

# Theory of Change for Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB)



Commonwealth Initiative for Freedom  
of Religion or Belief



## Contributors

Reuben Ackerman, Commonwealth Initiative for Freedom of Religion or Belief

Ian Finlay, Harris Manchester College, University of Oxford

The text of this document may be reproduced free of charge in any format or medium provided that it is reproduced accurately and not in a misleading context.

The Commonwealth Initiative on Freedom of Religion or Belief (CIfORB) must be acknowledged and the document title specified. Where third-party material has been identified, permission from the respective copyright holder must be sought.

## Contents

<b>Executive Summary</b> .....	1
<b>What is a Theory of Change?</b> .....	3
<b>Our Research and Development Process</b> .....	5
<b>Our Model</b> .....	7
<b>Findings</b> .....	10
<b>Area 1: Political Action</b> .....	14
Promote Minority Engagement: .....	14
Influence Policy:.....	15
International Lobbying: .....	17
<b>Area 3: Build Societal Tolerance:</b> .....	21
Engage Youth: .....	21
Remove Barriers: .....	22
Dialogue and Collaboration:.....	24
<b>Area 3: Education and Training:</b> .....	29
Resource Development:.....	29
Citizens:.....	30
Key Local Leaders: .....	31
Educational Institutions:.....	32
Lawyers: .....	34
<b>Key Assumptions:</b> .....	35
<b>References</b> .....	37
<b>Appendix: Contributors</b> .....	39

## Executive Summary

The Commonwealth Initiative for Freedom of Religion or Belief (CIFoRB) aimed to create a useful tool that could be used by future projects working for Freedom of Religion or Belief:

1. Provide a Theory of Change that could be used for future funding applications.
2. Help future projects devise plans to advance Freedom of Religion or Belief.
3. Promote introspection and begin a discussion about how to most effectively promote Freedom of Religion or Belief by encouraging initiatives to reflectively analyse their work.

We found that a single narrative for Freedom of Religion or Belief would not capture the diverse methods utilised by the organisations concerned and were necessary to create conditions for FoRB. The ultimate goals of the contributors varied considerably in scope, context and scale. Whilst the focus of particular interventions was often aimed at one or sometimes more than one religious, faith or belief group, there was a general recognition expressed at the workshop that FoRB was for all groups. FoRB could not just be for groups with whom one had a particular sympathy, and instead must stress that FoRB is a freedom for all people, religious or non-religious, with no exception.

The following points are those that we think are most salient emerging from this research.

1. A theory of change for FoRB is a model of how and why FoRB interventions work, set out in both a tabular and narrative form, supplemented by evidence from successful FoRB initiatives which, in turn, have been interrogated on the validity their assumptions.
2. Knowledge Gathering and Collaborative Engagement are two key overarching processes that underpin successful FoRB interventions.
3. Ultimate goals for interventions vary, however, they may be seen as steps towards wider goals of changing domestic policies to prevent FoRB abuses and to advance FoRB; and achieving governmental and societal respect for and protection of FoRB.
4. International lobbying can be a double edged sword and is most successful when connecting to domestic narratives and resources.
5. The importance of dialogue was stressed in several submissions. Different strategies and the role of dialogue are discussed in the report.
6. Three main ways of working towards FoRB are political action, building societal tolerance, and education and training.
7. Key assumptions underpinning the work of those promoting FoRB are:
  - a. Social change takes time
  - b. The importance of the linguistic context

- c. The importance of the State context
- d. There are different theories of radicalisation
- e. The importance of power
- f. The limited evidence of a ripple effect from micro and meso levels to the macro level
- g. The importance of specialisation and teamwork
- h. 'Minorities are those most affected' is a common assumption but is not always the case.

## What is a Theory of Change?

'A Theory of Change is how and why an initiative works.' (Weiss, 1995)

'A Theory of Change is the empirical basis underlying and social intervention.' (Brest, 2010)

'Theory of change is a rigorous yet participatory process whereby groups and stakeholders in a planning process articulate their long-term goals and identify the conditions they believe have to unfold for those goals to be met. These conditions are modelled as desired **outcomes**, arranged graphically in a causal **framework**.

A theory of change describes the types of **interventions** (a single program or coordinated initiative) that bring about the outcomes depicted in the outcomes' 'framework map. Each intervention is tied to an outcome in the causal framework, revealing the, often complex, web of activity required to bring about change. The framework provides a working model against which to test hypotheses and assumptions about what actions will best produce the outcomes in the model.' (Taplin and Clark, 2012, p.1, emphases in original)

'At its heart, Theory of Change spells out initiative or program logic. It defines long-term goals and then maps backward to identify changes that need to happen earlier (preconditions). The identified changes are mapped graphically in causal pathways of outcomes, showing each outcome in logical relationship to all the others. Interventions, which are activities and outputs of any sort, are mapped to the outcomes pathway to show what stakeholders think it will take to effect the changes, and when. Theory of Change provides a working model against which to test hypotheses and assumptions about what actions will best bring about the intended outcomes. A given Theory of Change also identifies measurable indicators of success as a roadmap to monitoring and evaluation.

Theory of Change is both process and product: the process of working out the theory, mainly in group sessions of practitioners and stakeholders led by a capable facilitator; and, as the product of that process, a document of the change model showing how and why a goal will be reached. There is a good deal of discussion as to which provides more value—the group process of reflecting on the work, surfacing assumptions, creating transparency and building consensus; or the product, a sound and complete plan with plausible potential for producing the change desired.' (Taplin et al, 2013, p.2)

Oxford Dictionaries contain the following set of definitions of theory:

'1 A supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained.

1.1 A set of principles on which the practice of an activity is based.

1.2 An idea used to account for a situation or justify a course of action.' (Oxford Dictionaries, 2018)

It can be seen from comparing the dictionary definitions of theory with those provided above on theories of change, that the latter involve both 1.1 and 1.2. In other words, they have both an *ex ante* element in that they attempt to provide a guide for action prior to interventions taking place, whilst also involving an *ex post* element that seeks to explain, justify, or evaluate interventions that have already taken place. The research reported upon in this paper is also attempting to bridge this gap by seeking to theorise completed or in-process interventions which had aspects of FoRB at their core in order to provide guidance for future FoRB interventions.

There is also a difference from other sociological theories which are often generated either by statistical investigation or by qualitative investigations involving observation of social contexts or else case studies in which the investigators, normally academics, control the agenda. Taplin et al above point out the importance of practitioners in developing theories of change for social interventions. Our methodology, although similar in many ways to traditional case studies, does attempt to involve practitioners in the development of theory as well as simply producing case study data for the academic researchers to use in developing a decontextualized theory of change for FoRB.

Theories of change for FoRB may be seen as more of a process for developing and evaluating interventions as developing a set of decontextualized constructs that seek to explain change in FoRB practice as a result of interventions by governmental bodies, supra-governmental bodies, and non-governmental bodies such as faith groups and human rights charities. In this process people 'on the ground' have more to say than academic researchers whose key role might be seen as systematizing and structuring the ideas of the practitioners and then promoting these ideas in academic journals certainly but more importantly promoting them in outlets that are likely to have an impact on practice. The critical (questioning) nature of academic research is also useful in challenging the danger of simple assumptions of relationships between interventions and outcomes. However, in practice our practitioners were keenly aware of these kinds of assumptions and were wary of over-claiming the links between outcomes and their interventions. Valters (2014) in his review of the use of theories of change in the Asia Foundation involved in international development particularly highlights their strength in getting organisations to critically examine the assumptions that they have about the outcomes of their interventions and the nature of the environment in which they are operating.

The working idea underpinning this report is of a theory of change as a model of how and why FoRB interventions work, set out in both a tabular and narrative form, supplemented by evidence from successful FoRB initiatives which, in turn, have been interrogated on the validity their assumptions.

In the next section we explore how we attempt to put some of these notions into practice in this research and development project.



## Our Research and Development Process

The usual starting point for academic research is to conduct a literature review to discover what other researchers have developed previously. One then identifies gaps or inconsistencies that can be addressed. A preliminary investigation of the literature identified two broad types of article on Theories of Change. The first set of articles offered general guidance on developing Theories of change. This included definitions, involvement of practitioners, theoretical critiques of the concept of theories of change and concept maps illustrating the process of developing a theory of change. (See e.g. Brest, 2010; Taplin and Clark, 2012; Taplin et al, 2013; Rogers, 2014; and, Carman, 2009)

The second type of article included a range of case studies of developing theories of change for particular social problems. These social problems tended to be concrete and limited in time and scope. (See e.g. Hernandez and Hodges, 2003; and, Connell and Kubisch, 1995). Valters (2014) offers a critical and general discussion of Theories of Change within the context of international development. This is perhaps the closest context to FoRB.

The purpose of this research then is twofold. The first, although not more important, aim is to fill the gap in the literature on theories of change specifically addressing FoRB and the second aim of more practical import is to offer guidance to those seeking to advance FoRB through interventions with governments, faith groups and other communities who have the power to effect change. Since the literature offered general guidance but nothing that was contextualised for FoRB interventions we decided to seek help from those who had a track record of apparently successful interventions with a FoRB focus. The word apparently successful is not designed to denigrate these efforts but rather to problematize the notion of direct and clear links between interventions and outcomes.

The general methodology is what might be termed a modified RAND approach. RAND developed the idea of working through theory by involving experts in a field in an iterative process of refining the answers to questions posed. One of the authors of this report had previously successfully used such a process (Finlay, Niven and Young, 1998).

Two kinds of experts were identified; experts from the world of practice and experts from the academy. These experts were invited to a one-day workshop held in Oxford. Before the workshop, they were invited to submit a short paper that addressed five main questions. These were:

1. What was the ultimate goal of your intervention?
2. What were intermediate outcomes?
3. What were the activities that led to these outcomes?
4. What evidence do you have to support any implied causal chain between the activities and outcomes?
5. What assumptions do you/ did you hold?

We indicated to the participants that we were looking for these questions to be addressed in one or more of the following three FoRB contextual areas.

- 1) Government policy and legislation
- 2) Societal tolerance for religious minorities
- 3) Development (ensuring religious minorities have access to education, employment, public office and goods etc).

The workshop started with each participant giving a ten-minute presentation on how an intervention or initiative developed by their organisation had addressed the five questions above. Many of these presentations were based on the papers submitted prior to the workshop but, in some cases, participants had been unable to submit a paper. The two researchers/workshop leaders made notes during these presentations to help with analysing the ideas after the workshop.

After lunch a pyramiding session was held in which participants were initially paired off and then pairs combined into foursomes to interrogate the ideas presented during the earlier session with a view to coming up with more focused answers to the five questions.

The workshop ended with an extensive plenary session at which the issues raised in the pairings and groups of four were presented and discussed.

After the workshop the researchers reviewed the written submissions and notes made during the workshop to produce a preliminary paper which was circulated to all participants who attended the workshop and to others who were unable to attend, for comment and refinement. This report is the result of this multi-stage process.

## Our Model

In this section we present our theory of change in both diagrammatic and narrative form. In line with the theory of change literature, the main considerations of our model are the desired outcomes and the conditions or processes that need to be met for these desired outcomes to be met.

The desired outcomes are shown at the bottom of the diagram overleaf. For FoRB these desired outcomes are:

1. Domestic policy change to prevent FoRB abuses and to promote FoRB
2. Government and Societal respect for and protection of FoRB

From our research two overarching processes seemed to be necessary for achieving both of these outcomes. The first of these is almost self-evident and would apply to almost any form of political or social intervention and that is gathering the necessary and appropriate knowledge in order to equip the individual or organisation making the intervention with the necessary knowledge of the specific nature of the problem that the intervention is intended to address and context within which this problem exists. This may include social, historical, physical, psychological, economic, religious, and political factors out of which the problem arose. Examples of ways in which organisations gather and distribute knowledge relevant to FoRB are given in a later section of this report.

The organisations with whom we engaged sought influence rather than power. Power in politics tends to be associated with nation states who have armies, police or security services which can be deployed as the ultimate guarantors of power. Even if one avoids such hard power, softer instruments of power such as economic sanctions were not available to organisations addressing FoRB abuses although, in some cases, encouraging governments to use such power may have been used. Such groups tend to view the use of hard power as morally problematic although in extreme cases, such as is seen in contemporary Syria, there have been some arguments for the use of hard power to protect the rights of some severely persecuted religious minorities. In trying to influence those who hold power, organisations promoting FoRB have found that collaborative engagement is essential. Such action might involve collaboration at a number of different levels. It may be domestic or international; with other non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or with government; within a faith or religion or inter-faith and so on. Like knowledge gathering, collaborative action seems to cut across the range of more specific interventions. These two overarching processes appear at the top of the diagram.

Between these overarching processes and the target outcomes, the linking processes divided into three broad areas. (In fact, we divided them into three broad areas. These were useful for analytical purposes but they also make sense in terms of the processes utilised by the organisations who collaborated with us.) The three areas were:

1. Political Action
2. Building Societal Acceptance
3. Education and Training.

In the diagram each of these areas is linked by staged processes to either or both of the outcomes. Evidence for the links between each of the stages was evaluated by the researchers and participants and deemed to be strong, moderate or weak. Only strong or moderate links were included in the diagram.

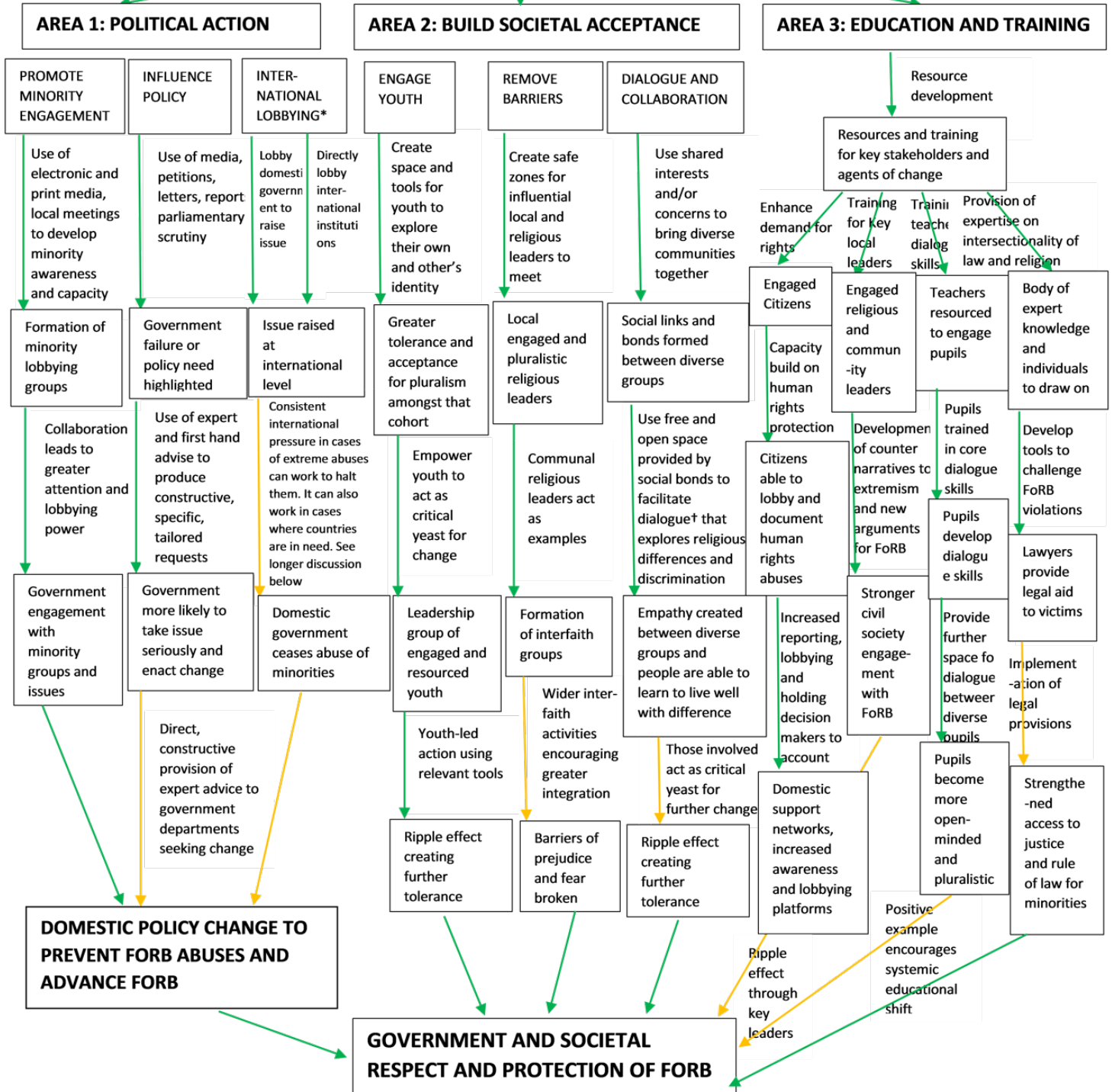
If we take 'Influence Policy' as an example, we propose that using the media, organising petitions and letter writing, and scrutinising parliament can highlight government failure and a need for the development of new policy. Government can then be approached with the provision of expert and community advice which produces constructive, tailored requests for policy action. Such requests may be more likely to lead to Government taking the issues seriously and moving towards change. The intervention champions may then offer to provide constructive and expert advice to the appropriate government departments seeking change. The evidence of this leading to Domestic policy change to prevent FoRB abuses is moderate. However, once domestic policy and legislation does change, then the evidence that this improves governmental and societal respect for and protection of FoRB is strong. Evidence from the field for each of the vertical strands in the diagram is provided in the Findings sections.

**KNOWLEDGE GATHERING**

Accurate knowledge and understanding is the necessary basis for formulating and implementing any policy on FoRB

Green=strong evidence  
Orange=moderate evidence  
Red=weak evidence

**COLLABORATIVE ENGAGEMENT**



\*International lobbying can be a double-edged sword and is most effective when connecting with domestic narratives and resources

†The importance of dialogue was stressed in several of the submissions. The different strategies and role of dialogue is discussed in detail below

## Findings

The remainder of the report gives evidence in a summary form for each of the linking process described in the section above. The summary draws on written submissions, verbal evidence and the presentations and discussion at the workshop. The section is followed by a section that highlights the key assumptions made by those who submitted evidence.

The ultimate goals of the contributors varied considerably in scope, context and scale. By scope we refer to the individuals who are the focus of interventions. In some cases, this focus is on a particular religious, faith, or belief group. So, for example, the submission from the Bahá'í community stated that 'The ultimate goal of [our] intervention is to emancipate Bahá'ís communities in Iran, Yemen and elsewhere in order that all Bahá'ís should enjoy full human rights as citizens of their homelands. At the other end of the continuum were organisations for whom the scope of their work was all groups who are discriminated against. An example of this would be the al-Khoei Foundation who 'endeavour for a world free of discriminatory laws' with a particular focus on minorities. Likewise, the International Center for Law and Religion Studies (ICLRS) at Brigham Young University has a mission 'to help to secure the blessings of freedom of Religion or Belief for all people'. Whilst the focus of particular interventions was often aimed at one or sometimes more than one religious, faith or belief group, there was a general recognition expressed at the workshop that FoRB was for all groups. FORB could not just be for groups with whom one had a particular sympathy. They all also broadly worked towards the goal of securing both governmental acceptance and promotion of FoRB and societal acceptance of religious minorities and their right to FoRB.

The organisations represented by participants in the workshop worked in a wide range of contexts. Some of these contexts were geographical so, for example, the CSW 'Defending the Defenders' projects focused on South and Central Asia (specifically, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan); the Rose Castle Project reported to the workshop also focused on Pakistan, while much of the al-Khoei and AMAR Foundation work was in Iraq. Other organisation had a governmental rather than geographical focus. The APPG on FORB focused on the British Parliament, whilst the IHEU sought to influence the European Union and United Nations. Another context exemplified this time by the ICLRS was the academic world.

Lastly the scale of focus could be micro, meso or macro and the different levels of scale could be the focus of single organisations. An example of an organisation operating at each of these levels would be Forum 18, a monitoring service, which focus on abuses of FoRB at the level of individuals, groups, communities and nations. The IHEU aim was at the macro level 'to reduce hostility and rights violations against non-religious persons, both from governments and in society...' The Rose Castle programme in Pakistan worked with Muslims and Christians in a particular community.

In our view these goals can be summarised as subsets or steps towards the two goals at the base of our diagram.

## Knowledge Gathering and Collaborative Engagement

These two processes appear at the top of our diagram and represent key overarching factors in any intervention aiming to tackle FoRB abuse or neglect.

Knowledge precedes action. This was a vital part of all successful strategies involving FoRB. Only when policy actors are aware of breaches of rights can activities or interventions take place to address them. The collection of trusted, verified and authoritative data and stories about human rights abuses form the basis of effective lobbying, policy development and attempts to heal divisions within society. Knowledge gathering raises awareness of laws, practises and persecution which violate FoRB and acts as an authoritative resource for activists and campaigners to draw on. Several of the organisations that took part in our project concerned themselves, at least partly, with gathering information of rights abuses directly from those who experience them. Forum 18 is an organisation dedicated to monitoring and analysing violations of Article 18 of both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It free-of-charge publishes its monitoring and analyses of FoRB violations against people of all beliefs and none via its website [www.forum18.org](http://www.forum18.org), e-mail, Twitter and Facebook. Forum 18 focusses on accurately and truthfully providing information on the wide range of FoRB violations that happen rather than rather than running direct advocacy campaigns focussed on particular issues, which has led to their being praised by diplomats as it makes their information harder to attack as having a political bias. This has given Forum 18 a solid reputation for providing reliable evidence in public speeches, reports or UPR submissions, and being quoted in reports by organisations such as Human Rights Watch and the US State Department. Forum 18 provides people and organisations with monitoring and analysis, which means that less of this work is required by more direct advocacy organisations. As Forum 18 thinks that human rights work is a collaborative and not a competitive venture, it works with advocacy organisations and others seriously interested in ending human rights violations. Examples of this co-operation include in visits to the EU and the Council of Europe alongside Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW) and the Norwegian Helsinki Committee.

Other examples of similar work include the International Humanists and Ethical Union (IHEU): their annual production of the Freedom of Thought Report has been vital in raising the profile of abuses of those with no faith. This is a group that is often ignored within the context of FoRB as the sphere is dominated by religious groups. Ignoring the non-religious is dangerous for the future of FoRB as it risks the right being dismissed as the special concern of religious groups and therefore to face hostility from the growing number of atheists and viewed with suspicion in secular societies and human rights campaigners. IHEU's reports have been cited in international bodies, for example by the UN Special Rapporteur on FoRB and reported in international media.

Organisations like CSW and Open Doors also provide ground-breaking research from researchers on the ground monitoring and analysing FoRB across the globe. For example, the submission by Open Doors for this report included on the ground research in Iraq and Syria in 2015 which was then used to form the lobbying

campaign that the group proceeded to follow; demands of equal citizenship, dignified living conditions, and a prominent role in reconciling and rebuilding society for the region's Christian community.

Knowledge of local context is vital in order to effectively plan FoRB policy and have effective implementation. Whilst we hope that the theory of change outlined above will prove useful in various contexts all those involved in creating it stressed that one needs to be appreciative of local norms and the socio-economic and political situation and to adapt strategies accordingly. This is another reason why effective knowledge creation is the vital first step for creating change for FoRB.

Collaborative Engagement is highlighted at the top of the theory of change as it was emphasised by all of submissions. Collaboration between different religious groups is a crucial way of breaking down barriers between communities and in increasing the power of your voice when politically campaigning as concerns are no longer seen as purely that of a particular interest group but in the interests of broader society. This was made clear by the lobbying efforts of the APPG for International FoRB (hereafter the APPG) who stressed in their submission that lobbying on behalf of the human right for all was able to draw more support and attention than ghettoised attempts by specific religious groups. The APPG coordinates the effort of 25 stakeholder organisations to work together for FoRB, including the UK Bahá'í community. The voice of the many is more powerful than the voice of the few.

For example, The International Center for Law and Religion Studies (ICLRS) stressed that it was also important to work across disciplines, professions and belief communities in order to learn from each other and multiply their voice.

Community World Service Asia (CWSA) made bringing different people to act together a key part of their initiatives. They formed the National Lobbying Delegation (NLD) of 24 minority group activists, civil society organisations, journalists and lawyers from around the country to work together to promote the rights of religious minorities. This utilised individual experience and expertise towards a collective lobbying effort.

However, it was highlighted by groups involved in the conference that co-ordination was often difficult. Different lobbying organisations obviously had understandable preferences in terms of highlighting the suffering of their co-religionists across the world and so would prioritise their effort on this issue. Different organisations also had to appeal for funding and to assess their own specific work and so had to claim sufficient success. The use of electronic media to more effectively co-ordinate and communicate lobbying strategies was highlighted as a potential tool to help.

Another potential problem was that communities would often be nervous about working with communities from a different religious background, particularly in areas of existing hostility. The al-Khoei Foundation's work operated in these circumstances and they demonstrated a potential avenue for working through these differences.

Another key theme of the submissions was the importance of bringing people together from different sections of society such as religious leaders, civil society



activists, government employees, politicians, etc. in order to bring cohesive and comprehensive change for promoting and respecting FoRB.

## Area 1: Political Action

### Promote Minority Engagement:

CSWA formed a National Lobbying Delegation (NLD) of 24 minority rights activists from around Pakistan in 2012. This was done through reaching out to local communities through electronic media, and local meetings in order to develop awareness and the capacity of minority groups and meet with those who are concerned on the issue. The delegation consisted of volunteers who are writers, members of Civil Society Organization (CSO), rights activists, journalists, and lawyers who work closely to promote rights of religious minorities in the country. The group comprises of members mainly belonging to the Christian, Hindu, Sikh, and Baha'i community.

The NLD platform brought activists together to be able to collectively channel their experience and expertise and to bridge gaps between decision makers in the government and local minority communities in all four provinces. The NLD were vital in raising awareness of the issues facing minority groups in Pakistan. They utilised electronic media to generate discourse, wrote articles on social media and Minority Voices website, held face-to-face meetings with policymakers, national level consultations, spoke at seminars and conferences. The organisation grew over time as it engaged with more minority voices; the delegation became increasingly self-driven and self-motivated.

In 2015-2016 the NLDs held lobbying meetings at federal level and Punjab government to enact the Hindu Marriage Act and they helped get the Hindu Marriage Act 2017 passed. As a result of the enactment, Hindu citizens will now be able to open bank accounts, apply for visas, and obtain National Identity Cards without any hurdles. Currently, NLDs are in contact with ICT officials and provincial governments to draft rules to get this law implemented.

CWSA would be the first to recognise that they were not alone in lobbying to pass the Hindu Marriage Act and that numerous civil society organisations and politicians were vital in passing this legislation. However, the evidence for the effectiveness of this process is demonstrated by the progressive ability of the NLDs to more effectively lobby based on the growing connections, awareness and strength of diverse minority voices. It was essential that these organisations were provided with the resources and connections to initiate contact and come together and this is what CWSA provided. The organisations themselves were then able to take the lead in an organic, people-led manner that allowed the issues affecting minorities themselves to come to the fore.

A crucial enabler to allow this process to work is that there is a space provided for civil society mobilisation. To this end many organisations involved in this process have focused upon lobbying the international community to maintain that vital space for civil society across the world. This has been conducted by CWSA and CSW. See more in discussion of international lobbying below.

## Influence Policy:

Many of the organisations involved, worked on trying to influence and change government policy. Different organisations followed different methods but there is a discernible pattern to the ways in which they lobbied successfully.

The first stage for this process was to highlight areas of government failure or need for change in government policy and generate sufficient attention to shift government priorities. This was done in different ways by different organisations.

Open Doors used a petition that reached around 800,000 signatures in their Save Syria Campaign. This was utilised to arrange meetings with high level decision makers to influence government policy to attempt to save the Christian communities from the threats they were facing during the Syrian civil war.

CWSA helped the NLDs to raise enough awareness of the issue of government departments failing to adhere to requirements of 5% job quotas for religious minorities through letter-writing campaigns.

The APPG uses parliamentary reports produced through expert testimony and first-hand reports to highlight areas of government failure. For example, they produced a report to highlight the Home Office's mal-practice when interviewing asylum seekers applying on the basis of religious persecution. The report led to more attention being paid to the issue in parliament, government and amongst the general public through appearances in national, local and religious media.

The APPG, Open Doors, CSW, IHEU the Bahá'ís all utilise parliamentary scrutiny to attempt to change domestic policy in response to FoRB violations. The use of report launches combined with expert involvement allows these organisations to impart crucial information in a public manner and also allows MPs to demonstrate their commitment and interest in an issue that might secure them votes. The use of parliamentary oral and written questions was also a common tactic used to convince governments of the importance of an issue by maintaining a constant level of pressure demanding change. The use of parliamentary debates was also a useful way of maintaining legislative pressure on the executive; for example, in the case of Home Office asylum claims the APPG organised a Westminster Hall debate to highlight the issue. These were used to gain meetings with Ministers where MPs were briefed to explain the key issues of mal-practise in interviewing asylum seekers who were claiming based on religious persecution. This included the issue of interpreters deliberately mis-translating asylum-seekers and sometimes threatening them, particularly those who have converted from Islam.

Once government attention had been acquired a crucial part of getting governments to take the requests more seriously was to have specific, actionable requests tailored to their specific capabilities and needs. The APPG also stressed that the language used in requesting government change was vital; accusatory language was often counter-productive and whilst the emotional appeal of suffering had power it was important to combine this with objective evidence-based policy requests. Open Doors succeeded through having specific actionable requests in getting the UK FCO to meet with faith leaders to discuss their strategy in the middle-east and to host a roundtable on the issue. A month after an Open Doors

delegation met Vice President Mike Pence, he announced that ethnic and religious minorities in northern Iraq were set to receive assistance worth US \$55 million from the UN's international development agency (UNDP), funded by the US government. This announcement by USAID responds directly to one of the calls of the Hope for the Middle East campaign for flexible funding mechanisms. Open Doors acknowledged that they could not necessarily prove a direct causal link and that they may have been pushing at an open door as Vice President Pence has strong links with the Christian community in the US but it is likely that they were part of the cause of this policy change, specifically the type of funding that they requested.

Assisting governments in the process of enacting change through the provision of expertise was also highlighted by groups as a useful way of actually pushing through policy change. Due to their experience and connections many of these organisations were in a unique place to be able offer policy advice to government departments. This was a crucial way of actually bringing about change. The APPG consistently engage directly with UK civil servants in order to both try to change institutional attitudes and internal policy. By engaging in a thoughtful and constructive way they have managed to build positive relationships with civil servants in order to be able to feed constructively into departmental change. For example, the APPG has produced reports on how people fleeing religious persecution were being denied asylum in the UK. This led to the UK changing their Pakistan report for use in Home Office assessment claims. This also led on to closer work between the APPG and with UNHCR and the Home Office, including a meeting in Feb. 2018 at which senior Middle East UNHCR Officials were brought in to outline the selection and referral process used with the Home Office when dealing with refugees who have fled religious persecution. The APPG raised concerns about the interview technique and using locally-hired UNHCR staff have when interviewing religious persecution victims. Concerns were also raised on how sufficiently UNHCR is having contact with minority religious communities who tend to, for safety reasons, live outside camps but often do not have access to sufficient aid, support or even resettlement options. DFID, which funds for the UNHCR was also present at the meeting. UNHCR has subsequently included religious persecution case studies in its training of UNHCR staff on interview technique. The APPG staff have been asked to consult with the Home Office on how it factors in religious persecution issues better in its refugee policy post-2020. The APPG contributed to and edited the General Caseworker Training on the topic of religious persecution which is received by all Home Office caseworkers. The Home Office also brought forward recording interviews to prevent translators threatening those from a different religion, they also allowed those applying for asylum based on religious persecution grounds to bring a religious leader into their interview with them.

Meetings with Immigration Minister and Home Office staff stated that the changes were being carried out due to pressure from APPG members and staff and its report. The National media attention which the APPG generated helped to bring about this change.

Similarly, other examples of direct engagement with sympathetic government departments have produced effective changes. FACES Pakistan engaged with religious leaders, politicians, government employees and civil society in all provincial

capitals and Islamabad to discuss and examine the issues behind religious intolerance in Pakistan and developed with them a comprehensive 'Strategy on Religious Tolerance in Pakistan' which was presented to the National Commission for Minorities. ICLRS provide expert review of draft legislation and constitutional proposals at the invitation of government and civil society leaders, so far in more than 50 countries.

In the case of the APPG there was a clear line of causality between their raising awareness of the issue through parliamentary lobbying and the media to their concerns being taken seriously by government, through to providing expert advice on necessary changes before engaging directly with civil servants and government officials to bring about this change. However, this relied upon having already established a firm parliamentary base from which to work and would be taken seriously and a government that was relatively receptive to the demands made. A similar scenario is shown in the case of Open Doors and lobbying the US government. In the other cases identified of FACES Pakistan and the ICLRS there is less clear evidence of their demands being brought into direct policy by the government as they may have been less receptive or the pressure brought may not have been strong enough to shift perceptions. For this reason, we identify the final line of direct government changes as moderate evidence as there are cases where this approach has been shown to work and others where the final line of provision of expertise to changes in government policy is not entirely proven.

### International Lobbying:

This was one of the most important but also most difficult areas that the organisations worked on. The above section focused on how to change the internal policy of the governments concerned, this section focuses upon the attempts to influence, shape and change the policy of other governments whether through bilateral or multilateral links. Both measures were used by different organisations involved in the creation of this theory.

The US State Department, when interviewed, stressed that for international pressure to be effective you need consistent pressure from a variety of different countries and for there to be consistency in how countries raise the issue and not to be selective in the case of allies and enemies.

Detailed knowledge of the diplomatic, economic and political situation of the target country within the international system is necessary in order for any organisation to stand a chance of helping to shift government policy. Policy needs to be directed according to the relevant relationships, for example in the case of Pakistan CWSA strategically targets the important links between the EU and Pakistan due to the vital trade and aid policies that form a vital cornerstone of the Pakistani economy. They therefore meet at an EU-level, with national government departments etc. This lobbying is aimed towards gaining international support for Pakistan meeting its obligations towards ensuring rights of religious minorities and women. Specific focus will be on strengthening the political and electoral participation of these marginalized groups and addressing all discriminatory laws which undermine the human and democratic rights of religious minority communities

and women. It is also envisioned that international support for amendments to these laws will encourage the government to make legislative changes. CWSA and CSW also try to ensure that continued attention is paid to securing the space for civil society to continue to be active in raising the abuse of religious minorities.

In order to raise the issue domestically and put pressure on governments to broach FoRB violations with other government's organisations followed similar tactics to those outlined above. For example, The Bahá'í community work within different national legislators to ask them to maintain pressure upon Iran. They have meetings with parliamentarians to arrange oral and written parliamentary questions, to arrange interventions in Westminster Hall Debates, supplying evidence to select committees etc. in order to keep legislative pressure on governments. The UK government has consistently claimed that they raise FoRB issues when meeting with governments like Pakistan and Iran but as these are closed diplomat sessions it is hard to know the direct result of their interventions. Stefanus use letter writing campaigns on behalf of FoRB cases where we encourage around 6000 Norwegian supporters to sign a pre-written protest letter that they send to government officials in the country of concern. We have several cases where this, together with other campaigns, have resulted in the early release, acquittal or better treatment of prisoners of faith.

Alternatively, organisations engage directly with the international mechanisms themselves at the UN or EU level. Forum 18 has given evidence at the UN UPR processes, at the OSCE etc. IHEU helps their grassroots activists and their members to engage at the UN level and therefore gain more traction. Open Doors have also lobbied UN bodies directly, particularly the UNDP and the UNHCR to provide more flexible funding and focus on the vulnerability of Christian communities and support grass-roots peace programmes. The al-Khoei Foundation stress that it is useful to speak for other faiths; they give their consultative space and the UNHRC to other faith communities like the Christian, Shabak, Fayli and Sunni communities. This is considered surprising within the HRC, undermines sectarian divisions and helps to get the voices of persecuted religious groups taken more seriously.

There are different types of intervention aimed to change the practise of other countries:

- 1) Address specific gross abuses or an individual case. This can be done without having to change an entire normative framework and is the easiest to gain broad support for changing. Particularly in the case of individuals being imprisoned back channel diplomacy can often be the most effective. Another key example of this is the work of the international Bahá'í community, along with others, to help stop the extermination of the Bahá'í community in Iran. Executions of Bahá'í's continued for the early years of the revolutionary government, but from 1984 onwards a series of resolutions were adopted by the UN Human Rights Commission and then the General Assembly, this correlated with a decline in the rate of executions as multilateral scrutiny increased. The Bahá'í community has continually striven to maintain multilateral and bilateral monitoring and reporting on Iranian policy and actions in the belief that oversight impacts upon behaviour. A senior civil

servant who represented Iran at the UN Human Rights Commission wrote a memoir in which he said that the treatment of Iran's Bahá'ís was regularly raised in human rights debates and caused pressure on the delegation. A 2005 publication for the Journal of Genocide Research, Dr Moojan Momen describes four phases of persecution of the Babi and Bahá'í communities in Iran and argues that international scrutiny played a restraining role in what he terms "a case of a suspended genocide." The Bahá'í lobbying has been key in maintaining a UN Special Rapporteur on Iran. Iran sees itself as a revolutionary as well as a theocratic state and therefore as a moral actor on the world stage; international condemnation for their human rights practises, particularly from countries in 'the Global South' therefore has an impact upon their self-perception.

- 2) Broader change of practices. For example, the suspending of stoning in Iran and the execution of minors. This was a combination of visible national and international campaigns. Key here was that other countries than the west condemned the practise. Countries like Russia were able to speak to them directly and they cared more about what the global south was saying and as these countries joined in the condemnation changes were brought in.

Power can potentially be utilised to change the direction of different governments. USCIRF explained that there was a spate of Indonesian extremists closing and attacking churches in 2015 and as the issue was raised through the US government and the importance of US-Indonesian ties, including military spending, led the Indonesian government to act to stop it. Another case where FoRB abuses were halted by the desire for a government to achieve other goals is that of Armenia and the suspension of compulsory military service for Jehovah's Witnesses. Challenges were brought to the European Court of Human Rights and the Council of Europe and these embarrassments served as a barrier to the integration of Armenia into the wider European community.

Ahmed Shaheed (UN Special Rapporteur on FoRB) stressed that international pressure can be a double-edged sword and that action can sometimes make things worse by antagonising public sentiment against foreign interference and creating impression of religious minorities as stooges of foreign (particularly western governments) governments. Power is not necessarily going to prevail and governments can often react negatively to the perception of being pushed about either by activists or foreign governments. International lobbying is most effective when connecting with domestic narratives and resources as it was during the changes in Iran about the execution of minors and the suspension of stoning.

These are only a few examples of international lobbying for FoRB that were discussed by the participants in the creation of this theory of change. Due to the differences required by different circumstances and countries it is hard to come up with hard and fast rules or examples of how to influence other governments to change policy. In many cases these attempts can be counter-productive but there are also cases where international scrutiny and pressure can prove efficacious, particularly in preventing extreme abuses or securing the release of individuals. Due to the

difficulties of international lobbying and the patchy evidential basis for how foreign pressure has worked to change and/or influence domestic policy we have labelled much of this branch of the theory of change as supported by 'moderate evidence.'



### **Area 3: Build Societal Tolerance:**

The Tony Blair Institute for Global Change wrote in their submission that from their research and on-the-ground experience extremist ideologies and intolerance prosper when ideology and the role of religion in society are not properly considered or are ignored. Extremism thrives in leadership vacuums, where civil society is weak or blocked, where there is a lack of participation in state institutions by local communities, or where there is a lack of trust between the state and its citizens. Tackling extremism and intolerance requires working at the community level as well as the state level.

This section looks at the ways in which numerous organisations involved in this process worked directly with communities to build societal tolerance and acceptance. These initiatives varied greatly in scale but generally functioned at the micro- and meso- levels with the intention of the intervention spreading to the of the community.

#### **Engage Youth:**

Christens and Dolan (2010) stress that it is important to encourage and empower young people in order to engage them effectively with projects that aim for long-term change. Young people need to be engaged in developing new programmes and implementing them and this will enable them to develop community organising and advocacy skills to enact change in their communities. The written submission provided by Bridging Difference stressed that young people can often learn prejudice from people older than them in their communities and families. Young people need to be empowered to challenge these views.

The first stage for Bridging Difference, FACES Pakistan, and CWSA was to bring together young people from diverse communities who would not otherwise connect. FACES Pakistan worked to reduce radicalisation amongst at least 480,000 students of 2200 religious institutions through peace and value education and mainstreaming of religious institutions in 36 Districts in Punjab. FACES Pakistan's Building Bridges over Religious and Cultural Divides initiative brought together 100,000 young people from different religious groups in Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Bridging Difference has ran an arts-based project in predominantly Jewish, Christian and Muslim Schools in Leeds, CWSA brought together communities from diverse faith and socio-economic backgrounds and people from rural and urban areas. It was important to bridge all of these divides as something the socio-economic and geographical divides could further religious divisions.

These projects then used diverse tools to enable the young people to explore their own and other's identity and, in the process, learn that people can live with difference and recognise the value in each other in spite of and often because of these differences. CWSA introduced youth participants to concepts of interfaith harmony, human and minority rights and the importance of political engagement. Bridging Difference used an arts-based project in Leeds to allow people to explore

their own identities and those of 'the other'. FACES 'Engaging Pakistani Interfaith Communities (EPIC)' in 8 interfaith events used interactive models like seminars, art competitions and social media to spread positive actions and messages of youth engaging in peaceful co-existence and acceptance of different religious communities. Internet forums were also established to provide a safe space where youth could share their messages of peace and hope. Partners of Stefanus in the Middle East brought youth together to a camp, where through role play were to build up a democratic society (form common rules, constitution, elect leaders and learn how participate through cooperation, tolerance, human rights, active citizenship etc.). They had very good results in having former "enemies" running an election campaign on behalf of each other and cooperating and learning democratic values.

From these events and projects core leadership groups were formed which were then given further specialised training to allow them to act as critical yeast for further change. John-Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the University of Notre Dame, describes "'critical yeast' as that change in communities comes from... people in communities who've been enabled to imagine a different future and are equipped to become change-makers". Bridging Difference established a leadership group of young people who were taken on leadership courses to reflect on their own and other's identity who were then empowered to take further change into their community. They then organised their own projects including a family cricket day at the Leeds Caribbean Cricket club in June 2010. FACES EPIC programme trained 20 youth and community members in street theatre who then further engaged youth for Interfaith Street Theatres in 10 mixed religious communities in Lahore. FACES also formed and mobilised youth clubs to act as ambassadors and aimed to develop specific plans of action for each group in their respective districts. In the Social Action for Conflict Resolution in Punjab 36 youth committees were organised in 36 districts. These groups received capacity building training in order to enable them to engage further change.

Feedback forms used by these various initiatives showed that there was some evidence for these initiatives managing to change minds. FACES project also showed this by groups signing Memorandum of Understanding and therefore their commitment for the promotion of interfaith harmony and peace in the region. There was also anecdotal evidence by those engaged with Bridging Difference that through their involvement in the project they were able to change some people's minds about other faiths. However, the evidence for a wider ripple effect was not entirely substantiated. It is important to remember that changing societal attitudes takes time and that the youth groups involved have not had long to organise events or spread change. In time the evidence for wider ripple effects creating broader tolerance beyond those directly engaged in the programme may appear.

### Remove Barriers:

The al-Khoei Foundation has worked in Iraq where religious and sectarian divisions have become particularly inflamed and the divisions between groups crystallised. In these circumstances the framework of action and subsequent aims are drastically

different. Al-Khoei has therefore aimed to remove the psychological and institutional boundaries to allow engagement between communities. In Iraq they created safe zones for faith leaders to meet and discuss issues and concerns affecting their communities and therefore helped to break down isolation. This then helps to strengthen local communities and enable them to take collective steps to create a structure for broad civil society engagement across divides. Exchange visits between Najaf and Karbala resulted in the Iraqi Council for Interfaith Dialogue (ICED) which then continued to bring religious leaders together along with representatives from minorities and secular groups. This has allowed faith leaders to make public displays of solidarity helping to further bonds. For example, in 2010 Shia scholars went to the Lady of Salvation Church in Baghdad when it had been bombed by extremists. It is now common place for other faith leaders to enter the Shia holy shrines in Iraq with their own religious symbols without creating any discomfort or disrespect. There is a raising of the bar where people relate, respect and advocate for peaceful and pluralistic coexistence. This has led to increased dialogue among different stakeholders in society and it becoming more common for Muslim organisations to invite members of other faiths to participate in their work.

In the UK as well the al-Khoei Foundation has helped to expand contact and relations between the Shia and Sunni communities in the UK and between Muslims and other faiths. They have done this through the breaking down of psychological barriers to allow for deeper discussions. For example, they have worked in the London Interfaith Centre to conduct frequent workshops and discussions to discuss the commonality and wisdom in the three faiths in an open and friendly environment. They also conduct exchange visits between al-Khoei Foundation members and Brondesbury Park Synagogue. Through direct or interactions and exchange visits, communities have been given a chance to reduce misconceptions and prejudice. As a result of this work the Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board was established where Sunni and Shia organisations worked together to raise standards in mosques and to share good practice irrespective of religious affiliations.

Bridging Difference served to break down psychological barriers based on both religion and socio-economic background. In the UK the institutional barriers and sectarian fears weren't as deep as Iraq but de facto segregation between communities is common and resulting ignorance and fear of the other is correlated. Visits to Beeston helped to tackle fears from the Jewish cohort about what would happen to them if they went to that area and being welcomed into the 'others' area was a positive experience. Bridging ties between people who are from dissimilar religious and socio-economic backgrounds means that efforts to rebuild bridges in the future will be easier, even if contact is lost.

The importance and efficacy of breaking down psychological barriers was clear in the work of both Bridging Difference and the al-Khoei Foundation. The clear stages between creating safe zones to initiate contact between key religious leaders to creating wider inter-faith organisations and initiatives is evidenced by the work of the al-Khoei Foundation. The examples set by influential religious leaders can work as real drivers for change in attitudes between communities who have been divided. However, whilst it was clear that the work of al-Khoei had served to weaken barriers

they themselves stressed that social change is a long process and therefore one should continue to be persistent and results often take a long time to emerge.

### Dialogue and Collaboration:

A key theme stressed by those who work in trying to bridge divides between communities and build acceptance for pluralism was the importance of using shared interests and/or concerns to bring diverse communities together. Professor Valentine of Sheffield University has stressed “actually breaking down barriers takes a long time. And the only way to do it is to do something together.” Doing something also helps to attract participants who might not otherwise have volunteered to engage in inter-faith activities.

The al-Khoei Foundation has placed great importance on working together with other with Sunni organisations in the UK on practical projects, using sports and art to bring young people together over subjects that matter to the area like tackling crime and protecting the environment.

Both Bridging Difference and the Rose Castle Foundation used cricket as a means of bringing people from different backgrounds together. Bridging Difference brought together people of disparate ethnic, social and religious backgrounds from Leeds who would otherwise be unlikely to meet. The young people involved were engaged in sport and other activities where they have to work together and boost their confidence and self-esteem. Through working together, they developed social bonds which helped to change stereotypical images of the other and enabled deeper conversations. For example, a leadership group of 4 Jews from North Leeds and 5 Muslims from Beeston in South Leeds successfully organised a family cricket day in June 2010. In August 2014 a group of 10 potential young leaders were taken for a week's sailing voyage aboard the ship Faramir, a 76 wooden sailing vessel owned and operated by The Cirdan Sailing Trust. Those involved had to operate every aspect of the voyage. Feedback from the report suggested that people recognised the stark differences in social and religious backgrounds between participants and that this allowed them to explore different religious ideas and identity.

Rose Castle Foundation brought 20 youth delegates from different religions and areas in Pakistan, after 4-day workshop, to plan and organise an inter-faith cricket tournament. During this time delegates were able to express difficulties of life as a young Christian in Pakistan to a senior Muslim leader. The immediate result from this allowed the Christian youth to feel heard within their predominantly Muslim society, and by someone who was in a position of influence at governmental level. Delegates were also offered the opportunity for an informal Q&A with the senior Muslim leader who answered questions from delegates about the place of radical Islamic ideologies that promote extremism. The immediate result of these activities created empathetic engagement about the state of FoRB within Pakistan, with both Muslim leaders and Christian youth thinking collaboratively about how to challenge negative stereotypes of Christians within Pakistan and to better integrate the acceptance of social relationships between inter-faith communities.

The social links and bonds formed between diverse groups created the space to use dialogue to explore religious differences and tackle discrimination and negative views of the other.

### **Dialogue and the different methods used by different organisations:**

Different organisations have different models for dialogue: Rose Castle Foundation used Scriptural Reasoning as the main tool for dialogue. 'Scriptural Reasoning brings together members of different faiths to discuss contemporary themes or issues through the faith traditions involved in each faith's scripture. For example, a passage from the Quran would be used alongside a passage from the New Testament. Themes included: non-violent responses to hatred, hospitality towards strangers, the place of forgiveness, and interacting with other faiths. Dialogue is facilitated as each faith tradition shares their scripture and how it informs the life, practice and worship of their faith communities. Members of other faith communities are given the space to ask questions and rich dialogue is generated around the texts as participants take turns to 'host' their scripture in the presence of the religious other. This method teaches all participants how to be good 'hosts' and 'guests' in dialogue, ultimately teaching them how to be good hosts and guests in their communities.

A key point of SR is to allow people to recognise and explore differences as well as similarities. People may have strongly contrasting worldviews and SR avoids problems with other dialogue processes that reduce everything to the lowest common denominator. SR has the capacity to enable those of differing worldviews to experience the practice of 'disagreeing well'. The practice of disagreeing well teaches participants the freedom of being able to engage with others who they may profoundly disagree with, respectfully challenging the Other's viewpoint whilst recognising that disagreement doesn't need to be a threat but is instead a privileged learning opportunity. The result enables practitioners of SR to engage deeply with those of other faiths, and even build long-term relationships with each other, without relying on the need to have common agreement about the validity of one another's beliefs. SR therefore has the ability to engage with deeply conservative religious communities where conservatism has created polarised worldviews'.

As Rose Castle recognises the specific method of SR can be limited dealing with relationships between religious and secular groups. It also deals with faith groups for whom the regular reading of scripture is a significant element in contributing to the life of faith of the individual or community. However, SR can still be used within a secular context to expose people to different religious perspectives and ideologies. This has been done in schools where topics discussed have included: modesty, fashion and dress codes; religious extremism; the dangers of taking scripture out of context; leadership, education and learning. Rose Castle has also been approached to ask if they could use SR as a religious literacy tool for training UN staff who are seeking to learn first-hand from people of faith about their scriptures and the deep reasonings that shape their lives.'

Bridging Difference also placed a huge importance on dialogue as the key to bridging life worlds and building understanding of different world views and traditions. It will also allow for exploring differences and fears of 'the other.' Unlike

Rose Castle Bridging Difference did not focus upon Scripture as the central plank around which dialogue is based. Instead conversations were freer flowing; focusing upon questions of identity, belief, the possibility of combining secularism with an ultimate moral framework and exploring the fears and tensions between opposing world views. Similarly to Rose Castle, Bridging Difference stressed that for dialogue to be meaningful it could not be about reducing differences to the lowest common denominator but instead had to focus upon the profound differences that people with different worldviews can often have but that it is still possible and indeed beneficial to live with these differences. Similarly to Rose Castle the focus was on developing the skills to be able to live well with difference.

Bridging Difference stressed the importance of facilitators in allowing people to successfully mediate and navigate differences. They helped to prevent conflict and establish and enforce the rules of interaction. They also provided activities which developed bridging capital and fostered understanding across the two groups. The AMAR Foundation also stressed that during their project in Iraq that coaching and mentoring for facilitators was vital in order to make them more effective at being able to bring out people's prejudices and tackle them.

Another key theme stressed between the different projects was the importance of extended time with the same group, through an extended residential period or through repeated sessions with the same group or ideally both. This was necessary as true social bonds take time to form and changes in peoples instinctual or taught mistrust or fear of other groups takes time to break down. Rose Castle also suggested that a residential break takes people out of the established pattern of social life and so makes it easier to form new patterns of behaviour.

For the Tony Blair Institute for Global Change dialogue focuses on enabling students to encounter the other in a safe facilitated environment. They stress that the process has to be open and mutually respectful. Similar to the others dialogue has to be free from external power and also allow the true encounter with and discussion about difference. Only in this way can children actually develop the tools that will enable them to confidently navigate difference and accept a pluralistic society. They identify 5 core skills of dialogue: global communication, active listening, critical thinking, questioning, and reflection/processing. It encourages inter-cultural, religious, and digital literacies and aims to increase confidence and skills needed to flourish as global citizens of the future.

### **The evidence for long term effects of dialogue:**

The Christian and Muslim delegates were trained by Rose Castle in how to facilitate Scriptural Reasoning sessions so that they could sustain the tool beyond the programme. The Christian youth and the community of the Muslim leaders have since set up regular gatherings to read their respective scriptures together, to build relationships across divides and to learn more about one another's experiences in light of their religious beliefs.

In addition to the case study within Pakistan described above, 'SR also has an extensive record of being a foundational practice for generating life-long friendships between inter-faith individuals and groups through the Cambridge Inter-faith

Programmes (CIP) that ran from 2010-2016. Rose Castle is now responsible for CIP's public programming for Scriptural Reasoning. The alumni of CIP have continued to act as partners with Rose Castle on collaborative projects involving SR, including work amongst the Abrahamic faiths within the Israeli-Palestinian context and with American-Omani exchange programmes hosted in the Gulf. '

The Cambridge Inter-faith Programme Summer Schools that ran for 3 weeks over several summers all included an extensive budget for independent reporting and evaluation. Each of the 30 participants (which represented an inter-faith and international demographic) were quizzed on their perceptions, understanding and opinions of other religious worldviews both pre and post programme. The data produced was both qualitative and quantitative and showed positive development of participants' perceptions towards embracing and collaborating with those of a different faith. The practice of Scriptural Reasoning formed around 50-60% of the Summer School's content each year. Whilst a direct correlation between the practice of Scriptural Reasoning and positive increases in participants' attitudes towards other faiths cannot be fully established, we believe these evaluations demonstrate the positive contribution of SR to this transformative process.'

From the feedback discussions and forms and the review conducted by Sheffield University Bridging Difference were also able to demonstrate long term effects. Feedback suggested that people had their social and ideological horizons broadened and were able to see people from other religions in a more positive light and would feel empowered to challenge hateful stereotypes and negative views of the other faiths involved in the project. The Sheffield University Report suggested that the ties built through shared memories (such as from the weekend away that they had spent together) has built bridges that would be durable.

As outlined above those involved in the Bridging Difference project went on to run their own projects to bring together more young people.

Whilst both projects could point to success in changing the perspectives of those involved in the project and the efficacy of using other activities such as sport to bring diverse groups together they could not easily demonstrate the wider ripple effects that they were hoping for. These effects are certainly hard to measure and would require further examination in the future as these projects only completed their work relatively recently. Both organisations also stressed that changing social norms and attitudes takes a long time and therefore one would not expect to see quick wide scale change even if they did have effective means of monitoring these changes,

John Kinahan of Forum 18 during the conference made the important point that dialogue sessions like these require the ability to gather in safety and without fear of prior or subsequent intimidation for making points the government dislikes and coercion into making statements supporting the government. In most areas where Forum 18 monitors and analyses, it is highly likely that people gathering for dialogues would face state intimidation and coercion and may face other attacks such as police raids and torture.

Some states, such as Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Russia, arrange meetings claiming to be religious dialogues but whose real purposes are to both deceive foreigners about the reality of human rights including FoRB violations, as well as to coerce local people who experience FoRB violations into silence or making regime-favourable statements. In such cases non-participation would be a wise choice for foreign invitees, as their presence is used to add credibility to the regime's claims that it does not commit FoRB and other human rights violations. In certain cases, even senior foreign guests have found that they have been quoted by government controlled media out of context, or even stated to have made statements which they did not make.

It is therefore again important to consider context and the space for such meetings depending on which country you are working in and how you could potentially frame your work so as not to alarm the authorities. It may therefore be essential for dialogues to be non-public and to be held outside the state concerned.

Highly relevant advice is given by the European Union Guidelines on the promotion and protection of freedom of religion or belief, which state that: "Religious tolerance as well as inter-cultural and interreligious dialogue must be promoted in a human rights perspective, ensuring respect of freedom of religion or belief, freedom of expression and other human rights and fundamental freedoms".



### Area 3: Education and Training:

Education and training covers the work of various organisations who target societal stakeholders at a micro- and meso- level aiming to give them the understanding and skills to engage with and effectively promote FoRB.

#### Resource Development:

Stefanus argue that a key building block for this work was to build up the necessary educational and training resources about FoRB tailored to the needs of the situation. They argue that FoRB is widely misunderstood and misrepresented and this is a key obstacle to FoRB promotion as it contributes to violations and limits people's ability to build broad coalitions to support change. Ordinary people do not know their rights or stand up for others and secular human rights organisations leave it for specifically religious groups. Unfortunately, not all believers or belief communities support rights for all. They built educational resources focusing on a normative understanding of FoRB; creating an acceptance of FoRB as universal right for everyone; presenting different ways and methods to promote FoRB and exploring different cross-cutting issues like how FoRB links with women's rights, freedom of expression, security etc. This has been expressed through the recently created FoRB learning platform and translated into several local languages.

Stefanus form one example and many of the groups involved in this area developed their own educational resources. Another example is the ICLRS who bring together experts from across the world together in their Symposiums in order to discuss and develop theories of FoRB and its intersection with law. This knowledge is then disseminated and helps to grow networks of scholars, experts and policy makers who are concerned and knowledgeable about FoRB. The International Center for Law and Religion Studies has thus far helped organize more than 350 international events in more than 50 countries. There are annual regional conferences in Africa, Latin America, the Islamic World, South Asia, East Asia, Southeast Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, and the Pacific. Participants in these events include government leaders, community and religious leaders, judges, scholars, some practitioners, and other experts from a variety of disciplines. Participants learn from one another, discuss issues, and share their research and experience from their respective countries. Because of its global and interdisciplinary reach, the work of the Center is unique. ICLRS believes that FoRB issues cannot be understood or resolved within the domain of a single discipline or profession, but that the crosscut of society that they bring together is more effective in furthering positive outcomes than are isolated efforts.

ICLRS has produced a casebook for teaching comparative and international law and religion that is being used in many parts of the world and has been translated into Chinese, Vietnamese, other South Eastern Asia languages, and will soon be translated into Russian, Spanish, and Arabic. In addition, they have exported their teaching programs to China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Myanmar, and to Oxford University, to which they bring rising scholars from around the world.

## Citizens:

This branch aims at teaching citizens about their rights under Article 18 of the ICCPR and the UDHR and then facilitating them in developing the skills to more effectively campaign for their rights.

The first stage of this is to teach people directly about what their rights under Article 18 are. The next is to capacity build the ability of local groups to document human rights abuses and advocate for their rights. This work has been conducted by CWSA, Stefanus and CSW amongst others. The tools used are varied.

One of the key ways has been to adapt to the growth of social media and the connectedness provided by mobiles and the internet. CWSA trained people in effective use of social media to promote pluralism in Pakistan as did FACES through their EPIC programme. Open Doors used a 'support' App, Pastor to Pastor to build connect people and to spread information about what has happened to them. Stefanus worked to monitor sectarian violence and developed Early Warning and Response Teams using local representatives from different religions, politicians, media workers and youth activists. They themselves made a conflict analysis, the thresholds for action and what to do when certain levels were reached in order to prevent an outbreak. They divided responsibilities so that one monitored the sermons in the different houses of worship in town, the other Facebook. In this way they could intercept rumours and incitements and carry out actions to prevent a violent outbreak. All of these skills and methods served to strengthen civil society and also spread information. Stefanus also worked alongside other NGOs, using their FoRB learning platform, to establish two Civil Society Organisations among Catholic and Cao Dai communities in Vietnam by the end of June 2018.

CSW, through their 'Defending the Defenders' Project trained a group of Human Rights Defenders in South and Central Asia, equipping them with new knowledge and enhanced skills to advocate effectively for FoRB. The first stage of the project was to hold regional level consultations to discover what was needed on the ground. They established a support network so that these groups could contact each other and share best practise and also trained them on international human rights law, international advocacy and on digital security. Through this project they trained 21 Human Rights Defenders and constructed an online campaign about how best to understand the threats and discrimination that FoRB Human Rights Defenders face. The project completed advocacy meetings where trained HRDs were able to advocate at the EU level through a parliamentary side event and meetings with permanent representatives from the EU countries, and human right NGOs.

These projects showed that once people were given the tools and the knowledge they were able to grow domestic networks that could work together to more effectively lobby, document abuses and therefore ultimately hold human rights abusers to account either through domestic or international channels.

## Key Local Leaders:

In order to tackle negative ideologies, extremism and build a cohesive, pluralistic society it is necessary to utilise the capacity of influential local leaders, both religious and secular. Much of the world remains deeply religious and religious leaders can have a significant influence, either positive or negative. It is important to engage with religious leaders to create theological reasons to accept and promote FoRB.

The Tony Blair Institute for Global Change has recognised the need to build the capacity of community and religious leaders in order to strengthen civil society. They have worked with community and religious leaders in Nigeria, Egypt and Sierra Leone to develop counter narratives and to equip leaders with the community engagement and management skills needed to dismantle extremist ideologies and address the issues on which they feed in their communities.

Similarly, CWSA and FACES Pakistan (Peace & Harmony Network Pakistan) engage with religious leaders to promote peace and tolerance through advocacy, training and awareness raising events. FACES Social Action for Conflict Resolution and Radicalisation worked through Religious Institutions in Punjab trained 6527 teachers from different religious institutions, got an Memorandum of Understanding signed by 2774 like-minded religious institutions, mapped religious institutions through GIS and got 784 religious institutions to register with Society Act 1860 and 7871 Madrassas to register with Pakistan Harmony Network Pakistan (PHNP). This work with religious institutions and leaders developed extended and close ties between leaders from different faiths and also exposed thousands of madrassas, who form an important part of the education system in Pakistan, to the values of tolerance and pluralism. They also helped to provide greater oversight and training to these institutions which are often underfunded and outside of government scrutiny which can allow them to become a venue for the spread of extremism and intolerance.

Examples of the power that religious leaders can have was outlined by the work of the Al Khoei Foundation mentioned above. Another was provide by the Shi'ite cleric and scholar, Ayatollah Masoumi-Tehrani in 2014, who in an act of great moral courage and profound symbolism, publicly made a gift of illuminated calligraphy to the Bahá'ís of the world. The Ayatollah chose to transcribe a passage from the Writings of Bahá'u'llah into calligraphy as a powerful gesture of peaceful co-existence and to warn against blind religious prejudice.

There is clear evidence that there are numerous religious leaders who are open to being engaged constructively in promoting FoRB and that their voices can be a powerful cry for tolerance. Again, the assumption and hope of these organisations was that they could form a ripple effect through wider society through their adherents and their pupils. Whilst there was some evidence provided that training and engaging with local religious leaders could develop new impetus and arguments for FoRB the evidence for wider societal change is flawed.

Whilst it is important to work with those who already hold influence it is also important to develop and strengthen new voices, particularly those who have been historically marginalised. FACES worked to build young minority women into leadership positions in Punjab (2017) by establishing a Women Resource Centre at Kinnaird College where female students could be trained for leadership roles through research,

capacity building and employment opportunities. They also undertook a research study to look into the constraints on and the necessary steps to promote minority women to leadership positions. Additionally, they trained around 500 young people to improve representation, participation and leadership of women, especially from minorities in public life.

### Educational Institutions:

Educational systems, practices and resources critically contribute both positively and negatively to young people's resilience to extremist ideology. The Tony Blair Institute for Global Change partnering with education ministries and institutions to teacher training, flexible classroom resources and offer online dialogue opportunities that connect students with their global peers.

Generation Global has been in operation since 2009 and has reached over 340,000 students aged 12-17 in over 2,500 schools, facilitated over 3,000 videoconferences, and trained over 12,000 teachers. The programme is currently active in 23 countries in five delivery models as the programme is designed to adapt to different contexts. It aims to provide the formal and informal education systems that foster the necessary skills to prepare young people to live in a diverse and globalised world, and to build long-term social cohesion and resilience to destructive ideologies.

The key starting point of their work is to work with teachers to instil dialogue skills to help them pass these on to their pupils and so make the next generation more open-minded and able to recognise and resist extremist narratives.

Open Minded is defined as

**Tolerance of ambiguity:** being comfortable with nuance and being able to accept there are multiple realities and many answers to complex questions.

**Self-confidence and self-awareness in the face of difference:** being comfortable with your own identity and sense of purpose in a globalised world, being able to interact confidently with others, and not become angry when encountering perceived injustices or disagreements.

**Knowledge and experience of diversity:** e.g. practical exposure to the 'other' and opportunity to reflect on learning from it.

**Learning environment:** inclusive space that demonstrates the lived values of the pedagogy.

Dialogue is the key tool (highlighted in greater detail above) as it serves to enable them to successfully navigate difference. Students encounter a range of different 'others' from diverse backgrounds and have the opportunity to share, challenge and explore each other's opinions and experiences. This happens both within their own classroom with the help of trained teachers, in facilitated videoconferences with global peers, and through participation in online dialogue on a dedicated secure online community allowing them to connect with peers around the world.

'Generation global has mapped the outcomes of this project using outcome harvesting, collecting evidence of what has changed and then work backwards to work out how and whether an intervention has contributed to the changes. They include; evidence of changed student attitudes and behaviour, evidence of changed teacher attitudes or teaching practice; students proactively leading transformational encounters with others; school leadership buy-in that creates space for dialogue in school timetables or curriculum; improved school climates; endorsement of resources by educational institutions or governments; accreditation of teacher training in professional development; formal and informal partnerships with education providers. In 2015-16 independent evaluation undertaken by University of Exeter, led by Professor Rupert Wegerif. The evaluation used a rigorous, innovative methodology that combined quantitative and qualitative data to attempt a challenging evaluation of attitudinal change of young people across multiple geographies. The evaluation designed a new instrument for the measurement of open-mindedness and attitudes towards others and collected data through a series of inter-related questionnaires with responses from 89 schools in 15 countries. Multi-level analysis of the data included corpus linguistic analysis of 1,140 dialogue reflections, observation of videoconferences, and in-depth case studies. The evaluation found a statistically significant improvement in open-mindedness and attitudes towards others who are different among the participating students. Importantly, the evaluation revealed a marked decrease in open-mindedness among the non-participating students from the control group, suggesting that participation in Generation Global had a positive effect on students' attitudes towards others and their degrees of open-mindedness. The corpus linguistics analysis also evidenced a clear shift in the direction of increased open-mindedness and awareness of complexity, for example shifting away from 'us and them' language towards 'we.' The case studies suggested the programme has substantial potential for a transformative effect on teachers, students, and whole classes, although it identified more research is needed to understand what has most impact in terms of combination of activities, and in what contexts.'

The next stage of Generation Global's planned theory of change is for the proven pedagogy of dialogue is shared, adapted and becomes best practise and is therefore adopted on a systemic scale by educational institutions across different countries. This systemic change would then lead to widen societal change. Generation Global has not yet resulted in countries making systemic changes despite the proven success of their programme in altering world views to become more pluralistic.

Other attempts at creating systemic change have come from FACES Pakistan. They developed a curriculum on 'Value Education' with the Higher Education Commission to facilitate improving tolerance and inclusion in colleges and universities of Pakistan. Whilst there have been some recent attempts to redress the intolerance and hatred of minorities preached in many Pakistani textbooks there is not yet any evidence of wider systemic change achieved by FACES Pakistan's interventions.

## Lawyers:

The rule of law is crucial in securing FoRB for all in the face of societal and governmental abuse. Without access to justice and legal redress no right can be considered secure.

ICLRS has been crucial in examining the broad interplay between FoRB and the law. They have been instrumental in the creation and continuation of the Latin American Consortium for Religious Liberty, the African Consortium for Law and Religion Studies, and the G20 Interfaith Forum for Religion and Sustainable Development. They have teaching seminars in China, Vietnam and elsewhere train young scholars from around the world in legal writing and research in the context of FoRB.

Stefanus has built a more practical legal database of tools and mechanisms that can be used by lawyers to challenge discrimination and persecution based on religion or belief and has also provided concrete legal aid to victims of FoRB violations. These lawyers have helped individuals and groups suffering from FoRB violations and discrimination and therefore help them get their lawful rights and obtain remedies through formal or informal institutions of justice. When using different tools to challenge discrimination and restrictive structures, they can set precedent and affect the way legal provisions are interpreted and implemented and thereby also strengthen the rule of law and the respect for FoRB in general.

Whilst both of these organisations had been able to provide knowledge and in the case of Stefanus aid to specific cases and individuals they both lack the capacity for broader macro system change. In countries like Pakistan broader systematic change is necessary if religious minorities are to truly have access to justice under the rule of law. Organisations that continue to provide aid are vital but governments have to find ways to secure the rights of their citizens.

## Key Assumptions:

**Social Change Takes Time:** this was a key assumption/acknowledgement amongst many of these organisations aiming to create social change. Reducing hostility and violations is a huge task and must take time to slowly break down social taboos and prejudices. In making this theory of change we had to acknowledge that there is little current evidence for the ripple effect that many hoped for. However, as the Al Khoei Foundation stated future dynamics and consequences should be in mind when intervening in communities. Social change is a long process and takes time, so one should be as persistent as possible outcomes as results often take time to emerge. Most development programmes focus on 3-5 years but changing societal attitudes takes longer than this and progress markers are difficult to establish.

**Importance of linguistic context:** Language is a vital factor which determines one's acceptability in the community. Vocabularies or terminologies should not imply that one is imposing an agenda of specific region or class. The language or choice of words should be framed in a way that is understood and is familiar to the locals. One of the reasons of ICID's success was that it was justified through local contexts using cultural and regional terminologies. It is important to decouple freedom of religion/faith from the accusation that they are western post-colonial concepts. One needs a local acumen to utilise the language. Words like 'secular' can have very different meanings depending on the context and therefore one needs to be careful about the words that you use to ensure that they receive as broad a support as possible. The use of the language of FoRB can often be controversial and the word 'tolerance' can often have negative connotations of accepting religious minorities only if they stay within their own space, often at the bottom of society.

**State context:** different societies will be ready to accept different arguments and ideologies and one must understand the complexity of local contexts. Whilst it is important that local traditions are not used to justify an abuse of human rights it is important to adapt language and tactics to the present circumstances in order to create more effective methods for promoting rights and changing cultural attitudes. As pointed out numerous times above one needs to be aware of the local society, political and economic dynamics and cultural attitudes in order to make your efforts work most effectively. Al Khoei stressed that the stability of a nation is often overlooked when assessing the link between the activity and the impact of an activity in a given environment. Activities differ between a democratic state and a more authoritarian state. In stable societies, promoting equal citizenship and rule of law within a religious discourse through sermons by religious scholars is a productive way to sow the seeds of change from within. In unstable societies etched by war, the success of FoRB ideals will face much more resistance than those without the scars of war. The freedom of religion and good interfaith relations must be linked to the development of a country. Engaging in educational and humanitarian programmes encourages the spread of these principles.

**Radicalisation:** there were different theories for why people can become radicalised and reject FoRB. David Kirkham of ICLRS argued that most FoRB violations stem from ignorance and its associated fear. Tony Blair Institute for Global Change argued that

as well as tackling extremist ideologies it is key to provide people with little reason to be radical. Their philosophy is that when they are not discriminated against and feel that they have prospects for security, peace, and economic well-being; when they feel welcome and safe in the community and integrated into society, people will have less reason to be radicalized.

**Power:** it was recognised by many organisations that the utilisation of domestic and international power is crucial to enacting change. This was evidenced by the need to change government policy and that the current dynamics of international politics can be key to this. It was also evidenced by the need to engage influential actors with significant political and religious clout in order to try to create changes in culture.

**Power of dialogue:** many organisations believed in the power of dialogue and dialogical skills to enable people to live comfortably with difference and also be confident in their own identity, beliefs and values. Evidence suggested that this assumption was justified.

**Ripple Effect:** the hope of many organisations was that their interventions on a micro or meso level would gradually spread to macro level change. This was also tied to the idea that people will realise that it is in their interest to tackle hatred and discrimination and to change myths. Whilst we recognise the difficulty of measuring such a ripple effect and the importance of recognising that such macro level social change takes time we had to acknowledge that there was little evidential base for ripple effect leading to macro level change. This meant that whilst the micro and meso level effects of interventions were laudable and could be proven the evidence for macro change is currently lacking.

**Importance of specialisations and teamwork:** many of these groups like the ICRLS and the APPG recognised the importance of division of labour and interaction between different groups. It was often better for groups to specialise in an area where they could provide particular expertise rather than attempt to be everything to everybody. This necessitates the co-ordination of strategies.

**Minorities are most affected:** a subconscious attitude from many that when exposed was quickly recognised was that minorities are the ones mostly targeted by FoRB violations. Forum 18 were quick to challenge this highlighting that everyone, including majority religions can be targeted. They gave the example of Central Asia where Muslims are a majority but face very severe restrictions. This was because in a society where the state desires to control all aspects of life the largest group naturally attracts most state hostility in there are signs of Muslims acting independently.



## References

Brest, Paul (2010) The Power of Theories of Change in *Stanford Social Intervention Review*, Spring 2010 (retrieved from <https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the-power-of-theories-of-change> on 24 April 2018)

Carman, Joanne (2009) The Accountability Movement: *What's Wrong With This Theory of Change?* In *Non-Profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 39:2 (retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0899764008330622> on 24 April 2018)

Connell, James P. and Kubisch, Anne C. (1995) Applying a Theory of Change Approach to the Evaluation of Comprehensive Community Initiatives (retrieved from <http://www.dmeforpeace.org/sites/default/files/080713%20Applying+Theory+of+Change+Approach.pdf> on 24 April 2018)

Christens, Brian D and Dolan, Tom 'Interweaving Youth Development, Community Development, and Social Change through Youth Organizing' *Youth & Society* Vol. 43(2), pp. 528-548

Finlay, Ian, Niven, Stuart, and Young, Stephanie (1998) *Changing Vocational Education and Training: An International Comparative Perspective*, London: Routledge

Moojan Momen (2005) 'The Babi and Baha'i community of Iran: a case of "suspended genocide"?' *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 7(2), pp. 221-241.

Hernandez, Mario and Hodges, Sharon (2003) Building upon the Theory of Change for Systems of Care in *Journal of Emotional and Behavioural Disorders*, 11:1 (retrieved from <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/106342660301100104> on 24 April 2014)

Oxford Dictionaries *Theory* (retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/theory> on 24 April 2018)

Rogers, Patricia (2014) *Theory of Change: Unicef Methodological Briefs: Impact Evaluation No.2*, Florence: Unicef (retrieved from [http://devinfo.live.info/impact\\_evaluation/img/downloads/Theory\\_of\\_Change\\_ENG.pdf](http://devinfo.live.info/impact_evaluation/img/downloads/Theory_of_Change_ENG.pdf) on 24 April 2018)

Taplin, Dana H. and Clark, Heléne (2012) *Theory of Change Basics: A Primer on Theory of Change*, New York: ActKnowledge (retrieved from [http://www.theoryofchange.org/wp-content/uploads/toco\\_library/pdf/ToCBasics.pdf](http://www.theoryofchange.org/wp-content/uploads/toco_library/pdf/ToCBasics.pdf) on 24 April 2018)

Taplin, Dana, Clark, Heléne, Collins, Eoin, and Colby, David, C. (2013) *A Series of Papers to Support Development of Theories of Change Based on Practice in the Field*. New York: ActKnowledge (retrieved from <http://www.actknowledge.org/resources/documents/ToC-Tech-Papers.pdf> on 24 April 2018)

Valters, Craig (2014) *Theories of Change in International Development: Communication, Learning or Accountability*. The Justice and Security Research Programme, Paper 17. The Asia Foundation. (retrieved from [http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/JSRP/downloads/JSRP17\\_Valters.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/JSRP/downloads/JSRP17_Valters.pdf) on 24 April 2018)

Weiss, Carole (1995) "Nothing as Practical as Good Theory: Exploring Theory-based Evaluation for Comprehensive Community Initiatives for Children and Families." In *New Approaches to Evaluating Community Initiatives: Concepts, Methods, and Contexts*, ed. James Connell et al. Washington, DC: Aspen Institute.

## **Appendix: Contributors**

Dr. Ahmed Shaheed, UN Special Rapporteur for Freedom of Religion or Belief

Al-Khoei Foundation

AMAR Foundation

Office of Public Affairs, Bahá'í Community of the UK

Bridging Difference

Christian Solidarity Worldwide

Community World Service Asia

FACES Pakistan

Forum 18

International Center for Law and Religion Studies, Brigham Young University

International Humanists and Ethical Union

Dr. Kishan Manocha, Senior Adviser on Freedom of Religion or Belief,  
OSCE/ODIHR

Office of International Religious Freedom, US State Department

Open Doors

Professor Peter Edge, Centre Advisory Group

Rose Castle Foundation

Stefanus Alliance

Tony Blair Institute for Global Change

UK All Party Parliamentary Group for Freedom of Religion or Belief

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom

