AN AMERICAN SPIRIT

A Project of the Divided Community Project at
The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law
Supported by the Kettering Foundation
And with support from the Ohio State University Institute for Democracy Engagement and Accountability
and Emeritus Academy
Under the auspices of a Project Funded by the JAMS Foundation
and Littlefield Foundation
2019

Photo by Doug Rogers
Americans share a sense that we want to be innovative and positive—a “can do” people—unified in our commitment to be inclusive and to value individuality.
AN AMERICAN SPIRIT
AND WHY IT MATTERS?

If we discuss our shared aspirations, we tend to keep in mind that we have joined a venture larger than ourselves—one that we care deeply about and one that we want to preserve for future generations. We especially benefit by discussing our core aspirations when, as now, the differences that have always characterized our nation turn vitriolic, when our inability to work together becomes a drag on our progress.

A widely-embraced American Spirit can motivate us as well as stir within us a generous spirit toward each other. It might become the catalyst to the continued building of our nation and cause those feeling alienated to join in the effort.

“Most Americans welcome the voice that lifts them out of themselves. They want to be a better people. They want to help make this a better country. When the American spirit awakens, it transforms worlds.”


Unfortunately, we do not seem to know what aspirations we share. In polling, over 70 percent say that we are losing an American Spirit.1 For this reason, the Divided Community Project at The Ohio State University, in collaboration with the Kettering Foundation, designed and conducted a process to articulate the current American Spirit. This report traces that process, its results, the evidence that it would be widely embraced if widely communicated, and some ideas to spread the word.
THE SOURCE OF AN IDEA FOR AN AMERICAN SPIRIT

The American Spirit Initiative began in 2018, growing out of a larger effort initiated three years early by a group of dispute resolution scholars and practitioners and former public officials -- the Divided Community Project at the Ohio State University Moritz College of Law. As the Project principals collected and published the collected wisdom of community leaders who had been dealing with division and made this available to other leaders through reports, simulations, and direct counsel, they concluded that a strong sense of the national spirit and each community’s spirit would make a positive contribution to community resiliency.

In 2018, with the help of the Kettering Foundation, they conducted research on what would make a national or community spirit effective in helping people work across divisions and on what process might allow people with varied viewpoints to collaboratively identify a spirit that would help Americans deal more effectively with today’s divisions and challenges. Applying this research, law students in Moritz’s dispute resolution program conducted interviews and facilitated small group meetings to surface some beginning ideas about a current American Spirit. They created a website on TheChisel.com to prepare a larger group on the ideas for an American Spirit that had emerged from this work.

Next a group of 38 creative people of varied backgrounds, regions, political views, race and ethnicity, expertise, religions, and ages met for a day in November, 2018, and came to consensus on the American Spirit discussed below. Because a group so small could not represent proportionately all Americans, the Project interviewed additional people after the meeting and reviewed polling and anecdotal data to ascertain how broadly the ideas for the American Spirit would resonate and how the emerging American Spirit would fit with the research (reviewed below) on what contributes to a strong national spirit. They also created a process to articulate a community spirit.
AN AMERICAN SPIRIT—
IN THE BRIEFEST FORM

The American Spirit that emerged from the process just discussed and seems to resonate broadly and help us meet today’s challenges might be stated as follows:

Americans share a sense that we want to be innovative and positive—a “can do” people—unified in our commitment to be inclusive and to value individuality.

Appendix A provides additional background on the process used to generate the ideas of the American Spirit presented here, and Appendix B lists the participants.
EVIDENCE REGARDING SUPPORT FOR THIS AMERICAN SPIRIT

Polling data seem consistent with broad support among Americans for this articulation of the American Spirit as a common goal for the future. Americans want to come together, although they consider themselves divided about many things. The vast majority favor equality in a number of contexts and accept across racial and religious groups that the norm to be one of inclusion (though they are more split on the facts—on how much discrimination persists).

Most value the nation's increasing diversity; only 9 percent of respondents think the increasing diversity has made things worse. Nearly all U.S. respondents consider Americans to be innovative—interestingly, an American trait also noted by Japanese survey respondents. Americans stand out among developed nations for their positive attitudes, and majorities of persons from varied racial and ethnic groups believe that despite current divisions, discrimination, and alienation, Americans can solve problems together. Thus, despite little polling on these values as aspirations, it seems plausible from this survey evidence that the vast majority of Americans will react positively to these aspects of an American Spirit—to continue to be innovative and positive and to pursue the goal, though not the current reality, to be inclusive and appreciate others.
Anecdotal evidence that implies belief in broad support for this articulation of the American Spirit comes from those who seek to make their speeches resonate with the values of their supporters. For example, both Republican President Donald Trump’s 2019 State of the Union address and that of the Democratic responder, former Georgia House Minority Leader Stacey Abrams, sounded these themes. President Trump, for example, said:

_We must choose whether we are defined by our differences -- or whether we dare to transcend them. We must choose whether we will squander our inheritance—or whether we will proudly declare that we are Americans. We do the incredible. We defy the impossible. We conquer the unknown. This is the time to re-ignite the American imagination. This is the time to search for the tallest summit, and set our sights on the brightest star. This is the time to rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots. This is our future—our fate—and our choice to make. I am asking you to choose greatness. No matter the trials we face, no matter the challenges to come, we must go forward together._

Rep. Abrams responded in disagreement with much of the President’s policy statements but again sounded some of the same themes as in this American Spirit:

_My family understood firsthand that while success is not guaranteed, we live in a nation where opportunity is possible. . . . In this time of division and crisis, we must come together and stand for, and with, one another. America has stumbled time and again on its quest towards justice and equality. But with each generation, we have revisited our fundamental truths, and where we falter, we make amends._

_Representing another promising indicator of its strength (see Appendix A regarding indicia of strength of a national spirit), this American Spirit directly meets three of the nation’s challenges – polarization, alienation, and bias. It arises from our history, experiences, Constitution – something that makes it feel distinctly American. It does not claim that these goals have been achieved; rather it recognizes the level of determination and work necessary to realize them. It will be difficult to succeed in achieving the aspirations in full, and yet Americans already seem ready to embrace the basic values underlying these goals. It’s a spirit of unity, and thus offers a sense of belonging._
ALREADY SUPPORTED IN COMMENTARY

Commentators have already offered support for an American Spirit that includes aspirations to be innovative, positive, inclusive, and valuing individuality.

Beginning with innovation, Americans’ ingenuity and their spirit of taking the initiative may have been borne of necessity – the need to create a new type of government, to survive as pioneers in new environments.
Today innovation is fostered by Americans’ economic success, personal liberties, and our commitment to opportunity for all. We seek to retain our national traits of taking creative initiative and of encouraging entrepreneurs.

“We Americans have a gift for improvisation. We improvise in jazz; we improvise in many of our architectural breakthroughs. Improvisation is one of our traits, as a people, because it was essential, it was necessary, because again and again we were attempting what hadn’t been done before.”


In addition to innovating, commentators note that we want to persevere as a “can do” people, to keep building, with a spirit that remains hopeful, optimistic, and positive. We greet a new disease with the determination to find a vaccination or cure. We volunteer to help in recovery from a natural disaster. Graduation speakers admonish graduates to “make a difference.”

“The old, haggard man [, a merchant elsewhere in the world,] said, ‘Why do you Americans complain about your government? It is actually your government. You own it. You can change it. We can’t do that here.’ Our democracy is hardly perfect, but it was never intended to be. What makes it unique—and enduring—is that it was set up with the ability to adapt, to change. No coups or revolutions required.”


The preamble to our Constitution sets forth what remains a related current goal: “To form a more perfect union.” Our history reveals a core of people willing to acknowledge their errors and determined to do better, to chart a new course, and to develop a better future.
“For notably among nations, the United States has long been shaped by the promise, if not always by the reality, of forward motion, of rising greatness, and of the expansion of knowledge, of wealth, and of happiness.”


The innovative and “can do” attitude will help us build a better nation with a unified effort to assure a welcoming and inclusive spirit that respects, even values individuality. The national motto, “E Pluribus Unum” (from many, one), recognizes that we can be strongest as a nation when we pull together, when we collaborate broadly, learn from our varied backgrounds and ideas, and invite everyone to join in the nation’s endeavors. Acknowledging the nation's history and current reality replete with tragic errors in this regard, we are resolved to come closer to the aspirations of equality first set out in our Declaration of Independence.

“What the people want is very simple – they want an America as good as its promise.”


Inherent in this goal is the recognition that more work remains; we may share a stated commitment to core values of equality and respect for human dignity, but we must re-double our efforts to come closer to realizing those values. Enhancing unity and inclusion while appreciating differences will strengthen the nation.

“We are tied together in the single garment of destiny, caught in an inescapable network of mutuality.”

STORIES FROM U.S. HISTORY RELATED TO THE VALUES IMPLICIT IN THIS AMERICAN SPIRIT

The Project will continue to collect stories, songs, and artwork to make the American Spirit personal to Americans and post some of these on moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit.

Here are a few stories from the nation’s history:

**IBM in the 1930s** – Investing in innovation and entrepreneurship: Some of the government programs to improve the quality of life would not have succeeded without Americans’ innovation and entrepreneurship. In 1935, for example, after people had endured several hard years of the Depression, President Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act. But it was not clear how such a complex and extensive system could be administered. For one thing, there were no Social Security Numbers or cards. Employers were not reporting employee wages to the government. By this time, Thomas Watson, previously in sales, had become IBM’s CEO. Mr. Watson’s philosophy was to ask what the client wanted to achieve and then ask the innovators within the company to create and test. IBM built the tabulation equipment that permitted the government to begin awarding Social Security benefits, and the government was able to send benefits by 1937.

IBM was an economic bright spot during the Depression years. IBM’s profits increased, and it raised employee salaries and benefits above industry standards. It achieved business success by listening to what the government and other clients wanted to do, supporting its innovative staff, and allocating staff time to develop the technology that would allow clients to achieve their goals.
Frederick Douglass in the 1850’s: united in the goals of inclusivity and appreciation for individuality: The American Spirit embodies the aspiration to be inclusive and appreciate individuality. The nation makes tragic errors when it fails to insist on these values. Frederick Douglass spoke in 1852, to President Millard Fillmore and a large gathering to celebrate the Fourth of July. He contrasted the admirable liberties afforded most inhabitants of the United States and the complete lack of liberty, the enslavement, suffered by three million fellow inhabitants. “The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me,” said Douglass, adding:

You declare, before the world, and are understood by the world to declare, that you “hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that, among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and yet, you hold securely, in a bondage which, according to your own Thomas Jefferson, “is worse than ages of that which your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose,” a seventh part of the inhabitants of your country.

Though Douglass had escaped from slavery when he was 20, he devoted himself to advocacy on behalf of those who remained enslaved. He repeatedly extolled the values of the U.S. Constitution and urged that its rights extend to all. The Civil War ended slavery a little over a decade after that speech, and Douglass rose to become a U.S. Marshal and a diplomat who represented U.S. interests abroad. Still he continued to point out the work that remained to be done to create opportunity for all.

A century and a half later, much work remains to be done to make this an inclusive nation that respects the individuality of each inhabitant, and that is what we unite in our determination to achieve.

---

The Jimmy Fund in the 1940s – innovation, positivity, and better together: In the late 1940’s a child with cancer rarely survived. Doctors were hopeful though that research would increase the number of cures. Still, these optimistic doctors were uncertain how to persuade the public to donate to cancer research when the public thought of cancer as incurable.

A Boston physician, Dr. Sidney Farber, refused to give up and had the idea of giving a human face – one of his pediatric cancer patients – to the calls for donations. The first radio broadcast of twelve-year-old “Jimmy,” renamed to preserve his privacy, enthusing from his hospital bed about his favorite baseball team and players, as those very players walked into his hospital room,
resulted in 25 times the anticipated contributions. Donors joined together and bought Jimmy a television so that he could watch his team play and ultimately gave millions of dollars to cancer research.

The Jimmy Fund for cancer research and the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute were born. Dana-Farber is now nationally ranked, and its physicians have helped to develop a variety of cancer therapies.

In 1998 – 50 years after the initial radio broadcasts – Jimmy, whose real name was Einar Gustafson, surprised the Dana-Farber staff who thought he had surely died of cancer, by returning, complete with his shoe box of baseball cards and other souvenirs from his hospital stay. Exemplifying his doctor’s “can do” attitude, Mr. Gustafson became honorary chairman of the Jimmy Fund, recording announcements for radio and television and visiting with cancer patients.

The American Spirit Quilt was created by Jessie Mace-Froehlich’s art class at West Jefferson Middle School, West Jefferson, Ohio. You can view the entire quilt and read an explanation for each square by visiting moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit/what-young-people-are-doing.
NEXT STEPS

For Americans to embrace an American Spirit, they need to talk about it and reflect on how they can be part of it. We have engaged some others already in beginning that process.

The neighborhood-based social network, Nextdoor, has begun a pilot project inviting neighborhood coordinators to host storytelling conversations. We provide guidance to these hosts with the new publication, Hosting American Spirit Storytelling Conversations: A Brief Guide with 18 Ideas (2019), moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit/wp-content/uploads/sites/133/2019/05/Spirit-Storytelling-pages.pdf. We will post some of the stories on our website.

Rotary is considering a southern Ohio pilot to replicate the process for articulating a community spirit for each locale. We have provided guidance, again based on the successful process in this initiative through a new publication, Identifying a Community Spirit (2019), go.osu.edu/DCP.

Teachers might help young people consider the American Spirit in a variety of ways. On the American Spirit website, we feature a teacher who encouraged reflection on the American Spirit through an art assignment that resulted in an American Spirit quilt, moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit/what-young-people-are-doing.

Speechwriters might spread the word, so we include quotes and other materials for them on the website, moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit/what-young-people-are-doing.

We, the authors of this report, invite you will tell us what to add, and how to improve these ideas for the American Spirit. Suggest stories, artwork, songs that will bring these portions of the American Spirit home to others. You can email us at AmericanSpirit@osu.edu and learn more about how others view the American Spirit, as well as how to identify your community’s spirit, at moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit/
If Americans can identify and embrace an American spirit that resonates today, it may spark something constructive – people more often collaborating, listening to other viewpoints, weighing the overall national values as they plan their own advocacy, resisting efforts to divide them, and feeling more often that they want to join in achieving the aims implicit in the American spirit.\textsuperscript{15}

The task of identifying an American Spirit that will resonate broadly and deeply enough to have these results faces two kinds of challenges. First, research elsewhere indicates that this sort of resonance depends on the spirit meeting the following criteria:

- Directed toward reducing the nation’s problems – especially polarization and alienation,
- Distinctly American – it grows from our history, experiences, geography, traditions, or constitution,
- Feels natural and authentic,
- Will be deeply valued across societal and political divisions and by the vast majority of Americans,
- Bent toward a sense of optimism, a hope, an aspiration,
- Confers a sense of belonging to the nation.\textsuperscript{16}

Second, the process used must identify consensus on an American Spirit at a time when polling suggests more polarization, more alienation, more tribal-like reinforcement by social media and cable news sources, and more pessimism about the future. To succeed in motivating Americans to solve problems despite differences, the process must foster the creativity necessary to identify a spirit that resonates – not merely is supported – among this group.

In light of the need and the challenges, the Divided Community Project began to develop, through research as well as trial and error, a process that would encourage preparation, creativity, and collaboration among a diverse group of people, and could be conducted quickly and inexpensively. Tailwinds for the project include survey evidence that Americans agree about many things, seemingly without realizing it,\textsuperscript{17} want to come together,\textsuperscript{18} and are still patriotic.\textsuperscript{19}

During summer, 2018 two research assistants, Meg Sullivan and Alex Karcher, who have a background in mediation, conducted a literature search interviewed ten individuals whose daily
work required them to understand and bridge differences – clergy, intake person at legal aid, university administrator charged with diversity, immigration caseworker, community relations director for the mayor, etc. – about what they thought was the American Spirit.

During fall, 2018, eight law students, Ayesha Cotton, Jantzen Mace, Nikki Mayo, Abby Riffey, Kandis Sargeant, Kassie Stewart, Ryan Steyer, and Cameron Wright, who are experienced mediators and were doing an independent study in dispute system design with Nancy Rogers, built on the summer research and experience by facilitating seven small (4-6 people) groups in an effort to collaborate on articulating aspects of the American Spirit. The groups were recruited variously from rural Georgia to small town Utah to low income Columbus, Ohio and more, with diversity among the participants.

We were fortunate that the Kettering Foundation provided support for a meeting and preparation of participants. The shaping of the November 16, 2018 meeting participants began in June and continued through early November in consultation with the Divided Community Project steering committee. The idea was to devote the day to creative brainstorming on aspects of an American Spirit among people who were accustomed to creating coalitions or resolving differences and either brought needed expertise (historian, polling expert) or understood a particular community or political party within the nation (business, civil rights, law enforcement, Republican, Democrat, faith leader, etc.).

In other words, this was the creative part of the process, so we needed to keep the group to a manageable size and, with this limitation in mind, sought breadth of viewpoints represented rather than proportional representation. We treated the ideas that emerged as a strong “hunch” about aspects of the American Spirit that held special meaning today. We were encouraged that these ideas were consistent with earlier interviews and small groups, and with national polling. The attendees are listed in Appendix B. The agenda for this meeting is posted on moritzlaw.osu.edu/american-spirit.

The November 16 group came to consensus on three aspects of an American Spirit with pertinence today. The preceding report summarizes and illustrates the draft results of the ideas for three aspects of the American Spirit that emerged on November 16. After the meeting, we called representatives of additional viewpoints and found them supportive of this articulation of the American Spirit. David Stebenne and Kyle Strickland assisted with the historical examples. We researched polling data. We worked on communicating the results. Our work is ongoing. Ayesha Cotton, Jantzen Mace and Nikki Mayo are providing research assistance.
APPENDIX B
PARTICIPANTS FOR THE NOVEMBER 16, 2018 AMERICAN SPIRIT MEETING

Ralph Becker, Jr., former Salt Lake City Mayor; former Minority Leader, Utah House of Representatives; former President, National League of Cities

Harold J. Berman, executive director, National Council of Synagogues; rabbi emeritus, Tifereth Israel, Columbus, OH

David Brandon, managing director, JAMS Foundation

Jo Ann Davidson, Vice Chair, Ohio Casino Control Commission; national committeewoman, Republican Party of Ohio; former Chair, Republican National Party, former Speaker, Ohio House of Representatives; former co-chair, Republican National Committee

Deborah L. Devedjian, Founder, The Chisel/More Perfect Union Inc.; co-author, What’s Your American Dream? Bipartisan Survey Results

Gabriela Gray, Policing Campaign Manager with The Leadership Conference Education Fund

Mahvash Hassan, Immigrant Integration Consultant; Chair, Board of Directors, Welcoming America.

Alex Lovit, program officer, Kettering Foundation; author of articles on political history

Fred Mills, former partner, Vorys Sater Seymour and Pease and leader of the law firm’s government relations group; former chief of staff for Ohio House of Representatives

Richard W. Myers, Executive Director, Major Cities Chiefs Association; former Chief of Police in Newport News, VA, Colorado Springs, Appleton, WI, Sanford, FL; former president, Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies

Richard Nathan, senior pastor, Vineyard Columbus; author, Empowered Evangelicals; former business law faculty, The Ohio State University Fisher College of Business

Elon A. Simms, Director of Community Affairs for the Office of Mayor Andrew J. Ginther, City of Columbus

Carl Smallwood, partner, Vorys Sater Seymour & Pease LLP; former president, National Conference of Bar Presidents; Chair, Columbus Community Trust

David Stebenne, Professor of History and Law, The Ohio State University; author of books and articles focused on modern American political and legal history

Kyle Strickland, Senior Legal Analyst, The Ohio State University Kirwan Institute on the Study of Race and Ethnicity; former SBA President, Harvard Law School

Maxine Thomas, Vice President, Secretary, and General Counsel, Kettering Foundation; former associate dean, University of Georgia Law School

Mohamed Younis, Senior Analyst and Senior Practice Consultant, Gallup World Poll; subject matter expert on Muslim-West tensions and public opinion data related to Islam, extremism, and prejudice

Divided Community Project Steering Committee members:

Becky Monroe, Director, Divided Community Project; Distinguished Visiting Practitioner, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law; former director, Stop Hate Project, the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; former interim director, Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice; Senior Policy Advisor, White House Domestic Policy Council

Josh Stulberg, Moritz Chair in Alternative Dispute Resolution, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law
Nancy Rogers, professor emeritus; Director, Program on Law and Leadership, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law

Bill Froehlich, Deputy Director, The Divided Community Project: Langdon Fellow in Dispute Resolution, The Ohio State University Moritz College of Law

Andrew Thomas, mediator in community conflicts and Community Relations and Neighborhood Engagement Director, City of Sanford, Florida

Chris Carlson, public policy mediator and Chief Advisor, Policy Consensus Initiative

Susan Carpenter, mediator in community conflicts, trainer and co-author of Mediating Public Disputes

Michael Lewis, a mediator, arbitrator, ombudsman, court monitor and special master with JAMS' Washington, DC Resolution Center

Grande Lum, Chair, Steering Committee of the Divided Community Project; Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs, Menlo College; former Director, Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice

Craig McEwen, Daniel J. Fayerweather Professor of Sociology and Political Science Emeritus and former Dean of Academic Affairs, Bowdoin College, and contributor to research on mediation

Sarah Rubin, Technical Outreach Specialist, California Department of Conservation

OSU Moritz Law Students, all 3Ls, Studying Dispute System Design:

Ayesha Cotton, born and raised in Columbus, Ohio, she remained active in her community. While earning her BS in Psychology Howard University, she grew a passion for community building and strengthening relationships across social spectrums.

Jantzen Mace, got involved in the American Spirit project through Moritz’s Alternative Dispute Resolution program. Jantzen was born and raised in Cleveland, Ohio, before completing his undergraduate studies at Miami University (OH).

Nikki Mayo, received a Bachelor’s Degree from The University of Georgia. Nikki was raised outside of Atlanta and got involved with the American Spirit project through the Program on Dispute Resolution at Moritz.

Abby Riffee, born and raised in Youngstown, Ohio and earned a Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology with double minors in Criminal Justice and Legal Studies.

Kandis Sargeant, grew up in a small town in western Ohio. She is working toward earning a certificate in Alternative Dispute Resolution.

Kassie Stewart, is working to pursue Moritz’s certificate in alternative dispute resolution.

Ryan Steyer grew up in Defiance, Ohio.

Cameron Wright is completing a dual Law and Master of Health Administration degree at The Ohio State University. He has been interested in conflict resolution since he studied Argumentation and Conflict Studies as an undergraduate student at the University of Utah. He has since had the opportunity to apply conflict resolution principles as a mediator, as a negotiator, and as an employee in the Compliance department of Nationwide Children’s Hospital.

Jennifer Mensah is a 2018 Moritz graduate on a research fellowship with the Divided Community Project.
RESOURCES


3. Karlyn Bowman & Eleanor O’Neil, AEI Political Report – The American Spirit: A Snapshot in Time, American Enterprise Institute (June 29, 2017) (re political differences); Americans Continue to Want Political Leaders to Compromise, Gallup (Sept. 21, 2016) (political compromise);


5. Council on Foreign Affairs, U.S. Opinion on Human Rights (Sept. 4, 2009), (“Large majorities in the United States say people of different races and ethnicities should be treated equally, and an overwhelming majority says that employers should not be allowed to discriminate based on race or ethnicity and that it is the government’s responsibility to stop this from happening.”), https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-opinion-human-rights; In Depth: Topics A to Z: Gay and Lesbian Rights, Gallup (2019) (89% in 2008 say gays should have equal job opportunities); Blog, Public Opinion on Civil Rights: Reflections on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Roper Center/Cornell (July 2, 2014) (8 in 10 Americans think that Act has had positive effect); Most Americans Support Equal Pay for Men and Women, Rasmussen Reports (April 13, 2018); Americans Say Business Should Be Open to All and the Government Needs to Do More to Protect LGBTQ Rights, Harris Poll (2018).

6. Joyce Foundation, American Democracy in Crisis: The Fate of Pluralism in a Divided Nation, March 5, 2019 (86 % said that the American spirit includes “accepting people of diverse racial and religious backgrounds”), http://www.joycefdn.org/news/american-democracy-in-crisis-the-fate-of-pluralism-in-a-divided-nation; Daniel Cox, et al., What it Means to be American: Attitudes towards Increasing Diversity in America Ten Years after 9/11, PRRI (Sept. 06, 2011) (“Even Americans uneasy with diversity accept it in important ways as a norm. . . . The generational patterns discerned in this survey suggest that while we are in for some transitional turbulence on these matters, the arc of American history will, again, bend toward inclusion.”). www.prri.org/research/what-it-means-to-be-american.


8. Hannah Fingerhut, Most Americans Express Positive Views of Country’s Growing Racial and Ethnic Diversity, FACTANK (June 14, 2018) (58% “say having an increasing number of people of different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in the U.S. makes the country a better place to live; just 9% say it makes the country a worse place to live....”).
9 Chris Jackson & Anson Justi, Americans Report Positive Attitudes and Optimism on Technology, Ipsos Public Affairs (March 1, 2019) (“Ninety-two percent of Americans believe that innovation is a big part of American culture and history with three-quarters (77%) believing the United States is one of the world’s leaders in innovation.”)


11 Zack Beauchamp, This Chart Shows One Way Americans Really Stand Out: Their Positive Attitudes, Vox (March 14, 2015), www.prri.org/research/what-it-means-to-be-american.

12 Joyce Foundation, American Democracy in Crisis: The Fate of Pluralism in a Divided Nation, March 5, 2019 (“Overall, most Americans are optimistic about the country’s ability to come together across racial divides. Two-thirds (66%) of Americans say they feel optimistic that people who belong to different racial and ethnic groups can still come together and solve the country’s problems, while 30% say they feel pessimistic that Americans can do this now. Strikingly, there are few differences across racial and ethnic groups on this question: strong majorities of white (69%), Hispanic (64%), and black (61%) Americans all say they feel optimistic about the prospect of Americans of different races and ethnicities coming together to solve the country’s problems.”), www.joycefdn.org/news/american-democracy-in-crisis-the-fate-of-pluralism-in-a-divided-nation.

13 See, e.g., political independent Michael Bloomberg: “Americans are builders and doers...We expect to be called to work together...We must start becoming the United States of American once again.” Political advertisement airing during several television news programs the day before the November, 2018 national elections.

14 Frederick Douglass, “What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?” (July 5, 1852), teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july.


16 Id. 35-36.

17 What's Your American Dream? Bipartisan Survey Results, Deborah Devedjian, Editor - TheChisel.com (June 1, 2018), www.YesWeAgree.com.
