gossiping, cursing political leaders, speaking falsely, and taking G-d's name in vain. Rabbi Israel Meir Kagan (1838–1933), author of the Hafetz Hayim, catalogues 31 unique commandments transgressed when one engages in *lashon hara*, evil speech.[7] Rabbi Simon states further: "All my life I have been raised amongst the wise and I have found nothing better for the person than silence."[8]

Judaism has no articulation of the right to free speech. Instead, Judaism grounds its treatment of this space in responsibilities. The eminent legal scholar Robert Cover wisely contrasts the American legal tradition, which is based on rights, to the Jewish legal tradition, which is rooted in obligations. Each has its own founding myth. For the American tradition, the story is that of an individual relinquishing some rights and preserving others while committing to a social contract with the state. In Judaism, it is the Sinaitic narrative of a people who willingly accepts obligations from the Divine. Citizenship in Jewish community is not defined by what rights someone is allotted, but what one is obligated to do. The

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7   Chofetz Chaim, "Introduction to the Laws of the Prohibition of Lashon Hara and Rechilut, Positive Commandments," *Sefaria.org*, sefaria.org/Chofetz_Chaim,_Introduction_to_the_Laws_of_the_Prohibition_of_Lashon_Hara_and_Rechilut,_Positive_Commandments?lang=bi.

8   Pirkei Avot 1:17.

naturalization ceremony, as it were, is becoming *bar* or *bat mitzvah*, literally "a commanded one."

To be sure, as Cover argues, certain areas of life are best regulated and adjudicated by a rights-based system. But others are not:

> The jurisprudence of rights has proved singularly weak in providing for the material guarantees of life and dignity flowing from the community to the individual. While we may talk of the right to medical care, the right to subsistence, the right to an education, we are constantly met by the realization that such rhetorical tropes are empty in a way that the right to freedom of expression or the right to due process are not. When the issue is restraint upon power it is intelligible to simply state the principle of restraint…. However, the "right to an education" is not even an intelligible principle unless we know to whom it is addressed.[9]

In other words, the jurisprudence of rights can limit state power, but, to borrow from Dr. Martin Luther King, it cannot guarantee that its promissory note will be honored in full.

Therefore, the Talmud relates that in cases where individuals were excommunicated for their views, the world suffered. In one Talmudic story, the rabbis of the academy excommunicate Rabbi Eliezer for failing to submit to the majority view. In response, "His eyes shed tears, and as a result the entire world was afflicted: One-third of its olives were afflicted, and one-third of its wheat, and one-third of its barley. And some say that even dough kneaded in a woman's hands spoiled."[10] This outcome calls into question the correctness of the community's refusal to listen to Rabbi Eliezer's opinions any longer.

Freedom of speech is necessary to protect individuals from government censorship, but the responsibility to listen is essential in building a community of learners where individuals feel dignified. Clearly, this obligation does not apply equally to everyone; the obligation runs deeper with respect to individuals who are stakeholders in a particular community.

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9   Robert M. Cover, "Obligation: A Jewish Jurisprudence of the Social Order," *Journal of Law and Religion* 5, no. 1 (1987): 65–74.

10 Bava Metzia 59b.

What Jewish students are learning is that those of other faiths share much of their investment in the campus community and merit resilient listening. Provocateurs, media outlets, and talking heads who parachute into the campus for a night do not in the same way. Sorting this out will take time, and will require mining various religious and moral traditions for what ought to be the bedrock of our society: the capacity to listen.

NYU Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership

Rabbi Yehuda Sarna listens to Imam Khalid Latif speak at Zaytuna College. Both are chaplains at NYU and co-founders of the NYU Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership.

Faith in the Time of Tribalism

Rev. Terry Kyllo
Director, Neighbors in Faith

There is no fear in love. But perfect love drives out fear.
~1 John 4:18

Fear and anxiety over the challenges Americans face have made us forget how to recognize our own humanity in others. Unable to see the humanity in others, we have lost touch with the humanity in ourselves. This fear is understandable, as there is much to be anxious about.

We are in the midst of a fourth industrial revolution. According to a Ball State University study, 85% of the job losses in manufacturing between 2000 and 2010 were due to automation.[1] Two Oxford economists project that 46% of US jobs could be automated by 2025.[2] These job losses hit people hard, given that participation in our economy as producers and consumers is something of a religion in our culture. When people have lost their jobs to automation, they have lost not just their income, but their identity. When our identity is threatened it is easy to define ourselves against those from whom we are different.

We are coming into the awareness that we cannot consume and move as we currently are without terrible damage to all life: plant, animal, and human.

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1   Michael J. Hicks and Srikant Devaraj, "The Myth and the Reality of Manufacturing in America" (Ball State University, Center for Business and Economic Research, 2017), conexus.cberdata.org/files/MfgReality.pdf.

2   Carl Benedikt Frey and Michael A. Osborne, "The Future of Employment: How Susceptible are Jobs to Computerisation?" (Oxford Martin Programme on Technology and Employment, 2013), oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/academic/The_Future_of_Employment.pdf.

We are also in the midst of a vast change in demographics in this country. White Protestants are feeling the loss of political and cultural hegemony and wonder if they will still have a voice, when theirs is not the only one. Among many of our white Protestant citizens, nostalgia is now a primary value and a primal cry.

We are experiencing a great shattering of news sources. Algorithmically sanitized news feeds and micro-targeting amplifies our confirmation bias and our disdain for those who are different.[3]

We are lonely. Forty percent of us report chronic loneliness.[4] Brain researchers confirm what we all know about loneliness: the compassion center in our brain shuts down and our visual cortex lights up, on the look-out for the next stranger danger.

We are being dis-membered into smaller and smaller tribes, often tribes of one, who no longer seek the company of others as human beings. In so doing, we have become numb to our own humanity. Tribalism is not only a response to the anxiety of our time. The dynamic of tribalism threatens to reduce our capacity to learn from each other, to face hard truths, and to work together for a better future.

While these challenges and changes make us fearful for our futures, faith leaders of all faith, philosophical, or community traditions have an opportunity to lead their communities in the practice of love that drives out fear.

Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, peace be upon them, led in times of deep challenge: Moses in the slavery of his people sanctioned by Pharaoh's city-hall and divine story; Jesus in the occupation of Palestine by the Roman Empire with a divine Caesar; the Prophet in the use of politics, economics, and religion to oppress the poor. Each offered a vision of what could come, not by avoiding the problems they were facing, but by going through them. Every faith leader has felt the call to serve our human community, and that call constantly challenges us to rise up to it.

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3   A. J. Willingham, "Study: Facebook Can Actually Make Us More Narrow-Minded," *CNN Health*, January 22, 2017, cnn.com/2017/01/22/health/facebook-study-narrow-minded-trnd/index.html.

4   Vivek H. Murthy, "Work and the Loneliness Epidemic: Reducing Isolation at Work is Good for Business," *The Harvard Business Review, The Big Idea*, September, 2017, hbr.org/cover-story/2017/09/work-and-the-loneliness-epidemic.

In 2015, the call to address the dismemberment of our times rang deeply in my head and heart. I had been asked to speak with a Muslim friend at a church about Islamophobia. That event drew 400 people, and more and more events were requested. During the next Holy Week, a time of prayerful challenge and hope for Christians everywhere, I was speaking to a few of my Muslim friends about the need to help prepare churches for relationships with Muslims and to facilitate Muslims and Christians entering into neighborly relationships with each other, as each of our Founders taught us to do.

Then I heard my voice say, "I think I need to do that." I felt a great weight on me during and after I said this, but a lightness too. I spoke to my wife who said, "maybe you should listen to that voice."

For the past three years, I have been on this journey to learn to be an ally of American Muslims. I have organized over 40 events around western Washington state. I created space for Muslims to share their experiences, their faith, and how they are impacted by the thirty million dollars per year spent by the Islamophobia Industry to make people fear them. I have seen first-hand the deep fear and powerful hatred on the part of a large percentage of Americans toward American Muslims citizens. I have also seen people willing to act locally to combat this fear of Muslims and to respond to the challenges of tribalism in our time.

These experiences have taught me a great deal. Here I share some initial insights into practical things that faith leaders can do to address these challenges. Each of them is centered in love of neighbor, and a deep respect for all of God's children.

First, the moment we are in invites us to go deep into our own traditions and find our own rationale for bridging the divides that threaten our future.

Each of our traditions has retained insights on how human beings have responded to difficult times. These insights, often expressed as stories, show us our vulnerabilities and that we can be overcome by anxiety and scapegoating. These stories are what we live by, and sometimes what we kill and die by. But they also show us how to build relationships with people who are different from us, and that we can risk ourselves in love

for our neighbors, not for lack of love of self, but because we know we are all part of the one, inescapable web of life.

We also know the potentialities of human nature. We know that when we eat together, play together, share stories, and build stronger neighborhoods together, we begin to see each other as human. We know that in knowing the other we become known to ourselves.

The central story of the Abrahamic faith traditions, that there is one God, is already a shared story, and it carries a deep meaning that we often overlook. Monotheism tells us that human beings are all related; we are cousins and a part of the essential "us" that makes up humanity. This universalism was a radical shift from the tribalism of the ancient world, where each tribe had a god. When people fought, their gods fought. Tribal division and violence was in some sense sacred, since the gods participated in it. But monotheism changed this. When tribes fought, instead of tribal gods fighting in the heavens, there was (and is) one Creator saying, "stop fighting."

West End Strategy Team for Shoulder-to-Shoulder

Cardinal Theodore McCarrick speaks at the National Cathedral in Washington, DC, as part of the original press conference with religious leaders in 2010 that sparked Shoulder-to-Shoulder.

As a follower of Jesus, I feel Christians need to recover this core of the Abrahamic faith tradition, because it asks us all to love God more than our tribe or tradition, to love our neighbor as oneself. This drives to the heart of Jesus' mission to cross borders: he touched a leper and didn't cleanse himself, he accepted Mary Magdalene as a public disciple, which put both their lives in danger, he accepted hospitality from Samaritans and recognized their capacity to love their neighbor, and he healed a centurion's servant.

This is the same kind of work I suggest we do today. Doing the work of bridging divides and creating partnerships between people across racial, religious, and cultural differences is not an addition to, or a weakening of, discipleship of Jesus; it is absolutely central to it.

I know Sikh, Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, Buddhist, and Native leaders, atheists, and others who have all found similar rationales within their own traditions. These are shared values, and we are called to live them out in a shared community.

Second, the moment we are in invites us to speak together in public about our shared values.

Faith leaders must find common values to confront the moral crises of our time: racism, poverty, homelessness, and the systems of greed that enforce them. And we must do this work together. When we don't collaborate to address these moral crises, our best thoughts are perceived as nothing but an advertisement for our own religious tribe. These collaborations can be challenging to step into, when we don't already know our neighbor as a potential partner, or we haven't yet shared our stories. Here are a few starters.

State what you are for, rather than who you are against. At a rally for candidate Trump, eleven pastors gathered in public witness. All of our signs were about positive values, such as "Civil Rights Make America Great," or "Love God More Than Tribe or Tradition." We found that people on all "sides" were able to identify with these statements. We saw people's body language soften and people become more reflective. *Positively stated values give us a common ground on which to move toward each other in conversation.*

Invite people to recite the First Amendment to the US Constitution at events where opposing views will be shared. This has a powerful effect on the quality of the conversation. *Remind a group that we all share and support the same rights, and emphasize that the best way to protect our own civil rights is to stand up for those of others.*

Further, it is crucial that faith leaders and faith communities join broader movements and recognize the intersectionality of the challenges that face us. It is time to join our voices together in statewide groups and national movements like the Poor People's Campaign.[5] Today, words are not enough.

The tips above are foundational for engaging as leaders with communities different from our own, but our own parishes will be positively changed by these practices too. Communities are deeply changed when they have leaders who faithfully and energetically practice their own faith tradition while interacting respectfully with and learning from others. This experience helps folks see that each tradition is striving for something more than their words and

It is time to unleash the power of the pot-luck.

works can convey. These public conversations serve to break down the destructive dynamic of tribalism: "us vs. them." This is not so much a call to interfaith relationships, but to a multi-faith approach to our common problems.

Third, the moment we are in invites us to create spaces where people of different traditions and cultures can interact with each other.

Many of our faith communities have fellowship halls. Let's use them. It is our nature that when people eat, share stories, play, and build stronger communities together, we begin to recognize each other as human. It is time to unleash the power of the pot-luck. I am not suggesting faith communities do more, but include more.

Faith leaders can come together to form interactive partnerships between their faith communities and/or non-faith traditions. Within the regular life of the faith community, they should create two or three common

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5   Find the campaign at poorpeoplescampaign.org.

experiences per year where people can eat and tell stories together. When faith communities engage with a food bank or homeless shelter, they can invite other communities to come and join them. If your community is invited to participate, participate personally, and encourage your parishioners to join you. This creates a dynamic where congregants begin to see that the self-interest of their community is enhanced in partnership with others. These partnerships create a counter narrative: in our diversity we have greater strength to build stronger neighborhoods.

Fourth, the moment we are in is crying out for a positive vision for our shared future.

As I mentioned above, the prophets Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad, peace be upon them, led in times of deep challenge, and they led by living toward the divine vision. They did not by avoiding the problems they were facing, but went through them.

We cannot avoid the time we are in either. This is where we are. We cannot find a lever big enough to expunge the anxiety, tribalism, and scapegoating in one pull and find the future we all long for. It will take many steps to respond to the moral crises of our time.

But we are more powerful than we know. Imagine what would happen if faith leaders in every neighborhood in our country were to go deep into our traditions, engage others, create humanizing events, remind us of our core values, and lift up a positive vision for the future?

This isn't a dream. It is already happening. Across this country, faith leaders of all traditions are doing all of these things and more. They have joined together in neighborhood and nationwide partnerships in the hopeful work of recognizing our neighbors in our own cities and towns.

One organization that is a backbone for these connections is the Shoulder-to-Shoulder Campaign.[6] Begun by 20 diverse faith groups in 2010 in response to popular anti-Muslim sentiment, Shoulder-to-Shoulder supports local faith leaders and communities of all traditions, including myself and my organization, in together creating the Beloved Community.

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6   See the campaign website at shouldertoshouldercampaign.org.

Although the campaign also provides a stage for national advocacy, its focus is on providing resources and supports such as ideas for local initiatives, so faith communities can connect to their Muslim neighbors, and educational and worship materials for pastors or rabbis receiving pushback from their congregations.

Shoulder-to-Shoulder can help us recognize our own humanity in other humans. Together, we are re-membering ourselves as neighbors and finding ourselves human again, and we need not fear. For Christians like me, Jesus has already shown us the way, and has already given us the tools to follow him.

> Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you. I do not give to you as the world gives. Do not let your hearts be troubled and do not be afraid.
>
> ~ John 14:27 (NIV)

Colleges as Models for Interfaith Cooperation

Eboo Patel

Founder and President, Interfaith Youth Core

I run an organization called Interfaith Youth Core, which works with higher education to create high-quality, sustainable interfaith programming at every level of a college campus, from the strategic plan to the content of first-year student orientation. We work with over five hundred colleges (I have personally visited over 100 campuses) and have seen the ethic of religious pluralism in action at dozens of places. At DePaul University in Chicago, for example, different religious groups have their own worship spaces (respect for identity), the University Ministry staff runs interfaith dialogue programs (building relationships across religious communities), and the Center for Service Learning proactively engages them in interfaith service efforts that improve Chicago (contributing to the common good).

Colleges are mini civil societies in which the leaders can require the citizens to do certain things—take that academic course, sit through this training, accept a randomly assigned roommate. This makes campuses the rare environment that can create arrangements that maximize opportunities for the positive leveraging of diversity.

The arrangements promoted by a college have a profound impact on the broader American society. They help set the civic priorities of other institutions (private companies, K–12 schools), create a knowledge base that is utilized by other civic actors, and nurture a society's future leaders. And because so many colleges in the United States were established

by faith communities *and* welcome diversity, they also have an opportunity to model retaining particularity while achieving pluralism.

Interfaith Youth Core

Students engaging in dialogue as part of the Interfaith Youth Core. The organization works in higher education to encourage future leaders to explore issues of diversity and difference.

On this, allow me to share a personal story.

I am in this country because an institution started by French priests in the Indiana countryside in the 1840s, committed to the faith formation and economic uplift of poor Midwestern Catholic boys, somehow saw fit to admit a wayward Muslim student from Bombay into its MBA Program in the 1970s. That man was my father. During his time in South Bend, he developed a fanatic devotion to Fighting Irish football and a deep appreciation for how faith communities in the United States built institutions that served people beyond their immediate group. He viewed it as part of the definition of being American. You hold on to who you are by tapping into those parts of your identity that inspire you to serve others.

Notre Dame was the site of one of my earliest explicitly interfaith memories. On Football Saturdays, we would take the Skyway out of the Chicago, onto I-80 and into South Bend. We grew up in the time before

cell phones, so my dad would keep us occupied for the two-hour drive by telling us we could see the Golden Dome across the open fields if we only looked hard enough. Our first stop when we arrived on campus was always the Grotto, a shrine to the Virgin Mary that attracts visitors from all over the world. My father, never a particularly observant Muslim, would close his eyes and cup his hands and rock back and forth in reverence. Once, when I was ten or eleven and had a little Islamic knowledge in my head and a strong desire to skip the Grotto ritual and head straight into the stadium, I pointed out that praying at a shrine dedicated to a statue of a Christian figure was probably not a very Muslim thing to do. My dad gave me the arched-eyebrows look that I now frequently employ as a parent myself, quoted from the Qur'an that God should be imagined as "Light upon Light" and pointed at the hundreds of candles flickering in the cove. Then he put his hand on my shoulder and said, "you have a choice whenever you encounter something from another tradition, Eboo. You can look for the differences, or you can find the resonances. I advise you to find the resonances."

I shared this tale at the sesquicentennial celebration for Boston College a few years ago, where lo and behold, the President of Notre Dame, Father John Jenkins, was in the audience. "You know who would love to hear that story," he told me after the panel, "Father Hesburgh. You should come to South Bend and share it with him."

You didn't have to tell me that twice. Father Theodore Hesburgh became President of Notre Dame in 1952 at the ripe old age of thirty-five, served in that role for half a century, and was the figure most responsible for leading what was once a modest Midwestern parochial school concerned primarily with the faith formation of young Catholic men to the forefront of global academic institutions, all the while maintaining its Catholic identity.

A few weeks later I was making the familiar drive out of Chicago onto the Skyway and I-80, looking across the Midwestern landscape for glimpses of the Golden Dome. Father Hesburgh welcomed us into his office and asked to hear the story about my father. He nodded as I told it, telling me that it embodied what he hoped Notre Dame would be—a place where people from around the world could connect more deeply with their own identities and develop powerful relationships with

people from other identities, all nurtured by the Catholic identity at the core of Notre Dame.

I commented that this is precisely what seemed to be happening at Notre Dame, noting the growing number of Muslim, Evangelical, and Jewish faculty, staff, and board members at the University. Then I asked a pointed question: were there people within the Fighting Irish family—old timers, Holy Cross priests, other types of "traditionalists"—who were less than happy with the growing diversity of the institution? And what did he tell them when they voiced their concerns?

Hesburgh, well into his 90s at that point, perked up, slapped his palm on the desk, and started speaking of the relationship between the large "C" in Catholic, which he said stood for the particular tradition, to the small "c" in catholic, which he pointed out meant universal. "We have to understand our Catholic tradition in a way that helps us accomplish our catholic mission, which is to lift up the well-being of all."

The success of Notre Dame, even its very existence, was not inevitable. Lyman Beacher, who led a seminary in nearby Cincinnati, made Catholic institutions the object of his anti-Catholic diatribes, claiming that they were a "Trojan Horse for Popery." A few years before Notre Dame's founding, rioters inspired by Beecher's sermons burned down a Catholic educational institution outside of Boston, the Ursuline convent. The Catholic university that had educated my father and given my family its initial footing in America might well have suffered a similar fate at the hands of anti-Catholic forces.

I had come to Notre Dame with a close friend, a Catholic, and he asked for a blessing as we were leaving. Father Ted nodded, then motioned for me to kneel and close my eyes as well. It was, for my friend, a Catholic ritual of great significance. For me, it was an American sacrament.

APPENDIX A:
A Sampling of Best Practice Models

American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute:
crcc.usc.edu/events-and-training/amcli
As part of the USC Center for Religion and Civic Culture, the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute builds the capacity of emerging Muslim leaders from across the United States. AMCLI offers a national fellowship and regional training programs in select cities and provides emerging leaders with recognition: meaning, enrichment, credentials; space to think differently, to be revived, to be challenged; tools: resources, capacity, training; inspiration through others and through faith; and connection to other civic leaders within and outside of Muslim communities.

Facing History and Ourselves: *facinghistory.org*
Facing History and Ourselves is an international educational and professional development organization. Its mission is to engage students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and antisemitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. Facing History and Ourselves provides research-based programs and curricula that are flexible, responsive, and tailored to different types of schools and students. By integrating the study of history, literature, and human behavior with ethical decision making and innovative teaching strategies, the program enables secondary school teachers to promote students' historical understanding, critical thinking, and social-emotional learning, helping students explore the complexities of history, make connections to current events, and consider how they can make a difference today.

Interfaith Youth Core: *ifyc.org*

When interfaith cooperation becomes a part of the college experience, it becomes a part of the American experience. IFYC is working to make interfaith cooperation the norm in America, starting in colleges and universities, where the minds and values of emerging leaders are shaped and conversations take place that steer broad cultural change. IFYC works with leaders across the campus environment—faculty, staff, administrators, alumni, and students. IFYC, currently partnering with over 400 colleges and universities across the US, offers the tools, guidance, opportunities, and networks needed to bring interfaith engagement into campuses, classrooms, research, and lives.

Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council: *muslimjewishadvocacy.org*

The Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council brings together recognized business, political, and religious leaders in the Jewish and Muslim American communities to advocate jointly on issues of common concern. The American Jewish Committee and the Islamic Society of North America are its co-conveners. The Council has two policy objectives: to combat the rise in hate crimes, and to promote the positive image of Muslim and Jewish citizens of the United States. They are also starting youth chapters.

My Neighbor's Keeper (incubated at the Atlantic Council)

The brainchild of Pastor Bob Roberts and Imam Mohamed Magid, two prominent American religious leaders representing thousands of Evangelical and Muslim congregants, My Neighbor's Keeper will develop a grassroots movement built on mutual trust and respect among individual faith leaders, their families, their congregations, and their broader communities. Pastor Roberts and Imam Magid are determined to take multi-faith dialogue to the next level by harnessing the power of neighbors and community members to engage in cooperative efforts that address community needs. When Americans of various religious traditions come together regularly to address issues such as drug-related crime or disaster relief, they will be better prepared to come together during times of crisis and unite against the forces that promote hate and bigotry.

Shoulder-To-Shoulder: *shouldertoshouldercampaign.org*
Shoulder-to-Shoulder is an interfaith organization dedicated to ending anti-Muslim sentiment by strengthening the voice of freedom and peace. Founded in November 2010 by over 20 national religious groups, Shoulder-to-Shoulder works not only on a national level, but offers strategies and support to local and regional efforts to address anti-Muslim sentiment and seeks to spread the word abroad.

Sisterhood of Salaam Shalom: *sosspeace.org*
The Sisterhood of Salaam Shalom grows relationships between Muslim and Jewish women to build bridges and fight hate, negative stereotyping, and prejudice. They are changing the world, one Muslim and one Jewish woman at a time. They have 150 chapters and are working with women who want to get involved in the Sisterhood of Salaam Shalom to start new chapters throughout the United States and Canada.

Tanenbaum: *tanenbaum.org*
Tanenbaum is a secular, non-sectarian nonprofit that promotes mutual respect with practical programs that bridge religious difference and combat prejudice in schools, workplaces, health care settings, and areas of armed conflict. Tanenbaum designs trainings and educational resources to change the way people treat one another and to celebrate the richness of our country's diversity. They train educators on curricula for all ages, so that educators teach respect for religious diversity and kids learn that being different is normal and interesting, not something to be feared. The organization also provides skills-based and professional development training for adults.

The University of Southern California Center for Religion and Civic Culture: *crcc.usc.edu*

The USC Center for Religion and Civic Culture explores how religions change and make change in Southern California and across the globe and helps religious and civic leaders understand the shifts of the day. Both locally and globally, their deep networks within a variety of religious, civic, and scholarly worlds enable them to undertake cutting-edge research on new developments in religion. This research allows them to help faith

groups engage with the wider society through civic engagement and leadership training. CRCC also helps people within academia, civic organizations, government agencies, foundations, and businesses engage with faith groups, allowing them to produce and share new insights into the evolving nature of religion in complex, globalizing societies.

Karen Mancinelli/Drew University

Women speak at the Sisterhood of Salaam Shalom gathering at Drew University in Madison, NJ, November 5, 2017.

APPENDIX B:
Further Reading

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Inazu, John D. *Confident Pluralism: Surviving and Thriving through Deep Difference.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2016.

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Khan, Khizr. *An American Family: A Memoir of Hope and Sacrifice.* New York, NY: Random House, 2017.

Moghul, Haroon. *How to be a Muslim: An American Story.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.

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Principled Pluralism: Report of the Inclusive America Project. Report. Justice and Society Program, Aspen Institute. 1st ed. Washington, DC: The Aspen Institute, 2013.

Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. *American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us.* New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2012.

Vance, J. D. *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis.* New York, NY: Harper, 2016.

APPENDIX C:
Contributor Biographies

J.M. Berger

Associate Fellow, International Centre for Counter-terrorism – The Hague

J.M. Berger is an Associate Fellow at ICCT. He is a researcher, analyst, and consultant, with a special focus on extremist activities in the US and use of social media. Berger is co-author of the critically acclaimed *ISIS: The State of Terror* with Jessica Stern and author of *Jihad Joe: Americans Who Go to War in the Name of Islam*. Berger has written for *Politico, The Atlantic*, and *Foreign Policy*, among others. He was previously a Fellow at George Washington University's Program on Extremism, a Non-resident Fellow with the Brookings Institution's Project on US Relations with the Islamic World, and an Associate Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization.

Suhail Khan

Senior Fellow, Institute for Global Engagement; Director of External Affairs, Microsoft Corporation

Suhail A. Khan is a life-long Reagan conservative and a Senior Fellow at the Institute for Global Engagement, a Christian religious freedom think tank, and Director of External Affairs at Microsoft Corporation. He also chairs the Conservative Inclusion Coalition, a coalition of activists dedicated to expanding the conservative message to all Americans.

Suhail served as a policy advisor on Capitol Hill and a senior political appointee with the George W. Bush Administration, where he served in the White House and for two cabinet secretaries. He was awarded the US Department of Transportation Secretary's Team Award in 2005, the Gold Medal for Outstanding Achievement in 2007, and the Young Conservative Coalition's Buckley Award in 2010.

Suhail was elected to the Board of Directors for the American Conservative Union in 2007 and serves on the Board of Advisors for the Interfaith Center for Interreligious Understanding. In 2014, Suhail was appointed by then Republican National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus to serve on the Asian Pacific American Advisory Council of the RNC. He also serves on the Board of Advisors for Children's National Medical Center, the American Jewish Committee's Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council, and on the Board of Directors for the American Studies Center, the parent foundation for Radio America and the American Veterans Center.

He holds a B.A. in political science from the University of California at Berkeley and a J.D. from the University of Iowa.

Rev. Terry Kyllo
Director, Neighbors in Faith

The Rev. Terry Kyllo is a Lutheran pastor serving as the Director of Neighbors in Faith. He began this work part-time in September of 2016 and full-time in September of 2017. A graduate of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, he has been a pastor since 1991 and has served in partnership between Episcopalians and Lutherans since 2004. He is the author of two books, *Being Human* and *Apprenticeship*. Terry was the recipient of the Faith Action Network Interfaith Leadership Award in 2016, the Interfaith Leadership Award from the Muslim Association of Puget Sound in 2017, and the Sultan and Saint Peace award in 2017. Neighbors in Faith is part of the Shoulder-to-Shoulder Campaign.

Farhan Latif
President, El-Hibri Foundation

Farhan Latif is the President of the El-Hibri Foundation, a private, family foundation that empowers and equips Muslim leaders and their allies to build thriving, inclusive communities. Prior to joining the Foundation, he led the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding to conduct research that contributes to democracy and pluralism in the US. He spent over a decade in higher education focused on inclusion of underrepresented, low-income, and first-generation students. As a social entrepreneur, he also founded Strategic Inspirations, a social impact consulting firm.

Farhan has worked with state and national organizations to promote religious understanding and inclusion. He is a fellow of the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute and a member of the Muslim-Jewish Advisory Council. Authors Genieve Abdo and Akbar Ahmad have chronicled Farhan's journey in combating extremism and working towards inclusion in their books *Mecca and Mainstreet: Muslim Life in American After 9/11* and *Journey into America: The Challenge of Islam.* Farhan received an M.A. from Harvard University, where he completed a specialized interdisciplinary program focused on Social Entrepreneurship, Philanthropy, and Education.

Edina Lekovic
Co-Founder, NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change

For 15 years, Edina Lekovic has served as a leading voice on American Muslims and an inter-community builder between diverse faith traditions. Edina is a strategist, storyteller, and trainer who works in multi-faith spaces throughout the country. She is a co-founder and board member of NewGround: A Muslim-Jewish Partnership for Change and a board member of multi-faith house of worship The Pico-Union Project. In her previous work with the Muslim Public Affairs Council, she advocated on behalf of American Muslims in news media, interfaith, community, and pop culture spaces. She has appeared on leading media outlets, including *CNN, FOX News, Huffington Post, NPR,* and *Buzzfeed.* In 2015, she was named

one of LA's 10 most inspiring women gamechangers by Los Angeles Magazine. She was also named one of the 500 most influential Muslims in the world by Georgetown University and the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre in 2009.

Shapri LoMaglio
Vice President for Government & External Relations, Council for Christian Colleges & Universities

Shapri LoMaglio directs the CCCU's response to legislative, legal, and regulatory matters on behalf of its more than 180 institutions of Christ-centered higher education on a wide range of issues rooted in their shared faith. Shapri also leads the CCCU's external relations team, making the case for Christian higher education's valuable contributions to society and the importance of preserving religious freedom so that faith-based institutions can continue to develop faith and intellect for the common good. She holds a J.D. from the University of Arizona.

Brie Loskota
Executive Director, Center for Religion and Civic Culture

Brie Loskota is the Executive Director of the Center for Religion and Civic Culture at the University of Southern California. Her research explores how religions change and make change in the world. She is a leading voice working to enhance religious pluralism and community resilience in the US and around the globe. Brie advises foundations and government agencies on effective strategies for effective partnership and engagement. She is Co-Founder and Senior Advisor to the American Muslim Civic Leadership Institute and implementing partner for the United States Institute of Peace's Generation Change program where she trains emerging leaders committed to peace-building who are from the Middle East, Africa, and South America.

She is a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Truman National Security Fellow, a German Marshall Memorial Foundation Fellow, and

fellow at the Safe Communities Institute at USC. She was awarded the inaugural Fearless Ally award in 2016 by the El-Hibri Foundation for her work with the American Muslim Community. In 2017, the World Economic Forum named Brie a Young Global Leader. She is on the boards of several nonprofit organizations and government bodies working at the intersections of religion and public life.

Dalia Mogahed
Director of Research, Institute for Social Policy and Understanding

Dalia Mogahed is the Director of Research at the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, where she leads the organization's pioneering research and thought leadership programs on American Muslims. Mogahed is former Executive Director of the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies, where she led the analysis of surveys of Muslim communities worldwide. With John L. Esposito, she co-authored the book *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think.* President Barack Obama appointed Mogahed to the President's Advisory Council on Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships in 2009. She was invited to testify before the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations about US engagement with Muslim communities. Her 2016 TED talk was named one of the top TED talks that year. She is a frequent expert commentator in global media outlets and international forums. She is also the CEO of Mogahed Consulting.

Sarah Morgenthau
Managing Director, Nardello & Co.

Sarah Morgenthau is a national security expert with extensive experience as an executive leader and practicing attorney in both the public and private sectors. She has nearly a decade of experience working in DC, with a deep network of government and private sector relationships and expertise in cybersecurity, homeland security, and crisis management. Ms. Morgenthau is currently a member of the Governor of Rhode Island's Homeland Security Advisory Council and a Managing Director at Nardello & Co., a global investigations firm handling a broad range of issues including cor-

ruption-related investigations, civil and white collar criminal litigation support, asset tracing, strategic intelligence and political risk assessment, computer forensics, cybersecurity, and reputational due diligence.

Prior to joining Nardello & Co., Ms. Morgenthau worked for the Department of Homeland Security as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Private Sector Office and the Executive Director of the Homeland Security Advisory Council. She was also previously an attorney in the Enforcement Division of the United States Securities and Exchange Commission. As Executive Director, Ms. Morgenthau oversaw the HSAC where she leveraged resources of the 40 Council members to present actionable solutions for a broad spectrum of homeland security issues. She was also responsible for overseeing the ongoing policy work of the subcommittees, including the Countering Violent Extremism Subcommittee. Prior to DHS, she was appointed by President Obama as Director of Peace Corps Response for the United States Peace Corps headquarters in DC, where she led an innovative policy reform road-map for the program's projects and initiatives in over 50 countries. Ms. Morgenthau holds a B.A. in Political Science from Barnard College and a J.D. from Columbia University School of Law.

Eboo Patel
Founder, Interfaith Youth Core

Eboo Patel founded Interfaith Youth Core on the idea that religion should be a bridge of cooperation rather than a barrier of division. He is inspired to build this bridge by his identity as an American Muslim navigating a religiously diverse social landscape.

For over 15 years he has worked with governments, social sector organizations, and college and university campuses to help make interfaith cooperation a social norm. Named by US News & World Report as one of America's Best Leaders of 2009, Eboo served on President Obama's Inaugural Faith Council and is the author of *Acts of Faith, Sacred Ground and Interfaith Leadership: A Primer*. He holds a doctorate in the sociology of religion from Oxford University, where he studied on a Rhodes scholarship.

Allison K. Ralph

Church History Ph.D, Scholar of History and Religion

Allison Ralph is a scholar of history and religion with a special interest in societal boundaries. She graduated *magna cum laude* with a B.A. in History from the University of North Florida, and holds an M.Phil. from the University of Cambridge, and a Ph.D. from The Catholic University of America in Church History. She writes on religion, history, society, and the justification of coercion in the social body.

Seán Rose

Independent Educator and Dialogue Facilitator

Seán Rose is an experienced and award-winning educator, trainer, and writer specializing in interfaith and intercultural relations. Seán has extensive experience developing and managing youth-serving projects in North America and Europe, including as Director of Training and Outreach for Project Interfaith, Schools Officer and Training Associate for 3FF, and Dialogue Facilitator for Tony Blair Faith Foundation's Generation Global program. He was an inaugural Interfaith Youth Core Faiths Act Fellow, is a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce and is a Soliya Connect Program facilitator. Seán holds a B.S. in Environmental Geography and International Development from the University of East Anglia and lives in California.

Rabbi Yehuda Sarna

Executive Director, Bronfman Center for Jewish Student Life, New York University

Rabbi Yehuda Sarna serves as the Executive Director of the Edgar M. Bronfman Center for Jewish Student Life at NYU and as the University Chaplain at NYU. Originally from Montreal, Canada, he studied at Yeshiva University and received his ordination from Yeshiva University's Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary. Yehuda co-founded the Of Many Institute for Multifaith Leadership at NYU, where he is a Senior Fellow, and teaches Multifaith Leadership in the Wagner School for Public Service. He is the editor of

The *Koren Shabbat Evening Siddur* (2011) and Orthodox Forum Series: Developing a Jewish Perspective on Culture (2013).

George Selim
Senior Vice President of Programs, Anti-Defamation League

George Selim is Senior Vice President of Programs at the Anti-Defamation League. In this role, he leads ADL's education, law enforcement, and community security programs and oversees the work of ADL's Center on Extremism. Prior to his appointment at ADL, George served in the administrations of Presidents George W. Bush, Obama, and Trump. He most recently served as the Department of Homeland Security's Director of the Office for Community Partnerships, where he was the first to assume this role. Concurrently, he was also selected to lead a newly created Countering Violent Extremism Task Force to coordinate government efforts and partnerships to prevent violent extremism in the United States.

Before assuming these roles, George served for four years at the White House on the National Security Council Staff where he focused on policy development and program implementation matters for both domestic and international security threats. Prior to his work at the White House, George served as a Senior Policy Adviser at the DHS Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, advising Department leadership on policy issues at the intersection of civil liberties and homeland security. He has also worked at the US Department of Justice, the Arab American Institute, and served one year of AmeriCorps service. George holds an M.A. from Georgetown University and a B.A. from Walsh University and is a proud native of Cleveland, OH.

Kashif Shaikh
Co-Founder and Executive Director, Pillars Fund

Kashif Shaikh is the Co-Founder and Executive Director of the Pillars Fund, an organization that invests in and amplifies the talents, narratives, and leadership of American Muslims. With over 12 years of experience in the philanthropic sector, Kashif is a leading voice in the field of institutional

philanthropy and the important role it plays in empowering vulnerable communities.

Kashif helped found Pillars in 2010 in partnership with the Chicago Community Trust. Kashif, along with his co-founder, helped grow Pillars into a leading voice for the American Muslim community. Nationally recognized for its unique and innovative work, Pillars has invested over $2.5M into nonprofits that are actively working with and alongside the American Muslim community. Pillars has also partnered with some of the country's most important philanthropic institutions, including the Ford Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, the Open Society Foundations, and the Nathan Cummings Foundation to direct more investment into American Muslim communities.

Kashif's career began at the United Way of Metropolitan Chicago, where he developed key strategies to engage the organization's largest corporate partners. Originally from Cincinnati, OH, Kashif holds a Bachelor's Degree from Ohio State University and a Master's in Public Policy and Administration from Northwestern University. He is on the Board of Trustees of the Chicago Theological Seminary, a member of the Economic Club of Chicago, and was selected as one of Crain's Chicago Business "40 Under 40" in 2018.

Shariq Siddiqui
Assistant Professor and Visiting Director, Muslim Philanthropy Initiative at Lilly School of Philanthropy at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis

Shariq Siddiqui serves as the visiting director and assistant professor of the Muslim Philanthropy Initiative at the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. Shariq has a Ph.D. and M.A. in Philanthropic Studies from the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. He also has a J.D. from the McKinney School of Law at Indiana University and holds a B.A. in History from the University of Indianapolis.

Shariq authors research on Muslim philanthropy and the Muslim non-profit sector. His recent national survey of full-time Islamic schools in the United States resulted in the co-authored book *Islamic Education in the United States and the Evolution of Muslim Nonprofit Institutions.*

Shariq also serves as the co-editor of the *Journal on Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society* and as the Series Editor of the Muslim Philanthropy and Civil Society Book Series published by Indiana University Press. He has served as a nonprofit practitioner for over 20 years for international, national, regional, and local nonprofit organizations.

Shariq is also the Executive Director of Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. ARNOVA is a leading international association that connects scholars, teachers, and practice leaders in research on nonprofit organizations, voluntary action, philanthropy, and civil society.

APPENDIX D:
Inclusive America Project
Distinguished Panel

Co-Chairs

The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright
Professor David R. Gergen

Panelists

Martin Budd

John J. DeGioia

Maria M. Ebrahimji

Wayne Firestone

Reverend Robert M. Franklin

Michael J. Gerson

Heidi Hadsell

Alec Hill

S.A. Ibrahim

Greg Jao

Michael Leiter

David Little

Brie Loskota

Imam Mohamed Magid

Richard J. Mouw

Neil Nicoll

Eboo Patel

Judith Pickens

Reverend Paul Brandeis
 Raushenbush

Nadia Roumani

Rabbi David Saperstein

Manjit Singh

Jim Wallis

Rob Wilson-Black

APPENDIX E:
Staff Biographies

Meryl Justin Chertoff is the Executive Director of the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program and an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center, where she teaches about state government, intergovernmental affairs, and state courts. She is a member of the Sandra Day O'Connor Initiative on Judicial Selection at the Institute for the Advancement of the American Legal System. She has degrees from Harvard College and Harvard Law School, and has been an attorney, legal writing instructor, PTA and community volunteer, lobbyist, state official, and federal official, having served in the office of Legislative Affairs at FEMA during its transition into the Department of Homeland Security. Her vision has shaped the *Pluralism in Peril* report.

Michael Green is Associate Director of the Justice and Society Program. He holds a B.A. in American Studies from Cornell University, a Ph.D. in American History from Northwestern University, and is the author of the book *Black Yanks in the Pacific: Race in the Making of American Military Empire after World War II.*

Zeenat Rahman is the Project Director of the Inclusive America Project at the Aspen Institute. She is an expert on global youth issues and interfaith and diversity engagement, and is a former diplomat. Prior to this appointment, she served as Director of the Center for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships at the United States Agency

for International Development. She received a Master's degree in Middle East Studies from the University of Chicago and a B.A. in psychology from the University of Illinois.

Marni Morse is Program Manager of the Justice and Society Program. She graduated *cum laude* with a B.A. in Politics from Princeton University in 2017 with minors in Values and Public Life as well as Gender and Sexuality Studies.

About the Aspen Institute

The Aspen Institute is an educational and policy studies organization based in Washington, DC. Its mission is to foster leadership based on enduring values and to provide a nonpartisan venue for dealing with critical issues. The Institute has campuses in Aspen, Colorado, and on the Wye River on Maryland's Eastern Shore. It also maintains offices in New York City and has an international network of partners.

aspeninstitute.org

About the Justice and Society Program

For more than four decades the Aspen Institute Justice and Society Program has convened individuals from diverse backgrounds to discuss the meaning of justice and how a just society ought to balance fundamental rights with the exigencies of public policy in order to meet contemporary social challenges and strengthen the rule of law. The annual Justice and Society Seminar, held in Aspen and co-founded by the late Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun, continues to be led by preeminent judges and law professors.

Through our public programming component—which includes the Sandra Day O'Connor Conversation in Aspen, periodic roundtables at the Aspen Institute's Washington office, and presentations by leading jurists—we bring to the table public officials, established and emerging opinion leaders, and public interest advocates to share their perspectives in a neutral and balanced forum.

Our goal is to foster civil and respectful dialogue, seek compromise, and develop strategies for positive change. Justice and Society Program conversations pose open-ended questions, elevate the public discourse, and enable participants to find common ground.

aspeninstitute.org/jsp